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**THE NEO -LIBERALISM AND THE STATE :A
DISCURSIVE FORMATION OF THE
POST-LIBERAL INDIA**

Bikash Nath

Abstract

The new foundation of the liberalism have its particular significance in contrast to its own past avatar in the aspect of the democratic constitutionality of the functioning of the state where the consent of the people is guaranteed through regular elections and above all , a participatory kind of democracy when the rights and obligations of its citizens are given a broad pattern of inclusive agency .The conditions of the neo-liberalism have been arranged in such a way that any deviation from the great apparatus of the neo-liberal groundwork of the society and the polity could be considered as the path in contrast to the established norms of that particular bio-political force that could not be challenged through the conventional political idioms of understanding . Not that the state has been ossified and indistinguishable from the remnants of the pre-liberalism stage of politics but in the new incarnation of the state ,it has been making its presence in a subterranean way but it is more forceful whenever any process of public refusal of the grand narrative of the functioning liberalism is made by some unfaithful political forces. In a neo-liberal political economy, the presence of the

state could determine metabolism of the finance capital and its varied intrusions into the people's livelihood . It does not mean that the big houses of the finance capital would bound to hear whistle blowing of the state in any untoward context of the constitutionality of the state's existence but on the other hand the power of the physiological imperatives of the finance capital is further accentuated in every aspect through broadening of the discursive forms of the state's existentiality .So, in such an aspect the rigorous character of the networks of the finance capital and the continuous unfurling of the role of the state has been determined in response to the demand and nature of the expansion of the networks of the finance capital. The essay would particularly try to study the impacts of the neo-liberal groundwork and how it contributed in transformation of the nature of the functioning capacities of the state.

Key words : *Neo-liberalism, inclusive agency, bio-political, finance capital, functioning state etc.*

The present epoch of the space of the political has been the most matured phase of development of the idea of progress in terms of its relation to the state and the other prerogatives of freedom and wellbeing .But that particular state of the nature of progress has been crisscrossed with the paraphernalia of the universal category of the state as the omnipotent power of translating every thought of being into the rational imperatives of the authority and as the medium of delineating the justice . In the state of the 'political society' the reified nature of the functioning mechanism of the state as an independent unit devoid of the other alternatives of disciplining the masses as the ontological conditionality of a supreme importance that could defy as well as negate the whole process of the individuality and social rationality of the human species being has been particularly positioned as the ultimate feature of the socialized productive phenomena. The idea of progress has been given a relative framework of distinction against the nature of the forms of

underdevelopment where the level of understanding about the capacity of withstanding the social ills is severely unrealized. So in such a situation, the totality of the ideas about the forms of progress has been turned into the authoritarian belief of the reified particularity of the transgression into the real as substantiated by the rhythm of the civil abstruseness. The state is by nature not a state itself and the state has the composite formation of the million states which are hidden in the broad paradigm of that aspect. The chief proposition about the necessity and its existence is that only through the mechanism of the state the individual as well as the interests of the nationality could be served more diligently and in fact it is assumed that the absence of the state means the absence of the settled livelihood. Any kind of discussion about the lager interests of the people under the impact of a specific political territory is brought into the necessary determined space as state. But it is not considered that there has been as yet no existence of the state which is understood in conventional terms of the political. Why the existence of the state is nowhere in the sense of the biased political society because of the fact that the state has still been the centre of the accumulation of the interests of the superhuman being who are in control of the specific territory of the political and that particular rationality of the interests being influenced by the big finance capital have a great prejudice against the people's choices. Beyond the specific character of acting as the centre of the accumulation of those interests for a specific class it could try to create an identity after gathering the historicity of some of the myths around the necessity of defending the space of the political.

The Neo-liberal foundation in terms of its relation to the state and economy above all has been determining now absolutely the rhythm of the space of the political and every urge for progress under the space has now been claimed through the context of the liberalism that could only contribute to the strengthening of the ideas of freedom and wellbeing as well as shaping the interests of the individuality. In a well-run democratic foundation of the state, it is surmised that the authoritarian or dictatorial ambitions of the one superhuman being could be defeated through the distribution of the interests in terms of the rights to produce and procure the benefits of those commodities in relation to the organic and inorganic whole of the social - production relation. No doubt, the philosophy of liberalism has been organized around

the principles of free trade and the production of the commodities under the hegemonic mobility of the capital as the functioning entity with wide diversifications and that particular entity has been organized in such a way that the people could glance the vision of the memory of their meaning of existence in its civility .But that particular sense of civility could be realized under some broad conditions of the rituals which are again determined and regulated by a functioning authority whose power of extension is gone through the process of participation of the common masses in producing the consent for their hegemonic ruling paradigm . The role of the classes those are directly or indirectly connected in the act of producing or controlling the flow of commodities could be guaranteed through an agreement based upon the recognition of the mass of the production as the macro management of the hegemony of the 'microscopic minority' and the role of the common masses is defined in relation to the right to hold property and the right to join in the functioning of the state but with strict provision of only in the act of participation but not in joining with wholehearted senses in presentation of their applied ideas .The espousal of the mere right to participation so does not mean always which has been much emphasized in the scholarly debates the right to present the grievance or the ideas of transforming the ideals of the whole mechanism of the liberal foundation of the state itself . The decentering of the common masses in the act of participation could occur even when sufficient provisions are made for the way of participation in the democratic activities of the state .In a neo-liberal set up ,the decisions and the whole process of the constitutionalism are defined through the consent of the two forces which are quite in synthesis with each other .Those two forces are namely ,the force of the economic transfiguration and the other ,determinants of the internalities of the functioning ruling paradigm .

I

The essay would primarily look into the categories of distinction which has been emanated after the introduction of the liberalization of the economy by the Indian government in 1991. It is generally agreed that in worst economic situation that the policy makers had to tackle in the early 90s due to the collapse of the India's for ex reserves to \$5.8 billion which is now stood at above \$600 billion

compelled the government and the bureaucrats in the Departments of Finance and Commerce to uphold the change of freeing the economy from the internal trade barriers and instead of that a congenial international trade policy had been adopted where more opportunities were provided to the powerful capitalist nations to invest and to do business in India. Our point of analysis would not try to define the territory of the fiscal and other trade regulations which have been arranged newly in consideration of the opportunities to be provided to the foreign companies but in lieu of that we will try to limit our analysis upon the erosion of the boundaries of the state not only in relation to the transfiguration of the ideals of freedom but it would be analyzed how the state as a whole has been obliterated in deliverance of the 'public goods 'which concerns deeply with everydayness of the people's lives those who are really poor in availing of the right to decent life. The decency in patterns of lives does not mean only the guarantee of a safe economic base to be provided to the individuals and nor does it mean that the wellbeing is best served where ultimate conditions are framed to uplift the environment of the democratic consensus based upon the strengthening of the capabilities of the persons and through sufficiently deriving maximum constitutional privileges to the pockets of the common masses .When the foundation of the neo-liberalism and the state has been founded upon a base where the individuality is thought to be the other name of the object there the situation could develop into a form where the basic agency of freedom could be detached from the aims of the fulfillment of the distinctive nature of welfare .The function of welfare could not be guaranteed until the true worth of the capabilities of the human being could not be ensured and if the whole base of the productivity would go towards the design of the big finance capital regime then the matter of concern could grow up in the aspect of proper evaluation of the agency of progress .When we do try to give the distinction of the agency of progress to the functioning form of a state it does mean that the state will go for strengthening and developing the consensus around the conceptual categories of progress in its specific sense but in normatively oriented egalitarianism ,the specific sense of judgment of development is altogether different from the conventional approach of development in pure material aspects.

Since the independence of the country, various governments led by different parties have been giving emphasis on the provisions for the improvement of the conditions of the weaker sections of the society in terms of providing material avenues as well as developing the communication between the state and its internalities .For example , the reservation of quota based on caste in aspect of securing jobs or in education for the weaker castes as well as giving certain provisions for the empowerment of women could be cited when the state has been trying redeem itself even after giving heavy concessions to the forces of big capital .The state has been giving scope to those measures irrespective of the change of government and it has been now conformed to the rhythm of the constitutional narrative in its macro distribution. The substantiation of the output which has come out of the implementation of the several measures in terms of direct benefit to the people those are thought to be the main beneficiaries of the schemes is rather not glorious when we define the exact location of their impacts upon the running of the governance. The problem which has grew up in the context of governance is that the beneficiaries are not sufficiently made enlightened to join in the process of participating in the activities of the state and for which the distinctive agenda of the post-liberal India has remained at the stage of bankruptcy and with utter form of illusions.

How the illusions have been made and remade with active agency of the functioning paradigm of neo-liberalism in exaction of the consent of the masses for the space where the mass of the being could be turned into a spirit where the beliefs upon the universal reification of the systemic apparatus of the political have become the other name of the time and that is the most interesting phenomenon of the consequent policies of the neo-liberal perspective. All the ingredients of the functioning and the relevance of a capable state are there but somehow the link has been missed out between the spirit and the time. The question is not about the strength of the agency of deliberating the real touch of governance through the paradigm of the structure of the state but it is about the utter powerlessness of those agencies of deliberation of governance before the mighty presence of the spirit which is controlled by the time. The dilemma before the new post -liberal state is that it could not fulfill exactly the aspirations of that spirit which has been

moulded by the intervention of the trajectories of finance- capital where the role of the state has been minimized through the imperatives of the acceleration of the pace of the forms of finance-capital. Where the minimization of the role of the state has occurred there the entry of the agency of the finance-capital has been ensured after the capturing the moment of the spirit.

Is the spirit of the empire of finance -capital different from the spirit of the disciplined masses? There are obvious differences in certain aspects but beyond the time as entity which is also a cultural rallying point there are no specific differences because the success of the spirit of the former lies in the fact that it could make transgression in the space of the time whenever it wants but the spirit of the latter is depended upon the movement of the former .Of course, we are observing the routes of the transgression only when both the spirits are in coalition with each other antithetically .

The post-liberal India's dilemma lies in the fact that the new spirit which has been growing up due to the increasing level of expansion of the networks of the finance-capital and at the same time, the regeneration of the contents of that spirit have been made in order to posit the externalities of the time as inclusive and derivative. Several measures have been taken up in furthering the capacities of the people in their meeting up of the daily needs and in some respect, it has given sufficient results in consideration of the objectives of the specific programmes. But beyond those results in broad terms there have hardly been any measure to strengthen the base of the time where the people as a whole could equitably participate as well as make their voice to be heard in determination of the aspects of the time. The records of the India's successive governance mechanism have provided one point very clear that in aspects of defining the area of development it is more essential to frame a policy rather than its successful implementations which are bogged down by bad governance. When the traits of governance in the organized frame is preferred to the bureaucratic hurdles but in its place a technocratic cum exclusive distinction about the identity of the data in its persons are given so much importance that the people become obsessed with the procedure of the that technocratic dilemma rather with the actual thought and meaning of freedom. So,

in such context what the actual aim of development through the intensity of the programmes those are initiated for stabilizing the rational of the public goods is turned itself into the tenacity of the programmatic obfuscation rather than its outcomes. The aspect of development is the oriented approach to continuously expanding the infrastructure of the people through the base of freedom even at the point of backwardness of the economy because before the actual initiatives concerning the changes in the economy in its broader aspects it is essential to give emphasis upon the trajectories of the real basis of freedom where the different and multiple elements of the political -economy are scientifically organized in such a way that the producers would get their real worth of their participation in actuality.

When we do make distinctions in the context of the political then it is to be understood that the economy is also hidden in the space of the political and vice versa. But, in the neo liberal context of the political what has been happening is that the economy has sought to be understood to be alien or far distant from the logic of the political and if the economy has made any impact upon the political then it is centered around the irregular and unscientific discussions of the subject in the agencies of communication. If there is any stress on the scientific assessment of the data of development in the governmental agencies then its message could spread to the level of the knowledge where understanding is left to the experts only. There is undeniably one point very clear that by those forms of knowledge about the state of the economy among the people the rational has been established that what the people wants is not the distinctive channel of knowledge through which the understanding could grow up around the conditions of knowledge about the reality. But generally, a hazy picture has been drawn up to preclude the necessary functions of those conditions of knowledge and the aura of an elusive kind of development narrative is made popularized where the political is turned into a vaporized substance. The real is thus made into the substance of the unreal and disjunctured from the actual set of the effects of the production relations. It does happen under the extreme reification and standpoint of the growth as the essence of progress and in consideration of the hypnotizing discourse of the growth for which the nature of the actually defined space of progress could be stigmatized with the otherness.

The lure of the neo-liberal finance and its trajectories of influence has helped no doubt in mapping of the ideals of the people's conditions of the habitation and the environment in the sociological aspects around the mythology of the citizen as an individual agent in the discursive location of the culture of the objectification. It occurs when the people's habitation is built up in different socio-archaeological space and the real benefits are disjointed from the actual centre of the centre. The question is not about the crisis or glory to the neo-liberalism but the real question hovers against the notion of the liberalism itself. The prehistory and the historical evolution of the philosophy of liberalism amply proves one point that it is the best method of continuous revelation of the state of the socio-cultural inversion from the centre of its revelation but without debunking the infrastructure of the monolithic prehistory of the laws of the people.

II

In India since the 1950s, the economy was set on the politics of the vacuum where the ideology around that centre of the politics had been formed in order to define the interests of the people when the people in its spirit was still remained unrecognized and certain vacuity was there in terms of resettling the interests of the privileged against the vast multitude of the poor. The mechanism of the five - year planning for systematic and unequivocal distributive search for justice had been met with the ending of that search as well as justice from the actuality .What the planning system determined instead of providing the solid objectives of progress was that it opened up the sources of entanglement of the praxis of politics with the ideas of freedom save the strengthening of the boundaries of reason through which the ideas could be set for application in real terms . The reason was put before the facts in such a way that the facts were withdrawn from the picture of further analysis and since then another form of the discourse of the governance around the ideas of the programme of development had been given shape that what the facts revealed was not the main thing of introspection but the reason with the programme of development was the main matter of concern without its long-term consequences. When the prospects of economic downturn occurred and the when facts could not be ignored no more ,the stalwarts of the policymakers swiftly decided

to change the course of policymaking and there never was the problem in respect of changing that course of policymaking because the reason had already been given precedence that the facts could be understood and the elements of those factual objectivity could be discerned only through the discourse of a new fundamental 'structural adjustment' programme. By the basic points of the 'structural adjustment' programmes it is to be understood through which the changes were made in interpretation of the facts and the truths behind those facts remained in the same position and the philosophy behind the interpretation of those facts had been arranged in such a way that the essence of the negation of the earlier positions of the policymaking was negated not through the dialectics of the social whole but it was standardized through the revolution from above .

The character of the neo-liberal trade and economic perspectives since then have been followed as the most reified moment over the essence of the time. The success of the measures in the 'structural adjustment' has been estimated through the results of the hard statistics of the relative growth in terms of share in the foreign exchange reserves and the haphazard growth in the Gross Domestic Product of the nation as evaluated through the primary international agencies like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund etc. The assessment of the international agencies is basically geared towards the rehabilitation of the accumulation of the resources of the host country against the background of its weak infrastructure and huge financial backup is provided in order to justify as well as strengthen the measure of expansion of the networks of trade and commerce controlled chiefly by the big corporate sectors under the direct hegemony of the richer nations .When the infrastructural investments have been made to make ready the space of the economic whole for further entry of the agency of the bigger international finance capital there the political is sacrificed from the point of the people's gaze . Of course, the political as the amalgamation of the law of the peoples and the manifestation of the people's consciousness about the existence of their spirit which has been moulded through the intertexuality of the time and culture could reveal itself with the potentiality of negating the abstraction of the real when the contents in the society of the political is matured enough.

How is possible to assess the impact of the different levels of the trajectories of the growth in the economic senses upon the space of the political? Is it the fact of the truth that the growth under neo-liberalism has so far created the conditions of interpreting the discursive points of the 'political liberalism' in a new fundamental way? In the discourse of the political philosophy about the necessities of welfare in terms of providing capabilities to the downtrodden for sufficiently joining in the urge for economic activities related to productive activities ,the effects of the liberalization of trade upon the erosion of the boundaries of the political is generally overlooked and the philosophy of the welfare economics has failed in offering an alternative trajectory of growth which could amply cater to the need of the people's everyday lives and beyond that an integrative rapprochement could be arrived at where the rights of the peoples could be secured in participation as well as sharing of the allocations of the resources based on equity and justice and when the anarchy of power of the nobility of the finance capital would not create any hurdle in the path of the realization of the actual law of the people. When the modes of the resource utilization under the impact of the new uses of the instruments of labour have been posited as the process of effectively turning around the constant of the production relation ,there occurs the assumption that the solid movement of the changes in the instruments of labour as well as the centre of the production relation could define the territory of the people's way of living and thinking not in abstraction from the reality but it could define the forms of reality in the most transient way . So, there develops the two antithetical philosophical concerns regarding the way of progress under the neo-liberal trade regime. One is that the determinants of growth under any condition could not be sacrificed whether it could affect the totality of the rights of the people and the other is the logic of the detrimental effects upon the centre of the political because the nature of the language and its structuration has been felt by the people who have been the weak participants in the process of that structuration of the knowledge about the centre of the political when that centre has already been relocated.

There has been the growing hiatus between the actual field of activity and the pronounced aims of the particular schemes under the governance and in between the stakeholders who have been supposed to benefit from such schemes have

been left bewildered. Now, there is the development of the psychology of unconscious reference to the eternal glorification of the mode of production but without initiating a balanced and healthy pattern of transformation in the particularities of the mode of production. When the conditions of the growth have been interpreted only in the aggrandizement of the utilization of the resources but sidelining the real agency of the process of utilization, there naturally develops the unwanted philosophical juxtaposition of the reality with the base. The base is here political as well as economic. When the ingredients for the economic changes have been sufficiently moulded or given preference in broad amendments to the raw materials for progress, there the macro hegemonic preponderance of the impacts of trade and commerce or other measures of investment cum disinvestment largely determines the character of the development /growth in its totality. If the facts of the measures of growth are taken for granted without scientifically analyzing the specific measures of the contents of growth then it should be understood that the metaphor and the tropes of measurements are systematically positioned in painting the scenario of the metaphor as real and in a sense more than real . When the substance of those tropes of the power of knowledge about the positioning of the metaphorical semblance of growth is made to rush forward the moments of the happiness then the elementary effects of that power of knowledge turned itself into an nonentity .But the lure of the happiness is posited against the poverty and the consequent dispossession of the people from the means of enjoyment of freedom and the happiness in order to redefine the functioning necessity of further galvanization of the measures of reforms in the liberal economy .

How the position of the strength of the state would be determined in the cauldron of the growth as the force of mobilization of the spirit? It is not an easy task for the state itself to locating its interests in the philosophical orientation of the mechanism of different traits of the neo-liberal functioning which could in different ways influence in mitigating the social materiality of the time among the classes .In fact , the state under the hegemony of the politics of the neo-liberalism substantially could contribute to a consensus which is redeemed with the logic of building the base of the people's space of the rights and the liberty. But in the rush for strengthening the potential back up of the neo-liberal distinctions in respect of the

accentuation of the utilization and eventual production of the commodities for the market in terms of the global scale, the danger arrives in the form of planetary deterioration of the earth as the centre of vast transformations. Such kind of extreme objectification of the goals of culture when the realm of the political has already been in dialectical distance from the universality of the object in transition which is meant to determine the spatial transfiguration in the orbit of instrumentation of labour against the concentration of the finance -capital and its structure of power.

The generation and regeneration of the structural conformism to the rationality of the finance-capital occurs at the juncture of centralization of the finance regime in its political for reconstructing the essence of its fundamental duties towards the class which is most deeply engrossed in the act of production. That particular reconstruction takes place when the pressure of the infrastructure for the spread of finance -capital becomes too heavy and also ,when the position of the movement of the ruling ideas is needed to be seriously ordered against the changing structure of the political as centre of the harnessing the contents of the spirit to a transcended world of reality where it becomes difficult to read out the cognition of the agency of deconstruction .The tragedy of the 'modern commons' is that the political is deeply felt to be matured enough of transforming the base of the social metabolism but that difficulty in specifying the agency for deconstruction of the ethnicity of the whole of the centre of finance -capital because of the super hegemonization of the real from the potentialities of subsumption .

The success of the neo-liberalism lies in the context of its overwhelming dominance in settling of the political to its design of proliferation of the power of finance-capital. It happens in an extreme decentering of the centre of the infrastructure to a visual which could be seen but beyond the point of consciousness of the producing class. Because the contents of the decentering have been missing for which the centre is always changing its course of spatial distinctions. The distinctions have been characterized and justified in actual extension of the realm of identified ethnicity of its mobility of finance -capital. The mobility of finance - capital in a regime where extreme observations have been put upon the movement and expansion of the reach of capital by some other powerful international agencies,

the governments elected through the democratic elections always try to define the objectives of governing the state with more reforms and controlling the inflation of expectations rather than going into the ending of the unnatural competition for the prices in the market.

III

Is it not true that the economic transformations in the post-independent India have been bringing tremendous upheaval in the social conditions of living? How has the conditions of the social been shaped in conjunction with the transformation in the economy? Is poverty the real base point of analyzing the grievous shortcomings in the realm of the social? In respect of the first question we could say that in the post-independent India large scale transformations have occurred in several key sectors of the economy .For example , in respect of the agricultural food production India has reached at the stage of self-sufficiency but in distribution and providing right to a decent living we have failed to provide the effective framework to eradicate the inequities of acquiring food and this has occurred due to the extreme inequalities in holding land rights as well as the lack in objectives of the agrarian and industrial production of wealth and other social discriminations whether in terms of gender or caste . It is not that only through the availability of food the discriminating attitude towards the weaker sections would be removed but the idea of food is a metaphor to understand the normative impact of the essence of a functioning state-society. Food without that essence is a reflection of the myth which is surrounded by the logic of the spirit which is in abstraction from the mass.

The state always wants to be a neutral agency in deliverance of the mechanism of the production as well as making provisions for availing the capacity of holding the necessities of livelihood by the people. But the neutrality of the state is tinged with the will of suffering of the poor and that particular will is subsumed under the discourse of welfare which is again the method of legalizing the authority of the centre of socio-political power structure dominated largely by the persons full of extreme capabilities beyond its limitations. So, to be neutral is to take a political position of accentuation of the prevailing class interests of some specific

classes and of course, if the state and its functions would gear towards the deconstruction of the will as well as the production of those interests which could spearhead the normal capability of a human being to an extreme position of capabilities. It could occur only in a space where the political and the discourse around the welfare goes beyond the phenomena of the rights. In any legitimacy of the construction of power in a form of the state, the need of the rights revolves around the definite idea of the political and its branches of hegemony but in actuality the rights have a great metaphysical entity if those rights are not protected with the will to decentering any semblance of hegemony which could grow up with the entity of the rights in its derivatives.

The social conditions of living have been transformed drastically but only in order to emphasize the already existing preponderance of the social hierarchies where the changes have occurred in aspect of routes of the realization of those hierarchies but whereas the base of the social hierarchies has remained in the same position through which the paraphernalia of distinctions in terms of conditioning the hierarchies have been evaluated .If the economy has been entering into the stage of the so-called trillion dollars it has happened only in figures but not encompassing the potentiality of transformation of the base of those hierarchies and that is why the rational of the measuring the value of an economy through the medium of the centre of hegemonic finance-capital is rather full of myth in its consciousness. So, in terms of the existence and formation of the hierarchies in the praxis of the social, mere philosophizing of the economy and the trajectories of growth will not provide huge encouragement to the determinants of the ethical consensus based on the will which is devoid of the mere economic malcontents.

In fact, the whole subjective orientation of the space and practice of the economy is an abstraction from the essence of its subjects and in the process of that abstraction the interests of those subjects are invented to suit the objective of that particular process of subjectivity .When the growth as the specific object of analysis is particularly developed with the practice of the elements of an economy, there the totality of an approach in penetration of all other interests in to the vortex of that totality is made in order to legitimize the sphere of the activities of the

classes who are beyond the control of the order in an economy. The territory of the production relations and the outcome of the objectification of labour in its relation to a particular kind of productivity resonate with the double meaning .i.e. one is the employability of the workers and other the increasing rate of growth in terms of the expansion of the territory of the production relations as a whole. The employability of the workers in a particular condition of work again depends upon the organization of the work in its specific purposes and which means in a given space of work how the process of trans individuation occurs to the living philosophy of the workers and how they could philosophize themselves in the form of a language in order to get rid of the hegemony of the political will is highly important. In extreme manipulation of the particular space of a work where the workers relevance is denied in substantial construction of a knowledge which is sought to be spread that the language of the working class is the language of the owners of the space of work there the whole causal effects of work is substantiated with the structure of power what is violent and politically preposterous to the interests of the majority. The whole structure of work and the varied components of that structure of power have been synthesized in the antithesis of the social against the domination of the political in such a way that a cultural pattern has been developed in order to nullify the antithetical potentialities of sublation of the sub-real. In fact, the matrix of the cultural pattern of the peculiar combination of work and the spirit has been stratified in order to reify the spirit as the metaphor for progress. The greatest harm is done to the space of the political when that reification of the cultural pattern in the specific form of a spirit is established as the objective of further organization or reorganization of the human in its constitutionality through which we want to mean the articles of the constitution in the organic whole of human which are made into subsumption over the real .There has been nothing of the meaning of the real beyond the specters of that spirit as well as the process of subsumption .

Another important issue which is concerned with the space of the social is that how that particularity of the social is conformed to the fluctuating rational of the economy and in what forms the whole of the social as the specific mode is structurally adjusted to the mode of production and its consequences in a living material set up or the economy itself. The preliminary initiatives around the centre

of the technology and its consequent mode which could go hand in hand in the moment of producing commodities have been organizing the features of the social to embark upon methods of deliverance of the matter which defines the objectivity of galvanization of the unorganized nature of the social for the eventual entanglement with the rhythm of the cultural complexes of the economy that is invented from the tradition of dialectics of the social.

The big question is not that how the economy or the forms of social formation could be determined through the intervention of the definite production relation but the question is how the level of the social is forced to adduce to the growth as object and its transformation in a way that goes beyond the limitation of the space as given under the social. The problems occur when the pace of those transformations in the object could not go forward in mitigating the exact performance of the object as growth among the members of the social whole which are full of nothingness and hence not within the significance of the language of the production .The social is a complex of the abstraction of the object which is at the same time a reflection of the truth in the moment of the complex but the considerations of the abstraction is thwarted when the logic of the existence of that complex is questioned by the force which is determined to bring transgression to the idea of the spirit of the object itself. In India , the object of the economy has been presented as to bring down the sordid malcontents of the previous mode of the production relation and through division of the interests between the organizers of the new mode of the process of generating the positive environment for the economy and the followers of that new mode of production and in between those groups the interests of the vast majority of the population have been ingrained in the form of the poverty and which has to be conquered through the extension of the networks of the organized space of that objectified process of growth .That specific process of growth has been isolated from the other necessities of the composite whole of the social and its cause is posited as the sine qua non to freedom and the idea of development . The contrast arises when the practice of doing with the elements of freedom and development has not been equipped with the strength of the right to join in the internalities of the profits that comes out of the role of the big worth of the finance-capital. Generally, in the context of the democratic

norms in governing a state and particularly of the aspect of well-being certain measures are taken in to account .For example , the importance of the democratic practices which could translate the ideas inscribed in a democratic constitution and in fact even if the ideals of democracy or the presence of the democratic institutions are held intact but if the democratic practices are rather poor and in an environment of weak follow up public action then the pressure of the economic inequalities could rather become more sharp upon the state of the majority who are really in deprivation and other multiple kinds of stagnation .Particularly in that context the public action with support of the state could much lessen the burden of those inequalities . But of course a definite and truly egalitarian perspective must have to be offered in that context.

IV

The concept of the well-being and its varied measures have been analyzed in one of the writings of the eminent economist Professor Partha Dasgupta thus 'Measures of well-being can take one of two forms : they can reflect the constituents of well-being , or alternatively , they can be measures of the access that people have to the determinants of well-being .Indices of health , welfare and freedom of choice , and more specifically , basic liberties , are instances of the first ; and those which reflect the availability of food, clothing , shelter , potable water , legal aid , education facilities, health care, resources devoted to national security , and income in general, are examples of the latter....The constituents of well-being can be thought of as outputs, and the determinants of these constituents their inputs.' There is also a constitutional guarantee as reflected in the Articles 39 & 41 of the Directive Principles which has dealt with particularly the various important issues of the common people. But still, in aspect of income inequality India's policy makers have failed to eradicate the imbalance in terms of access to resources and other ingredients of the liberal economic foundation where the top rich class has become successful in reaching out to the competitive set up of the international trade regime as well as gathering wealth which is phenomenally high in comparison to the resources of the poor or the lower middle classes. It is also true that measuring inequality through the income distribution is not the sole yardstick in terms of the

effects of particular economic system and which has been pointed out in one of the essays by Professor Amartya Sen '...there are limitations in trying to get at poverty measurement only through income-confined measure of poverty -no matter how sophisticated .Surely , we must take note of what low income and other disadvantages do to people to make their lives more deprived ,but not be bogged down to confining ourselves to the instrumental space of incomes only.' Beyond the measure of income inequality in the paradigmatic approach of development, it is emphasized that the 'development consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency.' How the elements of freedom could contribute in strengthening the base of the person's 'wellbeing' and the 'agency aspect' which in turn could put an end to the deprivations in terms of the person's right to a decent livelihood as well as his positionality in regard to the democratic ideals of the state have been analyzed critically in the voluminous writings of Professor Amartya Sen. In fact , in the emergence of our identities in society it becomes imperative in recognizing two vital points of importance in relation to the specific process of identity formation ,i.e. one is whether the social identities formed with the choices of the people and the other is whether it has been formed by the 'passive recognition' of the people. In such discussions about the phenomena of development, the question is not 'how much is produced but what is produced and how it is distributed 'and it has been opined very bluntly that ' the new development strategy ...must reject the thesis that poverty can be attacked indirectly through the growth rates filtering down to the masses .It must be based on the premise that poverty must be attacked directly .' To eradicate various lacks and backwardness in terms of purely economic growth and how the outcome would be organized more ably in making out a congenial atmosphere for freedom of choices ,the Third World countries basically have been following after the decline of the USSR largely the political economy of the capitalist regimes .With the aid of the IMF and the World Bank the activities of the poor undeveloped nations have been largely funded by the Western Capitalist nations and through which the economies of the Third World have been sought to be freed of the previous drawbacks in the organization of the resource utilizations and above all ,the formation of a strong market-commodity relations based upon the indigenous growth of the mobilization of the networks of capital and the market.

For the specific objective of the material backwardness as well as to strengthen the bases of freedoms it became necessary to orient the political economy with the principles of the liberalism by which it is assumed that 'there are many conflicting and incommensurable conceptions of the good ,each compatible with the full autonomy and rationality of human persons' and due to those characteristics of the good it is emphasized on the presumption 'it is a natural condition of a free democratic culture that a plurality of conceptions of the good is pursued by its citizens.' In order to establish an well-ordered society it is essential to put emphasis upon the idea of 'justice as fairness' and through the conceptual understanding of the well-ordered society it is meant to a social space where the citizens will agree based on 'what is just free and equal moral persons with different and opposing conceptions of the good.' The paradigm of the political standpoints of liberalism in respect of the justice as political is confirmed to three basic characteristics:

- a. It applies in the first instance to the basic structure of society (assumed in the case of justice as fairness to be a democratic society). This structure consists of the main political, economic, and moral institutions, and how they fit together as one unified system of social cooperation.
- b. It can be formulated independently of any particular comprehensive doctrine, religious, philosophical, or moral. While we suppose that it may be derived from, or supported by, or otherwise related to one or more comprehensive doctrines (indeed. we hope it can be thus related to many such doctrines), it is not presented as depending upon, or as presupposing, any such view.
- c. Its fundamental ideas- such ideas in political liberalism as those of political society as a fair system of social cooperation, of citizens as reasonable and rational, and free and equal -all belong to the category of the political and are familiar from the public political culture of a democratic society and its traditions of interpretation of the constitution and basic laws, as well as of its leading historical documents and widely known political writings.'

So, in a society of the goods where the justice is not conventionally positioned against the necessities of the political ,the ideals of political liberalism based upon the democratic institutions and the relevance of the sufficient categories of choices in matters of freedom could give a definite shape to the forms of a well ordered society .But , that kind of liberalism is usually conformed to the ideas of liberalism in economic aspects and where a deep relationship could develop between the two segments of the social whole (between the owners of the big finance capital and the political reality).

The most extreme viewpoint which has been offered by the supporters of the neo-liberal economic policies is that there is no alternative of the capitalist framework for bringing a prosperous pattern of livelihood to all and in fact to put an end to the web of poverty it becomes highly necessary to open up the economy for the other countries which could contribute to the growth of those countries through their investments in varied sectors of an economy. In India , the bureaucratic transformation of the fiscal and trade policies were oriented in order to get rid of the imminent financial collapse in the early 1990s and since then it has been asserted that the positive evaluation of the dominant currents of the international economics with particular reference to the potentiality of ending the centuries old poverty and other socio-economic backwardness as well as giving a competitive base to the commerce and industry of the nation which had been lagging behind not only in per capita income or other measures of income but it had been failing to match up with the other late industrialized nations like South Korea or Thailand. The proponents of the neo-liberal free economy are conscious of the fact that in the competitive edge of the production relations the earlier mindset of the policies of import substitution or protecting the indigenous big capital through the policy of licenses rather had become a big burden for establishment of the secured base of the finance capital through which it was hoped to give a great momentum to the social whole also. A whole gamut of the previous policies of the state were termed as 'wrong' in aspect of the specific direction and it was particularly emphasized upon the change of the course of the state's activities towards the industry and commerce in a fundamental sense. In fact, the dramatic turn of the events after 1991 has particularly brought changes to the federal structure of the Indian state. The changing

structure of the economy in terms of the basic policy orientation towards the industry and trade has been determining the 'political mind -set in the country'. But against the neo-liberal set up of the economy ,the claims of the opposite school of thought have been analyzed with the comparative analogy of the 'structural adjustment programmes' and its failure in providing decent pattern of living for the poor. The major thrust of the argument of the critique of the neo-liberalism is that 'liberalizing trade...has been taking place within an investment -reducing deflationary regime.' Angus Deaton in a paper written jointly with fellow economist Jean Dreze (2009), also reiterated it in his Nobel Prize lecture (2015) that 'In spite of the historically unprecedented rates of growth in India since 1980 , in spite of upward sloping calorie Engel curve , and in spite of its near record levels of child malnutrition , per capita consumption of calories and protein has been falling ...' If the two strands of thinking could be surmised then it is clear that one point of view particularly ,the liberal trade policy supporters has given importance on lessening the role of the state in determining the policies in terms of fiscal aspects or trade-industry regime and on the other hand , the critics of the neo-liberal set up have been arguing for increasing role of the state in the affairs of the political economy . Against such viewpoints of the supporters and critics of liberalism, there is another view where the role of the state has been shown to be affirmative and proactive in protecting the 'vulnerable groups against economic adversity resulting from the operation of the market.'

The economic reforms introduced in the 1990s revealed the internal dynamics of the powerful elite when there was urgent departure from the status quo which became problematic in maintaining the coherence between the governance and the actual political reality. The political fickleness in terms of the governing the state with a strong elected government has been largely controlled and disciplined through the rhetoric of neo-liberalism and the strength of the state has been organized through the medium of the transformed economic basics. In a deflationary regime and in fact the perennial character of the crisis in the capitalist neo liberal market economy ,the greatest misdeed is done to the foundation of the people's belief on the ideological apparatus of the state and that kind of melancholy has been impacting us severely and for example even in the perfectly organized

capitalist economies like United States of America the whole question of inequality has been damaging the centre of the democracy itself 'we are paying a high price for our inequality -an economic system that is less stable and less efficient , with less growth , and a democracy that has been put into peril.' In a neo-liberal regime, the function of the state should be definitely oriented with the programme of providing each citizen of the country with the organized forms of the 'capability' and in a functioning democratic liberal state the pragmatic notion of the capability will open up 'the range of options a person has in deciding what kind of life to lead.' But to energize the citizens under a truly democratic consensus, the need of the hour is to lessen the power structure in respect of the economic, political institutions because the decisions of mobilizing the state apparatus and its ideological correlations have been formed with the basic feature of the power that it 'has to do with whatever decisions men make about the arrangements under which they live, and about the events which make up the history of their times. Events that are beyond human decision do happen; social arrangements do change without benefit of explicit decision. But in so far as such decisions are made, the problem of who is involved in making them is the basic problem of power.' In such a moment where the power is expressed through the capacity of taking decisions and in another way where the power of taking decisions have been manifested in an authoritarian way but the continuous changelessness in the mobility of the democratic ideals and lack of practicing those ideals could a praxis which would develop a specific and peculiar class of 'inactionary'. Of course in a liberal economy too , the state has the supreme power of leading the citizens to reach at their objectives as well as the 'power to coerce' but at the same moment it has the responsibilities of ending the process of alienation from the real base of growth and by dint of the conscious efforts made by the state's governance to deconstruct the reality from its cobwebs of malcontents those severely could put obstruction in the realization of the goals of freedoms and thus contribute to the erosion of the faith on the democratic norms as a whole.

The problems generated by the uncontrolled liberalism could put obsessive reliance on the discourse of growth save the infrastructure of the growth through which the persons could end their various disabilities from the living social whole. In Indian perspective, we have been witnessing serious efforts in accentuation of

the pace of reforms in ably participating in the international free trade regime but not fundamentally changing the centre of the social concentrations of power when the social is ruptured from the spirit which has been determined through the unequal centre of the political-economy.

The necessary task now before the democratic state apparatus is to equip the superstructure of the base of the people's consciousness in such a pattern that increasing level of their active participation in the practical politics of the state would be guaranteed through the mechanism of distributing the resources in a definite and advanced production relation based upon the mutual agreement of the state and the people. The political society has the capacity to make derivation out of the periodic crises of the neo-liberal economic set up a reliable political standpoint where the liberalism in the true sense would be established which means the exact settling of the space of the rights and freedoms of the people amidst the deconstruction of the methods of the political economy.

End Notes :

¹ Dreze,J., Sen, A. (2002). Democratic Practice and Social Inequality in India, *Journal of Asia and African Studies*, 37(2),6-37, doi: 10.1177/002190960203700202.

² Dasgupta, P. (1990). Well-Being in Poor Countries. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25(31), 1713–1720. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4396588>.

³ The Article 39 has specifically mentioned 'the State shall direct its policy to secure that the citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ; that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are distributed to subserve the common good; that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment ; that there is equal pay for equal work for both men

and women; that the health and strength of workers and that the tender age of children are not abused ; that the children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment .’ In the Article 41, it has been mentioned about ‘right to work, right to education and right to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want.’ Bakshi, P. (2018). *The Constitution of India*. Universal Law Publishing, Gurgaon, p.cxxxix.

⁴ Amartya, Sen. (2017). *Poverty Revisited: A Postscript*. In Abhijit Vinayak Banerjee, Pranab Bardhan.

Rohini Somanathan and T.N. Srinivasan (Eds.). *Poverty and Income Distribution in India*. Juggernaut, p.606.

⁵ Sen, Amartya. (2000). *Development as freedom*. New York: Anchor Books, p.xii.

⁶ Sen, Amartya. (1990). *On Ethics and Economics*. Blackwell Publishing, New Delhi, Pp.58-89.

⁷ Sen, A. (1999). *Reason before Identity*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.6.

⁸ Haq, Khadija. (2017). *The Crisis in Development Strategies*. In Haq, Khadija. (Ed.). Economic Growth with Social Justice –Collected Writings of Mahbub ul Haq. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, Pp.124-125, doi: 10.1093/oso/9780199474684.001.0001.

⁹ Rawls, J. (1982). Social unity and primary goods. In A. Sen & B. Williams (Eds.). *Utilitarianism and Beyond*, Pp. 159-186. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511611964.010.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Rawls, J. (1995). Political Liberalism: Reply to Habermas. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 92(3), Pp. 132–180. doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2940843>.

¹² Bhagwati, J. (2010). *What Went Wrong?* In Mukherji, R. (Ed.). *India's Economic Transition –The Politics of Reforms*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, Pp. 27-51.

¹³ Mukherji, R. (2007). *Introduction- the State and Private Initiative in India*. In Mukherji, R. India's economic transition: the politics of reforms, Oxford University Press, Oxford; New York, p.22.

¹⁴ Ahluwalia,I. & Little, I. (2012). *India's Economic Reforms and Development –Essays for Manmohan Singh*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.6.

¹⁵ 'Given knowledge of the historical trends, it was alarming indeed to find that in Sub-Saharan Africa, in the course of the 1980s, under structural adjustment programmes advised by the IMF; high rates of export volume growth had been associated with steeply falling per head food grains and food staples availability.' Patnaik, Utsa. (2007). *The Republic of Hunger and Other Essays*. The Merlin Press, p.4

¹⁶ Ibid, p.161.

¹⁷ Deaton, A. (2016). Measuring and Understanding Behavior, Welfare, and Poverty. *The American Economic Review*, 106(6), 1221–1243. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43861121>. Also in Deaton,A. & Dreze, J.2009. Food and Nutrition in India: Facts and Interpretations, *Economic & Political Weekly*, 44(07),42-65.

¹⁸ Nayar, R. (2010). *Globalization, Geopolitics, and India –An Introduction*, In Nayar, R. (Ed.) *Globalization and Politics in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.23.

¹⁹ 'Beyond the structural changes, the political process of economic liberalization was also revealing of the underlying power dynamics. As I analyse this, the basic picture that emerges is one of the political and economic elite attempting to accommodate each other, but within the context of considerable fragmentation of political power; these political dynamics, I will suggest, was economically consequential. To highlight only some of the main events, as the balance of payments situation deteriorated throughout 1990, the issue of India

approaching the IMF for a ‘structural adjustment’ type of loan was again at the forefront; India accepted such a loan in 1990 with a caretaker government in charge. In early 1991 then, just a couple of months before the ‘big bang’ announcement of new liberal economic policies, the CII floated a ‘theme paper’ in April 1991, arguing for radical shifts in India’s economic policies towards a more open and competitive economy shifts in India’s economic policies towards a more open and competitive economy. When the Congress government, with Manmohan Singh as the finance minister, actually announced the policy shift, the main forces supporting such a shift included the narrow political leadership, the technocratic policy elite, a segment of Indian capital, and external actors, expressing their preferences mainly in the form of policy conditionality set by the IMF.²⁰

Atul, Kohli. (2006). *Politics of Economic Growth in India, 1980-2005, Part II: The 1990s and Beyond*. In Balakrishnan, P. (Ed.). (2017). *Economic Growth and its Distribution in India –Essays from Economic and Political Weekly*. Orient BlackSwan Private Limited, Hyderabad, p.52.

²⁰ Stiglitz, J. (2013). *The Price of Inequality*. Penguin Books, London, p.xii.

²¹ Dreze, J. & Sen, A. (2002). *India Development and Participation*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, Pp.35-36.

²² Mills, C. W. (1958). The Structure of Power in American Society. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 9(1), Pp. 29–41. doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/587620>.

²³ ‘The state has one basic resource which in pure principle is not shared with even the mightiest of its citizens: the power to coerce. The state can seize money by the only method which is permitted by the laws of a civilized society, by taxation. The state can ordain the physical movements of resources and the economic decisions of households and firms without their consent. These powers provide the possibilities for the utilization of the state by an industry to increase its profitability.’

²⁴ Stigler, G. J. (1971). The Theory of Economic Regulation. *The Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science*, 2(1), Pp. 3–21. doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3003160>.