

Bhagavad Gita and Hindu Modes of Capitalist Accumulation in India

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Author post-print (accepted) deposited by Coventry University's Repository

Original citation & hyperlink:

Nayak, B 2017, 'Bhagavad Gita and Hindu Modes of Capitalist Accumulation in India' *Society and Business Review*, vol 13, no.2 151-164
<https://dx.doi.org/10.1108/SBR-09-2017-0071>

DOI 10.1108/SBR-09-2017-0071

ISSN 1746-5680

Publisher: Emerald

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Bhagavad Gita, Hindu Religious Ethics and Modes of Capitalist Accumulation in India

Abstract

The paper attempts to understand and expand the idea of capitalist accumulation process from social structures of accumulation theory to religious structures of accumulation within the Indian context. It analyses the philosophical tenets of Hindu religious philosophy as outlined in the Bhagavad Gita. It argues that the ideological narratives within the Bhagavad Gita are concomitant with the logic of capitalism. It gives social and spiritual legitimacy to a specific form of production and accumulation processes by rationalizing and justifying socio-economic stratification based on eternal inequality. The paper aims to advance a new concept called “*Hindu modes of accumulation*” by advancing the theoretical understanding of the theological processes in the Hindu religion which reinforces capitalism and capitalist social relations in India. The paper focuses on the interface between cardinal principles of Hindu religion as outlined in the Bhagavad Gita and capitalist modes of social and economic processes in India.

Introduction

The Bhagavad Gita (Song of God) or Gita has eighteen chapters with seven hundred verses scripture that forms part of the Bhishma Parva of the Hindu epic called Mahabharata. It is set in the form of a dialogue between Arjuna (the warrior) and his guide; the charioteer Lord Krishna (the protagonist). It is considered that Gita was composed between fifth century to second century BCE (Flower, 2012; Upadhyaya, 1998). Doniger (2013) considers that Gita was composed during ca.100 CE. Adluri and Bagchee (2016) have tried to apply critical historical method to historicise Gita and put it within a historical context but their research ends up in conforming Bhargava (1977) who argued that “no sober historian” would “concede that the *Bhagavad Gita* contains the actual words spoken by Krishna to Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukhetra” (Bhargava 1977: 357). The date of composition of Gita and its mythological history remains as unresolved debate among scholars. The other challenge for a researcher is volumes of commentaries, diversity of interpretations and numerous publications on Gita in different languages. More than six thousand commentaries are available on Gita (Rao, 2013) and four hundred books on Gita is available only in Malayalam language (Dalal, 2014). Despite of all diverse interpretations, Gita managed to synthesise the diverse Smriti traditions of Hindu religion within a structured philosophical outlook.

This paper is a non-historicist reading of the Gita from the perspectives of Marxian theories of capitalist accumulation in India. Methodologically, the paper follows analytical traditions within Marxist philosophy to expand social and religious structures of accumulation to conceptualise a specific mode of capitalist accumulation i.e. Hindu Modes of Accumulation where producers are separated from means of production and their own product, labourer from their own labour by spiritual processes with capitalist logic. It is neither a historical process nor constitutive relationship between Hindu religion and capitalism that can find its place within the debates of transition theories based on teleological narratives and totality of historical materialism i.e. pre-capitalist to capitalist society. The Hindu religious belief and its contemporary practice reflects continuity and change in different stages of its development; therefore, strict periodisation of its history within transition theory is difficult.

Canonisation of Gita as National Scripture

Gita used to be another significant religious text within Hindu religion but it is considered as the representative of Hindu religion today. It is one of the most translated texts after the Bible. The Gita has achieved its canonical status with colonial patronage when Warren Hastings recommended that East India Company should publish the translation of Gita. Because “Gēētā a performance of great originality; of a sublimity of conception, reasoning and diction, almost unequaled; and a single exception, among all known religions of mankind, of a theology accurately corresponding with that of the Christian dispensation, and most powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines” (Franklin 1785, p. xxii). Further, “on 9 December 1784, Hastings explains his motives behind this recommendation in a letter to John Scott: My letter to Mr Smith introducing Mr Wilkin’s Translation of the Gheeta is also Business, although began in Play. It is the effect or part of a system which I long since laid down, and supported for reconciling the People of England to the Natives of Hindostan (Franklin 1785, p. vii); Thus, serving a fortuitous combination of play and business, and construed as corresponding to the Christian spirit, the Gita embarked on a journey to bridge cultures” (Rao, 2013: 468). Davies (2014) has argued that English translation of Gita is a political act of British colonialism and another means of governing India. However, Gita has been used and interpreted in different ways. The leaders of Indian freedom struggle used Gita to inspire anti colonial struggle¹. Gandhi (2014)’s interpretation and use of Gita reinforced its canonical status among Hindu religious texts and within Indian society as well (Sawhney, 2009:86). Nathuram Godse; the ideological inspiration of Hindu right-wing politics used Gita to justify his action of killing Gandhi (George, 2015). All ideological currents (liberal, left, radical, Gandhian and right-wing leaders) within Indian nationalist struggle used Gita in their own ways (Davies, 2014).

There are various interpretations of Gita in terms of its essence and relevance for contemporary world. The cognitive psychotherapists find Gita useful in their practice (Bhatia et. al, 2013). Sen (2009) has discussed the idea of justice by looking at the debate between Krishna and Arjuna in Gita. Anderson (2012) criticised Sen but argued that Gita is a significant source of moral reasoning. Kwak and Han (2013) locate philosophical significance to understand the existential issue of (in) compatibility between determinism and freedom in Gita for the question of moral agency. For Rarick and Nickerson (2009), Gita offers lessons of managerial consciousness for humanistic and inclusive leadership². Gita is important for the enhancement of global business practices (Natesan, Keeffe and Darling, 2009). Muniapan and Satpathy (2013) have argued that Gita is useful for corporate governance and corporate social responsibility. Despite of Gita’s problematic relationship with liberalism, it is a transnational public text which offers ‘some kind of antidote to the barbarism of modernity’ (Bayly,2010:281). Therefore, “Aldous Huxley insisted that the Gita belongs to the world, and if some Hindus today insist that Gita belongs to Hinduism, capitalism insists Gita belongs to the consumer” (Rao, 2013: 471). In such a context, the Hindu right wing forces in India today demand that *Bhagavad Gita is a secular text and be* officially declared India’s *rashtriya grantha*, or national scripture (Nanda, 2016:38). In this way, colonial business patronage, patriotism, religious politics of postcolonial India and capitalist logic within Gita led to its canonical status in contemporary world.

¹ See; chapter four of Nadkarni (2017) which provides details on the impact of Gita on Indian freedom fighters.

² Hee and Gurd (2010) locate leadership essentials in Gita whereas Wiese (2016) has argued that Gita helps in the decision making process.

The *Gita* is one of the most important texts in the Hindu religion today where the protagonists were from lower caste (Johnson, 1994). So, Johnson considered *Gita* as a non-Brahmanical text in Hindu religion and thus has the tenets of more egalitarian values (ibid: X) which can be contested³. Dr Baba Saheb Ambedkar⁴ contested such representations. He has argued that discriminatory Brahmanical text of Manusmriti survives in *Gita* which is ‘Manu in a nutshell’ (Ambedkar, 2010:81). Ambedkar further criticised *Gita* as a dubious philosophical narrative in defence of Brahmanical counter revolution and religious dogmas caste in Hindu religion (Ambedkar, 2014). Hindu religion continues to influence Indian economic system at different periods of its history. In postcolonial India, industrialists use Hindu religion as “a set of beliefs and a code of ethical conduct than in a set of ritual observances. In this sense, the effect of industry is to change the traditional conception of the essentials of Hinduism from an emphasis on the correct ritual observances and family disciplines to an emphasis on philosophical principles, devotional faith and right conduct” (Singer, 1972: 342). After thirty years of Singer’s study, John Harris has conducted a similar study and reconfirmed the findings of Singer. Hindu religion continues to play a significant role in the everyday economic activities in India (Harris, 2003).

Hindu Religion and Capitalism in India

The relationship between Hinduism and the capitalist system established by Weberian scholarship and its legacies have been criticised on several accounts (Gellner, 1982). But nevertheless, the centrality of the argument still stands and contributes to our understanding of contemporary capitalism in India and its relationship with Hindu religion. The modernisation theorists take Weber (1958)’s argument further and consider Hinduism as a “major stumbling block for modernisation” in India (Sinha, 1974: 519)⁵. In the Weberian sense, modernisation indicates rationalisation of capitalist order by removing capitalist vices from the system. Such arguments of the modernisation theorists, following Weberian legacy, can be challenged in reverse on the ground that Hinduism provides the philosophical and ideological ground, social and spiritual legitimacy to the neo-liberal market and rationalises the capitalist virtues to grow in Indian society and co-opts the tenets of resistance movements within its project.

³ It is not necessary to be a member of Brahmin caste to speak the language of Brahmins. *Brahminism* is an ideology of hegemony based on hierarchical Hindu social order to control social and economic activities of the masses. It can be used by any members of the caste order within Hindu caste system as per their social location and economic status. In the context of *The Bhagavad Gita*, the ruling class and higher caste warriors were speaking the language of Brahmins to continue their hegemonic control over the masses by preaching a theory which asks the masses to follow the authority without questioning its power and legitimacy.

⁴ Ambedkar is the father of Indian constitution and a leading figure of Indian freedom struggle and social crusader against caste discrimination.

⁵ Kapp (1963) made similar kind of argument in the context of Hindu religion and its impact on the social and economic development in India. Myrdal (1968) and Mandelbaum (1970) explained India’s economic backwardness and its relationship with Hinduism. In the context of globalisation, Huntington (1996)’s thesis assumed that the progress of globalisation would be severely constrained by religious barriers including one from Hinduism, whereas Fukuyama (1992) argues that globalisation processes have the potential to homogenize all civilizations under western modernity. But in reality, it is not the western modernity but consumer culture of the global market that hegemonise the world by forming alliance with religions. In India, it has taken the help of Hindu religion.

The post-colonial development planning is also influenced by Indian's diverse culture which provides a resistance to monolithic neo-classical economics (Cameron and Ndhlovu, 2001:61-72). Cameron and Ndhlovu (2001) have taken the example of the culture that derives from the Hinduism or Hindu religion⁶ to locate the intellectual and philosophical legacy of resistance to neo-liberal policies of liberalisation and globalisation. There is no doubt that the Hindu religion has an immense influence on economic thoughts, economic policies and development planning in India (Kapp, 1963). But the basic fallacies in the argument put forth by Cameron and Ndhlovu (2001) remain within the contradictory and often confusing projects within Hindu religion that help the neo-liberal economy to grow in the contemporary Indian economic landscape.

The dominant class and their capitalist ideologues are trying to integrate people with the market and trying to mould and convince that it is in their own interest to undermine the growing resistance to the model of free market economy under neo-liberalism (Petras & Henry, 2001:8). In this process, the integrative and absorbing role played by the religions (Geertz, 1965) often provide an ideological veil to pursue such goal and the right wing forces take it further⁷. In India, Hindu religion and its right wing forces provide a base to uphold and pursue the economic interests of the neo-liberal market of the capitalist class and mould people accordingly. The relationship between neo-liberalism⁸ and Hinduism can be conceptualised from Weber (1963)'s comparative analysis of world religions, their impact on social and economic development and the origin of modern capitalist societies. It is not the starting point but a definite demarcating point to understand the relationship between religion and capitalist economy of our contemporary times. The Weberian legacies continue to dominate the discourse on religion and economic development in the works of many researchers⁹. Gradually the interaction between religion and economy¹⁰ has created institutionalised forms of religious activities with economic motives. Over time, religious organisations and their institutions continue to exist in one form or another and continue to influence development policies and economics in general by institutionalising their right to

⁶ There is an artificial demarcation to differentiate Hindu religion from Hinduism. The debate concludes that 'Hindu' is a religion where as 'Hinduism' is a way of life. For details on this debate, see; Sen (2005).

⁷ After all the reproduction of capitalist economic relations needs ideological and political support (Peet, 1997; Sayer, 1997). The right wing forces of world's four main religions (Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Judaism) are interested in consolidating their base for political power to boost their economic interests to serve the interests of the elites (Saldanha, 2003).

⁸ The neo-liberal philosophy is based on the ideas of an open market that creates poverty, generates marginalisation and increases a class of impoverished population (Marx, 1978). Many non-Marxist scholars follow the Marxian tradition while making a critique of open market systems or free market capitalism and state the cultural, religious or the ideological ethics that sustain such a system, is the root cause of economic injustice and underdevelopment (Meek, 1989; Korten, 1995).

⁹ For example; Berger (1986), Novak (1993), Bellah (1957), Redding (1990), Clegg and Redding (1990), Martin (1990), Caplan (1991) and Fogel (2001).

¹⁰ Religions in general serve as an instrument of mass domestication through regulatory mechanisms to control individual as well as community lives and labour. The regulatory mechanism imposed by religion helps in disciplining the labour which is a requirement for the sustenance of capitalism and its system (Grossman, 2006). "The construction of norms for the regulation of social life and individual behaviour is a compelling need of capitalism, so long as it wishes to proclaim itself as a universal form of social life (Borkenau, 1971: 96 as cited in Grossman, 2006:201)". In India, Hindus constitute 85 percent of the population and thus Hindu religion provides the base to control the labour power of the masses.

own property, run educational and health institutions¹¹, serving as non-familial, non-royal, non-political social participation beyond state mechanisms (Little, 1978). This has given rise to the idea of NGOs and COs¹² affiliated with religious organisations and ideologies carrying forward their work among the people by creating a social base for these organisations with a religious motivation that sustains poverty, inequality and exploitation and works as an assuaging agency to pacify the resistance movements against the predicaments created by the capitalist market system. But capitalist market systems talk about ‘participation, empowerment and democratisation’. Such language is the part of the new ‘theology of development’ which has its root in religion (Henkel and Stirrat, 2002:177). It provides the cultural, philosophical and ideological justification for the new development orthodoxy¹³ carried out by NGOs and sponsored by both state and non-state actors.

There are many attempts to study the relationship between the Hindu right and neo-liberalism. The work of Deshpande (2000:211) reveals that there is a contradictory, as well as complementary, relationship between Hindutva and neo-liberal economy that may go beyond dichotomy. Thus, it is difficult to define the relationship between the two as one dimensional. In her work, Desai (2006) locates an uneasy interaction between neo-liberal economy and Hindu right-wing politics. But she affirms that the Hindu right wing forces are pursuing the agendas of neo-liberal development. However, the contradictions and collaborations between Hindu right wing politics and neo-liberal economy is a part of the larger philosophy of neo-liberalism¹⁴. It is Hindu religion that provides philosophical justification to the Hindu right wing ruling elites to create a hegemonic structure¹⁵ based on Hindu majoritarianism to pursue

¹¹ Berman (1983) has studied the legal history of NGOs/COs and their religious affiliation.

¹² The development anthropologists consider NGOs/COs as ‘non governmental sectors of development industry’ (Stirrat, 1996; Ferguson, 1997:8) which creates a ‘culture of consultancy’ (Stirrat, 2000) and work as ‘cultural consultants’ (Henkel and Stirrat, 2002:169) in the field of development. As a student of political economy of public policy, I call them ‘salary seeking social servants’ who find NGOs/COs in tribal or rural development as a sector of employment to earn their livelihood and pursue their cultural hegemony in the rural and tribal areas of India. NGOs have achieved many things but the structures of power that control and determine the resource allocation for development at different levels (locally, nationally and globally) have remained unchanged (Nyamugasira (1998:297). Thus the structures of inequality and exploitation that emanate from these levels have continued to exist in our contemporary development discourse.

¹³ In the project of new development orthodoxy, “control is exercised in such a way that participants appear to be controlling themselves ; individuals attest to their conversion; sinners admit their faults before they see the light (Henkel and Stirrat, 2002:178)”. It is a religious revivalist tradition followed by the advocates of neo-liberal economy of development in which they admit their failures and mistakes (for details on the World Bank’s acknowledgement of its mistakes, see; *Bretton Woods Update*, No-18, August 2000).

¹⁴ The philosophy of neo-liberalism requires contradictions and collaborations for restructuring of the system which can reproduce neo-liberal policies within national, regional and local conditions (Brenner & Theodore, 2002: 351). It is central to the continual of neo-liberalism itself (ibid: 375). Such an objective of neo-liberal philosophy is only possible through aligning itself with religion, race, culture and ethnic politics (Jacobs, 1996; Appadurai, 2000) which helps embed neo-liberal values in societies. The process of embeddedness creates a totality of culture or cultural hegemony in the society. In India, neo-liberalism finds Hindu religion and culture; majoritarianism as a tool to pursue such an agenda.

¹⁵ Hirsch defined ‘hegemonial structure’ as ‘the historically specific connection between an accumulation regime and a mode of regulation that, together, can secure the long run economic (valorization) and political–ideological (legitimation, force, and consensus) conditions for the reproduction of the total system under the dominance of the ruling class despite the conflictual

capitalist economic policies by creating a social and political condition for capital accumulation.

The contemporary debates on capitalist accumulation in India are dominated by both institutional (i.e. state and market) and non-institutional processes (i.e. caste, class, and gender) of marginalisation, dispossession, and exclusion. This debate precipitately based on and owes its lineages to the philosophical binary (i.e. labour vs. capital, owner and worker, capitalist, and proletariat) within Marxist thoughts. The accumulation debate has inherited such binary in terms of capitalist and non capitalist social relations. Marx's notion of primitive accumulation involves non capitalist (social) class relations which he ridiculed as 'original sin in theology' (Marx,) but within the structures of economic paradigms born out of class processes and class conflicts within social and religious context.

Theoretical Context from Social Structures of Accumulation to Religious Structures of Accumulation

The social structures of accumulation as an approach offers theoretical and historical accounts of different social, economic, and political institutions and their dynamics to understand in the process of capitalist development (Gordon et al, 1982). There are seven distinctive regulationist schools of thought within social structures of accumulation theory with their own historical context and subsequent trajectories (Jessop and Sum, 2006:19). However, there is unity among these seven schools of thought in terms of objectives and conceptualisation of social structures of accumulation. The concept of social structures of accumulation theory depicts the role of social institutions, shared and collective identities, culture, common values, norms and conventions, networks, and procedures in the process of capital accumulation. This process needs specific social and political conditions to support, facilitate and guide long wave of capital accumulation process for a sustained period by reinforcing economic growth (ibid: 28). There analytical unity among regulationists to locate social structures of accumulation by looking at four different levels of analysis; the labour process, the regime of accumulation, its modes of regulation and societalization (ibid: 59) Apart from conceptual and analytical unity, regulationist also pursue four similar goals i.e. (1) describe the institutions and practices of capitalism; (2) explain the various crisis tendencies of modern capitalism and/or likely sources of crisis resolution; (3) analyse different stages (periods, phases and so on) of capitalism and compare accumulation regimes and modes of regulation in a given period of capitalist development; and (4) examine the social embedding and social regularization of economic institutions and conduct growth (ibid: 14-15). However, various economic contradictions and social conflicts based on different cultural, religious, and social compositions create instability for both regimes of capital accumulation and regulations of accumulation. In such a condition, religion comes to rescue capital accumulation process by creating conditions to overcome inherent contradictions and conflicts within capitalism.

The postcolonial capitalism in India blurs the boundaries of different institutions, regimes, processes on one hand and created specialised regional zones of capital accumulation. These special economic industrial and mining, export and import zones where both primitive and virtual modes of accumulation is taking place without destroying old identities and networks

character of capitalist social relations' (Häusler and Hirsch 1987: 653, 1989; Hirsch and Roth 1986: 38-9; Hirsch 1983a: 163).

based on caste, gender religion, region, culture and languages. Social and religious structures and networks continue to play a major role in the process of capital accumulation (Mitra et al, 2017).

Bhagavad Gita and Hindu Modes of Accumulation in India

The capitalist accumulation processes and different modes of production debate to understand material and economic progress in the Indian economic historiography isn't new (Patnaik, 1998). The economic historians have studied extensively on the impact of Hindu religion on the Indian economic thoughts (Kapp, 1963; Dasgupta, 1993) in general and economic growth in particular (Rodrik and Subramanian 2004). However, there is scarcity of literature in the Indian economic history to understand the impact of Hindu religion on the *modes of accumulation*. It is important to locate the role of Hindu religious philosophy in establishing conditions in which capital organises and expands through production, circulation, consumption, and distribution.

At the outset, the Hindu religion or Hinduism looks diverse but has strong tendencies of arbitrary and authoritarian outlook in its unstructured theology. It is diverse in its practice as it gives more space to different cults of thoughts, beliefs and spiritual traditions to prevail within its unstructured philosophy. Its unstructured philosophy provides greater freedom to individuals to follow and practice their faith and beliefs in their own way¹⁶. But it is arbitrary in its philosophical principles and goals. Let's take *The Bhagavad Gita* (God's Song) as an example in which the cardinal philosophical principles and goal of Hindu religion is based on the doctrine of *Karma* (duty), which is based on *Dharma* (religion or righteousness), which can provide *Artha* (wealth/power/fame) and be achieved through *Bhakti* (devotion). These four steps can provide the basis for *Gyana/Vidya* (knowledge) for the realisation of the 'self' and the 'other' which can lead towards *Punarjanma* (reincarnation). But the final goal is *Moksa* (deliverance or salvation) or *Nirvana* (free from the cyclic process of birth and rebirth. This is the state where human body/life unites/reunites with the supreme soul; the god). The final goal can be achieved by following the steps of *Karma, Bhakti and Dharma*¹⁷.

The first four principles constitute the path of desire and the last three principles are the path towards renunciation. One can practice and follow any spiritual cult, belief and traditions in the Hindu religion, as there is diversity in means, but the goal and its framework are arbitrary and autocratic. Such philosophy influenced and justified the economic thinking and development planning in India during the neo-liberal regime established during the 1991 economic reforms. Any attempt to question the neo-liberal economic and development policy is considered as anti- development and economic growth is viewed as if it is the salvation for India. Like the theory of *Karma*, the neo-liberal development thinkers answer the questions of inequality, poverty, marginalisation and underdevelopment as state failure, inefficiency of the state and market failure. Like Hindu theology, the advocates of the neo-liberal market talk about the solution of these problems in long run; there is no time limit to achieve it (Nayak, 2007a).

¹⁶ In the Hindu religion, there are 330 million gods and goddesses registered in different religious scripts. The mythically unregistered number of gods and goddesses are growing everyday in India, which reflects the diverse religious practice in the Hindu religion. See; Fuller (1992), (Mehta (1996) and Radhakrishnan (2004) for details.

¹⁷ Based on these ideas, Hindu religion justifies and maintains the hegemony over the social order by caste structure.

Karma and Dharma (duty) led Regimes, Modes, and Structures of Accumulation

The tenth chapter (91st Hymn) of the Rigveda provides lineages to the theory of Karma in Bhagavad Gita. The Karma theory not only determines future destiny but also shapes Hindu society and the structure of its ideology (Jaer, 1998). The theory of *Karma* preaches about the consequences of one's own duty. No one can avoid the process of *Karma* based on *Dharma*. If you do good work then the result will be good and for bad work, there will be bad results. So one's sufferings are the product of one's work and there is nothing external to one's suffering. The problems of inequality and exploitation are the product of this cosmic causation; the *Karma and Dharma*. The logic of this infallible causation can't be questioned. Any attempt to question is considered as *Bidharma* (irreligious and evil) and the goal of *Nirvana/Moksa* can't be achieved. Good *Karma* provides the base for incarnated life. One's birth as male or female within higher caste or lower caste and assigned duties of present life is based on one's previous life's Karma. In this way, it has normalised caste based hierarchical Hindu social order and prescribed Karma (duties) to all people based on their caste hierarchy (Kakar 1992). All need to perform their duties based on Dharma (religion aka Hindu social order) (Mathur, 1991: 68; Ghurey 1963: 48-51). There is no escape from these duties as it is central to achieve renunciation. This theological promise is the core of caste based gendered Hindu social order which is "legitimized by the Karma theory, which makes people believe in the deeds of previous births determining one's status in the present" (Kumar, 2014: 38). It was expected that capitalism would destroy caste and Hindu social order but the expansion of capital has not dissolved or destroyed the caste system in India (Mendelsohn, 1993 and Panini, 1996). Rather in a significant way, Brahmanic Hinduism was strengthened and given a boost by the recycled profits from liberalisation in India (Fuller, 1998). However, Aiyar (2015) argued that caste is going to dissolve with capitalist assault because globalised India has produced 3000 lower caste millionaires hiring upper caste workers. Such economic mobilities did not change the caste structures in the society. The ideological structure of caste and patriarchy creates conditions and forms a significant component in the local social structures of accumulation which is necessary to the working of the corporative project of capital (Basile and Harriss-White, 2000:47). Therefore, the lower caste millionaires are part of this caste led social structures of accumulation and caste is a tool of capitalist expansion in India.

Domestication of labour and the spiritual economy of *Bhakti* (devotion)

The Hindu religion as outlined by the Bhagavad Gita acknowledges 'self' but further philosophical developments in Hindu religious philosophy during latter part of the 20th century called for the abandonment of the individual 'self'. This can be found in the works of Sri Aurobindo who advocates "to make the mind one with the divine consciousness, to make the whole of our emotional nature one love of God everywhere, to make all our works one sacrifice to the Lord of the worlds and all our worship and aspiration one adoration of him and self-surrender, to direct the whole self Godwards in an entire union is the way to rise out of a mundane into a divine existence. This is the Gita's teaching of divine love and devotion, in which knowledge, works and the heart's longing become one in a supreme unification, a merging of all their divergences, an intertwining of all their threads, a high fusion, a wide identifying movement (Sri Aurobindo, 1997: 336)".

The philosophy of Bhakti is essential to domesticate both male and female labour. Particularly, “within an economy where the labour of women and the surplus production of the peasant and artisan are customarily and 'naturally' appropriated by the ruling groups, the high Hindu traditions sought to encompass and retain the management of spiritual 'surplus', and to circumscribe its availability along lines of caste and gender. In this spiritual economy, the liberalising and dissenting forms of *bhakti* emerge as a powerful force which selectively uses the metaphysic of high Hinduism (*maya*, *karma* and rebirth), in an attempt to create an inappropriable excess or transcendent value grounded in the dailiness of a material life within the reach of all (Sangari,1990:1464).

However, the philosophy of Bhakti has revolutionary potential as it can create “a structure of personal devotion which enters into the formation of new groups or classes, into the protests against elite hegemonic groups as well as into the redefining of dominant classes” (Sangari, 1990:1464). However, Bhakti philosophy has been used as a mechanism of social control for men and women in their everyday life. Its internal relationship with Karma and Dharma theory destroys its emancipatory potential with the formation of groups (i.e.Bhakti movement).

Artha (wealth) and Gyana/Vidya (knowledge)

“The wise speak of what is one in many way”
-Rig Veda (knowledge of verses) 1.164.46 (as cited in Doniger, 2013: 10)

Knowledge in Gita is not just about abstract realisation of one’s own self. It strikes harmony between thoughts and actions, goals and achievements, plans and performances by creating a unity of unquestionable thoughts which are central in the capitalist management sciences to increase motivation and efficiency, reduce disorder, confusion, delay and wastage.

Moksa (deliverance or salvation) or Nirvana as the Theological Promise of Capitalism

The theological promise helps in transforming a need based society to a desire base society which solves the problems of over production in the capitalist system. And the promise of salvation and actions around it defeat the very purpose of selfless action. The reincarnation and salvation are twin goals to achieve. How can one work without having these two objectives in mind? But these contradictory messages in Gita are important for the capitalist accumulation process. Because, the internal and external contradictions within and outside institutions are essential for the development of capitalism (Frank, 1973:54). The contradictions take place not only between labour and capital but also between different productive forces operating within different sectors, regions, society and culture and its relations with production. Such process would crack “social structure into so many pieces that they could never be put together again” (James, 1963: 57). Thus, both Marxian and Neomarxian scholarship tend to believe that such inherent contradiction within capitalism will led to its collapse (Weisskopf, 1996). While discussing the Althusserian understanding, Resnick and Wolff (1987: 88) write that “each distinct social process is the site constituted by the interaction of all the other social processes, each contains "within itself" the very different and conflicting qualities, influences, moments, and directions of all those other social

processes that constitute it. In this sense, argues Althusser, each social process is the site of, or "contains," the complex contradictoriness inseparable from over determination. Each social process exists, for Althusser's Marxism, only as a particular, unique concentration of contradictions in its environment".

Conclusion

Hindu religion as outlined in Gita provides a strong philosophical foundation which stabilizes accumulation processes within the Indian economy by social stratification which creates *regimes of accumulation*. The institutional set up of Hindu religious principles, theological promises, norms, and other practices have provided the base for *modes of accumulation*. The *regimes of accumulation* and *modes of accumulation* are two central concepts in *regulation theory* which is significant to understand the history of contemporary economic growth and marginalization in India. In this way, this paper attempts to show how different social, economic, and cultural institutions interact with each other to normalise the crisis in the process of the capitalist accumulation by the Hindu religious philosophy as outlined in the *Bhagavad Gita*. It provides strong philosophical justification for capitalist accumulation process by solving three inherent problems of capitalism i.e. i) historical contradictions between capital and labour in the process of production and distribution, ii) competitions and instabilities in the capitalist structures and modes of production, and iii) conflicts in the process of accumulation of surplus value (profit).

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