INTRODUCTION

The changes that have transpired in the global political and economic scenario since the 1980s have been so profound that their implications for State, civil society and security are far-reaching. Evidently, almost all Third World countries have been trying to grapple with the challenges emerging from the global political and economic landscape, especially since 1991. Howsoever complex these challenges may be, countries like India witnessed the emergence of several social forces, trends, movements, and organisations across a wide socio-political spectrum from the extreme Right to the Left. The revitalisation of the civil society during this period further brought to light the changing contours of development/underdevelopment discourses. Perceptibly, neoliberalism as policy regime has had a great bearing on India’s domestic setting as well as on its economic and security policies. The change of orientation among the major political forces in India could also be discernible when India became fully committed to the neoliberal policy package and globalisation. Consequently, the new path of development, as it evolved since 1980s, raised critical questions about the role of State and civil society in India. The economic and security strategies under the neoliberal paradigm and the role of the Indian State in sustaining these strategies call for a deeper analysis of their implications. However, the thrust of this study is on the ascendency of the New Right (referred to as Hindu Right) forces in India in the background of the changing paradigm of the State and civil society. A major area of investigation is the mobilisational strategies and slogans of the Hindu Right forces in the civil society using security as a critical category of engagement.

Statement of the Problem

The study problematises the changing role of State and civil society under the neoliberal global setting and examines how the New Right forces have been articulating/rearticulating the notion of ‘security’ to gain political advantages. It specifically addresses the implications of the ascendency of the Hindu Right in India as rearticulated through the ideology of Hindutva since 1980s. The emergence of the Hindu Right is also problematised within the larger setting of the crisis of the Indian State consequent upon
the liberalisation of the Indian economy and the introduction of the neoliberal policies. These processes have been accompanied by the reactivation of the civil society at different levels. At one level, the state itself has made room for increased NGO activism and propelled local level self-governing institutions as important stakeholders of governance and development. At other levels, the process of globalisation and its accompanying problems generated several resistance movements, self-assertion of various identities etc. Thus the civil society in India is a complex terrain of activities by various groups, identities, movements, associations and organisations. It is both within and through this realm of activities that the Hindu Right in India has been rearticulating ‘security’ with its cultural-nationalist ideology of Hindutva.

Profile of the Study

For more than three decades, the State-civil society relations across the world have undergone significant changes as a result of the shift in the development paradigm propelled by the programmes and policies of the international financial institutions. The role of State and civil society, particularly in the realm of development and governance, has been rearticulated/redefined in such a way that the former has been forced to withdraw from the social security sphere and the residual space has been contracted out for free individual self-regulation and NGO activism (euphemism for ‘civil society’ in neoliberal terms). The donor agencies defined the newly deployed large array of NGO network along these lines. This has had a great bearing on the Third World State and its developmental trajectory. The changing role of the State—from the major ‘provider’ of social welfarism to the ‘facilitator’—has created new levels of insecurity in many societies. Consequently, there emerged new forms of struggles (variously characterised as new social movements, grassroot movements etc) and resistance against the unbridled pursuit of neoliberal policies under the influence of the global finance capital. India is a case in point. The last two decades witnessed the struggles by the excluded/marginalized sections that have challenged the conventional understanding of society, economy and polity, which tended to redraw the prevailing political equations. It was in this context that the Hindu Right in India sought to create new political spaces through critical engagements in the civil society.
Obviously, the Hindu Right in India tried to appropriate the currents of social dislocations caused by the neoliberal policies by dividing the society into ‘friends’ and ‘foes.’ It has apparently obscured the problems caused by the developmental shift by highlighting a host of imagined ‘threats’ and ‘insecurity.’ It may be noted that way back in the 1980s, the assertion of the Hindu Right in India was linked with the process of economic liberalisation. At one level, it tried to offer an ‘alternative’ of swadeshi in defence of ‘national’ industries and it was made popular through the realm of civil society. The most widely used slogan at this time was ‘Hindutva’ (the central ideology of the Hindu Right). It was the culmination of a long process of communal mobilisation within the civil society, which made its beginning way back in the nineteenth century. What facilitated the process was a host of developments such as the decline of the ‘Congress system,’ the full-fledged integration of the Indian economy into the world capitalist system, the Shah Bano controversy, the attempts to implement the Mandal recommendations, the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue, call for the abrogation of Article 370, Uniform Civil Code etc. All of them had provided enormous political space for the Hindu Right to assert. By politically appropriating the situation, the BJP, the political dispensation of the Hindu Right, became the leader of the ruling coalition (National Democratic Alliance-NDA) at the centre. While in power (1997-2004), the BJP-led coalition pursued a full-fledged neoliberal policy and vigorously implemented globalisation programmes. Meanwhile, as a result of the high pressure from the Hindu Right organisations, the NDA government sought to reinvigorate a militaristic State by undertaking a series of nuclear tests and declared India as a nuclear weapon state. During the Kargil war (between India and Pakistan) in 1999, the NDA government and the Hindu Right organisations mobilised public opinion in its favour by resorting to vigorous campaigns in the civil society. The study thus seeks to analyse the implications of the ascendancy of the Hindu Right in India within the changing paradigm of State and civil society. It also analyses the discourses of security/insecurity generated by the Hindu Right and the NDA government.

**Review of Literature**

There is an impressive array of literature on State, civil society and security from different perspectives and contexts. These include philosophical
writings, critical-rational readings, Marxist, neo-Marxist writings, liberal and neoliberal perspectives etc. Writings by Hobbes, Locke, J.S. Mill, Tocqueville, Max Weber, Marx, Hegel, Gramsci, Habermas, Poulantzas et al. offer critical insights on the complex relations between the State and civil society. There are also books and articles written on civil society from various traditions. For example works by Jessop (1990), Pierson (1996), Kaviraj and Khilnani (2002), Keane (1988), Hall (1995), Cohen and Arato (1992), Chandhoke (1995, 2003) are immensely useful to understand the genealogy of the concept civil society. Andrew Gamble (1998) and David Harvey’s writings offer insights to mould a theoretical background in understanding the New Right. There are also several books and articles written on the Hindu Right in India. Besides original works by V.D. Savarkar, Golwalkar, Deenadayal et al., books and articles written by Walter Anderson and Shridhar D. Danle, Peggy Froerer, Jyotirmaya Sharma, J. Kuruvachira, Bruce Graham, Thomas Blom Hansen and Christopher Jaffrelot, Yogendra K. Malik and V.B. Singh, David Ludden, Gyanendra Pandey, Peter Vander Veer, A.J. Noorani, Achin Vanaik, K. N. Panikar, Das, Anand et al are rich in insights and source materials. However, there is hardly any work linking state, civil society and security within the framework of the New Right/Hindu Right in India. The significance of the present study lies in establishing new linkages between the State, civil society and the Hindu Right ascendancy in India.

Objectives of the Study

The study seeks:

- To comprehend and bring forth the complex relations between the State and civil society in the mainstream discourses.
- To elucidate the changing notions of State, civil society and security under neoliberal conditions and the ascendancy of the New Right forces across the world.
- To explicate the historical evolution of the State and civil society in India and bring out its trajecting during the colonial and postcolonial periods.
- To examine the nature of the Indian State and civil society under neoliberalism and the assertion of the Hindu Right.
• To trace the genealogy of Hindutva and analyse it within the framework of the New Right ideology.
• To elaborate the mobilisational strategies of the Sangh Parivar and its notion of security.
• To analyse the implications of the policies of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) headed by the BJP.

Hypotheses

• State and civil society are interrelated as well as interrogated realms. However, the notions regarding the State, civil society and security have undergone significant changes during the neoliberal era;
• State-civil society relations in India appear to have shown a complex pattern, different from the experience of the advanced capitalist countries;
• The Hindu Right in India initially used the challenges of economic liberalisation for mobilisation, but became a votary of the same paradigm later;
• The ideology and strategies of the Hindu Right seem to have focused on new sites of ‘insecurity,’ thereby deploying ‘hard’ options of security;
• The Hindu Right in India has used the civil society to mobilise people along cultural-nationalist framework using its own discourses on security/insecurity;
• The NDA government led by the BJP tried to legitimise the Hindutva notion of security through its policies.

Chapter Scheme

The study has been divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with theoretical questions on State, civil society and security. It starts with an analysis of the historical evolution of the concepts of State, civil society and security in the liberal and neoliberal discourses and as well as in the Marxist neo-Marxist, post-positivist traditions. The second chapter focuses on the evolution and trajectory of the State and civil society in India. It analyses the whole range of issues of development and security during the
colonial and postcolonial conditions. The third chapter is an attempt to trace the genealogy of the Hindu Right in India. It provides a comprehensive discussion on the ideology, strategy and the working of various Hindu Right organisations in India. The chapter also focuses on how the Hindu Right has been penetrating into the civil society with a view to crystallising the ‘self’ and the ‘other.’ The fourth chapter offers a comprehensive analysis of the assertion of the Hindu Right and its securitisation of the social and cultural issues. The chapter also examines the policies and programmes of the NDA Government, especially their economic, security and educational policies. The fifth chapter provides a summary, findings and observations.

**Methodology**

The study has been set in historical-analytical mode. Both primary and secondary data are extensively employed. The primary data include government documents, reports, writings, speeches, interviews and pamphlets issued by the Hindu Right organisations in India. The secondary data include books, articles, newspapers and monographs.