Katja Rieck

A Matter of Principle

Political Economy and the Making of Postcolonial Modernity in India: A Foucauldian Approach

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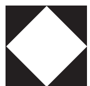

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Introduction

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Chapter I Anthropology and the Study of Modernity/ies: Past and Present

Mutliple modernities. Vernacular modernities. Indigenous modernities. AlterNative modernities. Critical modernities. Entangled modernities. Particularly in the 1990s and early 2000s there was a veritable deluge of anthropological articles and monographs dealing with modernity and its others. And yet, the study of modernity was by no means new to the field. In a sense, it had been a theme from the earliest days of the discipline, sometimes more prominent (as in the case of the studies on 'acculturation' in North American anthropology during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, or in the works of Max Gluckman and the other members of the Manchester School on social change in the African Copperbelt), sometimes less so.[1] Nevertheless, beginning in the early 1990s, modernity became a ubiquitous theme in anthropological journals and monographs as researchers in all corners of the globe chimed in to make the point that

1 On the study of acculturation and assimilation in North American cultural anthropology, see such classics as, for example, Herskovits 1927, Mead 1932, Lesser 1933, Spier 1935, Linton 1940, Benedict 1943 and Redfield 1953. For programmatic statements on the study of acculturation/social change in the context of modernisation in North American anthropology, see Redfield et al [1935] 1936 and Social Science Research Council [1953] 1954. For an insightful discussion of Gluckman's and the Manchester School's attention to crisis and social change, see Werbner 1984 and Kapferer 2008. That is not to say the study of social change and modernisation was limited to these two disciplinary movements. Various students of functionalist and structural-functional anthropology, like Isaac Schapera (1928, 1934, 1947), Godfrey Wilson (1945), Monica Hunter (1936), Raymond Firth (1953a, 1953b, 1954, 1959, 1962) and Hortense Powdermaker (1962), but also others, like Richard Thurnwald (1935), studied social change in response to developments they observed in the field as well. Even Bronislaw Malinowski, whose work usually stands as a classic example of functionalist (and therefore static, a-historical) ethnography, turned his attention to such developments, for example in a 1938 article "Modern Anthropology and European Rule in Africa" (cited and discussed in Firth 1962: 8f.), as well as in the posthumously published edited volume that brings together further work, he did to explore themes of social change and European culture contact in Africa (Malinowski 1945). For a useful discussion of how social change began to appear on the research agendas of functionalist and structural-functionalist anthropologists, see Firth 1954: 54-58. For discussion of how social change became an issue in Firth's own work, see Firth 1953a.

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their subjects, too, were modern, even if alternatively so. This sudden burst of output that the study of multiple modernities elicited, with literally thousands of hits in the scholarly journal database JSTOR, for example, thus seems a bit puzzling and calls for an attempt at contextualization.[2] Far from this serving as an exercise in anthropological scholasticism, I hope that understanding the context from which modernity and its others emerged as a research problematic will help clarify the particular importance it holds for anthropology in the early 21st century. As we shall see, the study of modernity and its others, was and is very much entangled in epistemological, political and, to some extent, moral concerns confronting anthropologists at the end of the 20th century, and as such represents an important site through which the field seeks to reinvent itself in the face of new political and social realities.

On a rather mundane level, it seems that modernity forced itself on the research agenda for purely empirical reasons. By the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s it had become so integral to the life worlds of anthropological subjects that it was difficult to bracket from ethnographic accounts. Villagers were finding paid work in factories, moving to cities, or migrating abroad. They began commuting by motorbike, car, plane or boat; shopping in malls; eating in restaurants, etc. On an everyday level, the trappings of Western consumer and leisure culture—'McWorld'[3]—suddenly became commonplace in the field. Housing estates, shopping malls, tennis shoes, blue jeans, rap music, Kentucky Fried Chicken, mobile phones, automobiles, CNN, etc. made the far-off places in which anthropologists were supposed to study 'foreign life ways' seem disconcertingly familiar.[4] And in discussions with interlocutors, "up-to-date-ness"[5] recurred frequently as a topic of heated discussion. Thus, as commodification, urbanisation and rationalisation were transforming the life-worlds of anthropological subjects, ethnog-

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2 Bruce Knauft notes in his introduction, "Emory University's ample but by no means exhaustive research library includes a whopping 545 books published between 1991 and 2000 that have the word 'modernity' in the title. A full 145 of the volumes were published during 1999 or 2000 alone. By contrast, only a handful of volumes that used the term 'modernity' as a title concept were published before the mid- and early 1980s" (Knauft 2002: 10).

3 The term was coined by Benjamin Barber in his 1992 article "Jihad vs. McWorld", first published in *The Atlantic* and later expanded into a book of the same title.

4 See also Kahn's account of the transformations he observed in Negri Sembilan since the 1970s and his discussion of the methodological and theoretical difficulties this presented (2001a: 652 ff.)

5 Ferguson 2006: 185 f.

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raphers were "dragged inexorably into a direct encounter with modernity".[6]

Paradoxically, while such manifestations of "modernity at large"[7] meant that in some respects 'they' were becoming more like 'us', 'indigenous culture' was by no means obsolete. As Marshall Sahlins acerbically observed, although anthropologists had, for example, in the 1950s and 60s lamented the imminent demise of the Eskimo (Inuit) due to migration into predominantly white urban centres and the encroachment of market capitalism into Eskimo villages, by the late 1990s they were still very much "there—and still Eskimo".[8] Despite migration, urbanisation and integration into the capitalist economy, they continued to pursue the hunting and gathering practices that were integrally linked to traditional customs, although now they were able to do so with the help of rifles, snowmobiles and CB radios. In fact, the unprecedented level of material well-being had made possible a cultural revival, as technology and modern conveniences were self-consciously put to use in the pursuit of the 'traditional' lifestyle. The renaissance in hunting and gathering and the maintenance of customary relations of production and distribution along kinship lines was thus directly linked to the Eskimos' participation in the capitalist economy. Moreover, this revival of tradition did not end at the village level: those who left to find work elsewhere carried it along, extending village relations of 'subsistence sharing' to places as far away as Oregon and California.[9] Africanists had also observed a recrudescence of 'tradition', most notably in the guise of witchcraft[10] or religious revival,[11] that was intimately linked with the spread of market capitalism and the formation of postcolonial nation-states. The list could be continued to cover all geographic areas of anthropological research.[12]

In any event, the spread of Western consumer culture and market capitalism was widely noted, not only by anthropologists,[13] to be contrapuntally accompanied by self-conscious, sometimes quite forceful

6 Kahn 2001a: 654.
7 Appadurai 1996.
8 Sahlins 1999: vi.
9 *Ibid*.: vii-viii.
10 Comaroff and Comaroff 1993; see also Geschiere [1995] 2000.
11 For example, Pred and Watts 1992.
12 Only to name only a few 'canonised' highlights from a rather vast body of literature: Taussig 1983, 1997, Ong 1987, Breckenridge 1995, Appadurai 1996, Rofel 1997, Abu Lughod 2000, Pandolfo 2000, Dirks 2001, LiPuma 2001 and Mitchell 2002.
13 See Eisenstadt 2000 for an example from sociology.

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(re)assertions of cultural identity[14] or by the revival of 'traditional practices' that anthropologists and social scientists had expected would disappear as traditional communities were engulfed by the market and the modern nation-state.[15] Clifford Geertz, in his retrospective on forty years of fieldwork, perhaps most eloquently expressed the sense of "dis-orientation"[16] such developments provoked:

> Imagine. Everywhere one looks, the traditional-modern, modern-traditional iconography, the neither-nor, both-and imagery of a past half gone and a future half arrived, is taken to sum up the present condition of things. The tension between what, writing about this actuality and condition of things, I once called "essentialism" and "epochalism" looking to "The Indigenous Way of Life" (cremations and prayer cloaks, rice paddies and craft markets) as against looking to "The Spirit of the Age" (nitrogen plants and jetports, skyscrapers and golf courses) for self-definition, is so pervasive in Indonesia and Morocco, and so far as I can see, in a great many other countries, not all of them in Asia and Africa, as to color virtually every aspect of their public life.[17]

The widespread coexistence and intermingling of 'The Indigenous Way of Life' with 'The Spirit of the Age' represented a perplexing paradox for social science. Sociological theories of change (inspired by Durkheim, Marx, Weber or Simmel) that dealt with urbanisation, the spread of market capitalism, the rise of bureaucratic nation-states, etc. had presumed that these developments would eventually squelch subsistence practices, cultural traditions and religious belief and postulated that eventually most of the world would come to look like the secular, industrialised nation-states of the West. However, this was patently not the case. Moreover, the manifestations of cultural difference or 'tradition' could not be satisfactorily explained away by references to incomplete modernisation or dependency/peripheralisation, since the assertion of cultural difference became more forceful as an *inherent part of* modernisation programmes in the so-called Third World.[18] Anthropological theory, which prided itself on its

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14 See, for example, Robertson 1995, Appadurai 1996, Hannerz 1996, Geertz 2000b, Kahn 2001d, Comaroff and Comaroff 2009.

15 Seminal to launching this field of inquiry was, of course, was Hobsbawm and Ranger's edited volume *The Invention of Tradition* (1992).

16 The term is James Clifford's but well describes what Geertz and others experienced in the field. See Clifford 1988.

17 Geertz 1995: 141–142.

18 Cf. Dirlik 2004.

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capacity to theorise the diversity of human life by means of a holistic approach to the study of cultures and societies, was ill equipped to conceptualise such continued production of difference under circumstances in which innumerable flows of people, money, ideas, technologies, practices, etc. permeated, and in a sense undermined, the integrity of the cultures/ societies studied.[19] Further, complicating matters, just as Western-style modernity was now 'at large', so too, had difference become unmoored, as James Clifford noted:

> In cities on six continents foreign populations have come to stay—mixing in but often in partial specific fashions. The 'exotic' is uncannily close. [...] An older topography and experience of travel is exploded. One no longer leaves home confident of finding something radically new, another time or space. Difference is encountered in the adjoining neighborhood, the familiar turns up at the ends of the earth.[20]

Difference had itself thus become 'modernised'—or to put it in Weberian terms, rationalised—becoming increasingly 'domesticated' and forming what Hannerz referred to as a "Culture of cultures" that entails "a tendency to assert difference along somewhat standardized lines".[21] These two trends, the diasporisation and the simultaneous standardisation of difference in the context of globalisation, troubled conventional anthropological theories of culture that theorised difference by referring to historically and environmentally constituted, supposedly localised, bounded, autonomous units that embodied systemic totalities.[22] Such conceptions of culture were simply not adequate for understanding the persistence or ongoing production of socio-cultural difference within the complex flows and entanglements that gave shape to lived experiences of anthropological subjects. There was, and is, thus a real need—not only within anthropology, but also in the neighbouring disciplines in the humanities, social sciences and area studies—to develop a conceptual framework that could render the complex interplay between homogenisation and differentiation, between Western-style modernisation and the tenacity, and sometimes even self-conscious assertion of 'The Indigenous Way of Life' (albeit in rationalised forms) that have characterised the contemporary situation of peoples in most parts of the globe.

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19 See Clifford 1988, Appadurai 1996 and Hannerz 1996.
20 Clifford 1988: 13–14.
21 Hannerz 1996: 53.
22 *Ibid*.: 48.

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And yet at the same time, the juxtaposition of the modern and the traditional, the familiar and the foreign was not really new; nor was the idea that cultures were mobile, permeable and subject to the impact of global capitalism. In the works of Max Gluckman and the Manchester School of anthropology, just to refer to one notable example,[23] the notion of bounded, systemic autonomy of societies had already been problematised in the 1940s as a serious shortcoming of conventional functionalist and structural-functionalist analyses.[24] It was the hallmark of this school that the cultures and societies[25] were studied in the context of contemporary social, political and economic conditions circumscribed by expanding capitalist production, labour migration, urbanisation, colonialism, bureaucratic rationalisation and the postcolonial nation-state.[26] That modernity and its others would in the late 1980s and early 1990s feature so prominently as 'new' phenomena on the anthropological research agenda (as opposed to already well-established ones such as migration, urbanisation, acculturation, integration into the market economy, etc.) therefore had to entail other reasons as well.

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23 The work of Gluckman and his students is indeed discussed here as one, albeit prominent, example in the history of anthropology of the awareness of the impact of social change and modernity on anthropological subjects of study. However, they were certainly not alone in their work on social change or the impact of contact with European culture. Gluckman himself notes the work of Godfrey Wilson, Isaac Schapera, Audrey Richards, among others, as being important predecessors to his own. See also fn. 1 above, for other contributions to the study of social change, especially under European and North American contact situations that predated the work of the Manchester School.

24 See Gluckman, Max (1945): "Human Problems in British Central Africa", Journal of the Rhodes-Livingston Institute, 4. December: 1–32. Accessed at van Bimsbergen, Wim (2006): "Photographic Essay: Manchester School and Background", http://www.shikanda.net/ethnicity/illustrations_manch/manchest.htm (accessed 2 March 2020). See especially, point 5. The Proposed Plan for Expanded Research, p. 7 f.

25 Although much of the research focussed on Africa, with many of Gluckman's students doing field research under the Rhodes-Livingston Institute, some like John Barnes or Ronald Frankenberg had their regional focus in other parts of the globe. In the former case it was Norway (albeit after initial work done in Africa), in the latter it was Wales. A. L. Epstein is known for having continued his work in Melanesia. Abner Cohen started his careers doing work in Palestine and then subsequently doing work on Africa.

26 Among the classic works attributed to Manchester School anthropology, see: Bailey 1960, 1963, 1973; Barnes 1951, 1954; Cohen 1965, 1969, 1981; Epstein [1958] 1981; Frankenberg 1957, 1982; Gluckman 1954, 1955, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1967, 1972; Mitchell 1956; van Velsen 1964, 1984; Turner 1965, 1969; Worsley 1957.

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An important development that contributed to the boom in popularity of modernity and its others as an anthropological research problematic sui generis was undeniably postmodernism. Emerging out of a period of profound socio-political turmoil in 1960s and 1970s Europe and North America, the movement constituted a critical engagement with the underpinnings of the political and intellectual establishment of the time and stood for an attempt to overcome the injustices of the socio-political status quo by pushing beyond established ways of thinking.[27] Central to the postmodernist project was to critically examine modern rationality and denaturalise its ostensible truths—that is, to demonstrate the contingency of the knowledge it had produced and to thereby clear the grounds to make visible alternative ways of thinking that would open up new possibilities for socio-political change.[28]

Particularly relevant for our present discussion was the postmodernists' problematisation of the socio-politically conditioned production of knowledge. The truths that reason had ostensibly come to grasp since the Enlightenment, and which had come to form the foundations of contemporary society, were demonstrated to be the outcomes of particular language games that were structured by narrative tropes manifest in the meta-narratives that served as mythic underpinnings of post-Enlightenment society.[29] What is most pertinent here is that, as part of this attempt to overcome the strictures of the contemporary socio-political order by deconstructing its meta-narratives and discourses, the movement constituted modernity as an object of critique and inquiry.[30] This gave rise to a particular interest in the exclusions and aporias that the meta-narratives of modernity had produced, and in how these narratives came to constitute truth regimes that operated to include and exclude particular groups of people, practices, ways of thinking and being.[31]

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27 See, for example, the afterword in Eagleton 1996: 190–208.

28 This was the critical thrust shared by thinkers as diverse in political and scholarly orientation as Jacques Derrida, Gilles Déleuze, Michel Foucault, Fredric Jameson and Jean-Francois Lyotard, whose writings formed the cornerstones of the critical engagement with modernity in its various (European) manifestations.

29 Lyotard [1979] 1984.

30 Cf. Knauft 2002: 11–13.

31 Lyotard's concern with the meta-narratives of modernity in his *Post-modern Condition* (1984) highlights the exclusionary mechanisms at work in these. Jacques Derrida was also explicitly concerned not only with exclusions, as was the case in his *Margins of Philosophy* (1982), but also with the more knotty problem of how modernity structured and thereby engendered boundaries of what was thinkable at all, a subject to which he devoted attention in *Aporias* (1993). Ultimately, the

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Yet, the postmodern engagement with modernity, its truth regimes and the exclusionary practices that they brought forth, focussed entirely on Europe, with little or no (explicit) regard for the impact of these on the histories and contemporary situations of non-European peoples.[32] Postcolonial and subaltern studies sought to rectify this bias, asserting that the discourses and meta-narratives which constituted post-Enlightenment European societies were foundational to both colonialism and the perpetuation of quasi-colonial power structures in the postcolonial nation-state.[33] Postcolonial and subaltern perspectives on modernity yielded two important outcomes. For one, they raised demands to rectify the Eurocentric critique of modernity, calling for due attention to the fact that colonialism and imperialism were as much a part of the emergence of Western modernity as the Enlightenment was.[34] In their view, postmodern engagements with modernity had focussed too much on Europe and too little on the

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interest in exclusions and aporias of modern thought runs through the entire project of deconstruction and can thus be seen as an on-going theme in more, or less, all his works. Seminal were also Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* ([1969] 1972), his *The Order of Things* ([1969] 1994) and his *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* ([1961] 1988) as well as Zygmunt Baumann's *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989). For a feminist concern with exclusionary discursive practices, see for example, Carol Pateman's *The Sexual Contract* (1988) and Mary Poovey's *Un-even Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (1988). For a discussion of the "strategies of exclusion" in classical liberal political theory, see Mehta 1997, esp. pp. 59–70.

32 See the discussion in Mitchell 1991: x, 35; Stoler 1995: 1–18; cf. also Clifford 1988: 265; and Arnold 1998.

33 On the European Enlightenment's imbrication in colonialism, see, for example, Said 1979, 1993; Chatterjee 1985; Inden 1990; Pratt 1992; Mignolo 1995; Mehta [1990] 1997. On the problematic nature of anti-colonial, nationalist discourse for the constitution of the postcolonial nation-state, see Chatterjee 1993 and Guha 1996. Chatterjee 1998 and Visweswaran 1996 provide complementary discussions of on the denial of women's agency, with Visweswaran focusing in particular on lower-class, poor women; Mayaram 1996 and Pandey 1998 focus on the dichotomisation of Indian identities into Hindu vs. Muslim by both the colonial regime and the nationalist resistance; see Dhareshwar and Srivatsan 1996 for a discussion of colonial and postcolonial discourse and how it effects class-based exclusions from postcolonial citizenship. For a discussion of developments in revisionist and postcolonial approaches beyond the Indian context on Irish historiography, see Lloyd 1996.

34 For general discussions, see Chakrabarty 1998: 287-290; Chatterjee 1985. For a discussion of bringing empire and the emergence of modernity into a historical research agenda, see Stoler and Cooper 1997. For a case study on imperialism and the formation of bourgeois conceptions of motherhood, see Davin 1997. For a look at missionary imperialism and the formation of a language of class in early

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Chapter X The Common-Wealth vs. National Economy: Critiques of British Hegemony and The Emergence of an Alternative Order

With the root causes of Indian poverty identified, Indian intellectuals were confronted with the need to develop alternatives. Their assessment of British rule was inextricably linked to a critique of the principles of classical political economy that had been instrumental in shaping Britain's unique form of free-trade imperialism. In articulating their views, they were not alone and drew on existing discourses voiced by opposition from both within the imperial common-wealth and from those areas marginalised by it. Britain's transformation into a global power with a vast empire and formidable economic might did not sit well with old rivals on the continent, nor with what had once been the American colonies, which although they had attained political independence, continued to struggle in asserting their autonomy with respect to commerce.[1]

Britain's overwhelming economic power gave it incredible leverage in its relations with other polities, and its rank as 'the world's first manufacturing nation' imparted it with technological and financial advantages that bolstered its military might. The logic of the wealth-power nexus, discussed in Part I, had put Britain in a position to rule the world by trade. Political subjugation was not necessary, as its vast informal empire from Latin America to East Asia showed. And of what use was armed resistance when one was dependent on British trade, either directly or indirectly, to secure the necessities of daily life?[2] What was more, the laws of science clearly stated this should be so and that such an order would naturally

1 Alexander Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures* (1791) was a highly influential work that shaped the perspective of subsequent thinkers critical of the classical liberal order under British hegemony. The ideas behind the 'American System' resonated with the concerns of others wary of the imbalance of power inherent in the global order under the *Pax Britannica*. One such thinker with concerns regarding the effects of 'British cosmopolitanism' was the German economist Friedrich List whose work on 'natural' and 'national' political economy came to shape political thinking and policy not only in Germany, but also in Meiji Japan, Latin America and India.

2 In some cases, such as in early 19th-century Germany, Britain at times supplied one-half of all the manufactured goods.

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progress until the world would come to form one vast common-wealth linked by commercial exchange.

The chorus of criticism to which Indian intellectuals lent their voices went back as far as the American Revolution,[3] and to subsequent attempts amongst the elites of the new United States to make independence not simply a formal political status but also a material fact. Recognising that although politically sovereign, the colonies were still very much dependent on British trade for all manner of goods necessary to daily life as well as to the national defence, efforts focussed on breaking such dependencies, for

> [n]ot only the wealth, but the independence and security of a Country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to those great objects, ought to endeavour to possess within itself all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of *Subsistence*, *habitation*, *clothing* and *defence*.[4]

True independence could only be achieved once the former colonies managed also to fully disengage commercially from the common-wealth; and this is what the newly formed United States undertook to do in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Furthermore, Alexander Hamilton, author of the above observations, recognised the power of commerce to reconcile the "contrariety of interests" between the various regions of the newly established Union, much as Steuart had some twenty years previously: "Mutual wants constitute one of the strongest links of political connection, and the extent of these bears a natural proportion to the diversity in the means of mutual supply".[5] Thus, although commercial diversity, particularly a mix of agricultural and manufacturing activities, created problems for national unification insofar as each of these economic pursuits gave rise to their own particular interests, on another level such diversity could be turned into a point of strength so that mutual dependencies arising from

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3 See, for example, *The Federalist Papers*, nos. 11–13 (Hamilton [1787/1788] 1999a, b and c.).

4 Hamilton 1791. The *Report on Manufactures* constitutes the seminal paper outlining this "American System", as proponents called it to set it off against what they derisively called the "British System" which they attributed to Adam Smith. This system, which renounced *laissez-faire* and used protectionist policies to promote the development of American industries and the achievement of a degree of economic self-reliance, guided American policy for over one hundred years and saw the rise of that nation to a considerable economic power.

5 *Ibid*.

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the complementarity of economic pursuits might outweigh existing socio-political divisions.

But, the political importance of achieving commercial autonomy went even further. As Hamilton continued: “The possession of these [subsistence, habitation, clothing and defence] is necessary to the perfection of the body politic; to the safety as well as to the welfare of society; the want of either is the want of an important Organ of political life and Motion; and in the various crises which await a state, it must severely feel the effects of any such deficiency”.[6] Thus, here we see the commercial order, the economy, gaining an importance that goes far beyond simply ensuring a state’s power, securing its people’s prosperity and achieving the union of ‘a free and perfect society’ (to recall Steuart) through exchange and mutual dependence—all notions we traced back to the very beginnings of the common-wealth in 15th- and 16th-century England and to 17th- and 18th-century reflections on the emergence of a new type of sociability. Now, the commercial order is accorded new significance when Hamilton regards it to be ‘necessary to the perfection of the body politic’. Although he does not explicitly state how this is so, his previous points regarding the desirability of promoting manufacturing along with agriculture are helpful in shedding light on this point.

For one, the body politic could more fully attain its highest potential if the burdens weighing it down could be reduced by the participation of greater numbers of its members in productive activities. Those who would otherwise be idle and a burden on the community—women, children, the frail or otherwise by habit or temper not disposed to industry—would have many new employments from which to choose and thus be rendered useful. If their constitution did not permit them to participate in agriculture, they would find simple employments in manufacturing. This would turn those populations previously deemed a burden on the body politic into contributing members of the community.

Manufacturing also would provide opportunities to secure “a new source of profit and support”, since industries “afford occasional and extra employment to industrious individuals and families, who are willing to devote the leisure resulting from the intermission of their ordinary pursuits to collateral labours, as a resource for multiplying their acquisitions or their enjoyments.”[7] Families could thus greatly reduce their depredations and lead more civilised and comfortable lives. Because manufactur-

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6 *Ibid*.
7 *Ibid*.

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ing would promote the division of labour to a degree unparalleled in agriculture, it would "furnish greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions, which discriminate men from each other".[8] Each individual would thus be able to find an activity congenial to him, which would "immensely increase" the "results of human exertion" by "diversifying its objects", thus "each individual can find his proper element, and can call into activity the whole vigour of his nature".[9] Thus, the increased diversity of employments would permit the nation to profit from the unique talents and inclinations of the people who comprised it. Human potential would thus be better harnessed and the body politic would be the stronger and more vigorous for it.

Moreover, given that the diversity of activities would permit each individual to find the activity most congenial to his talents, Hamilton noted that this would "provoke exertion", for "[e]very new scene which is opened to the busy nature of man to rouse and exert itself, is the addition of a new energy to the general stock of effort".[10] The promotion of manufacturing and the concomitant diversification of economic activities thus were asserted to be central not only to the full achievement of true autonomy, but was also regarded as integral to a nation's self-actualisation and perfection. As we shall see, these two ideas gained considerable importance in the context of 19th-century nationalist movements, and they were central to shaping the Indian contestation of British rule as well as their visions for a postcolonial order.

Hamilton's ideas and those of other supporters of the American response to British hegemony were taken up and further developed by German intellectuals who directly and critically engaged the power dynamics that underlay the *Pax Britannica*. Thus, the movement's most prominent and influential thinker, Friedrich List, who had come into direct contact with Hamilton's ideas during his time spent in the United States, insisted:[11]

8 *Ibid*.
9 *Ibid*.
10 *Ibid*.
11 The significance of his influence on Indian discourse is beyond doubt when one compares, for example, the wording and argumentation of classic texts and speeches in the Indian Nationalist Movement with List's *Das Natürliche System der Politischen Ökonomie* (1837) and his *Das Nationale System der Politischen Ökonomie* (1841). Cf. also Goswami 2004: chap. 7.