

THE SECULAR IMAGINARY

Given the popularity and success of the Hindu right in India's electoral politics today, how may one study ostensibly 'Western' concepts and ideas, such as the secular and its family of cognates, like secularism, secularisation and secularity, in non-Western societies without assuming them to be simply derivative or colonial legacies or contrast cases of Western societies? In other words, what is the discourse of secularity in modern India? While recognising that the dominant language of political modernity of Western societies is not easily translatable in non-Western societies, *The Secular Imaginary* elaborates upon an intellectual history of secularity in modern India by focusing on the two most influential political leaders – M. K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. It is an intellectual history of both idea(s) and intellectuals which sheds light on Indian narratives of secularity – the Gandhian *sarva dharma samabhava*, Nehruvian secularism and 'unity in diversity'. It revisits this dominant narrative of secularity of the twentieth century, which influenced and shaped the imagination of the modern nation-state.

Sushmita Nath is a postdoctoral fellow at Cluster of Excellence, Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS), Freie Universität, Berlin. Her research engages with issues in Indian political thought and Indian politics, such as secularism, nationalism and populism, in relation to the emerging field of comparative political theory.



THE SECULAR IMAGINARY

GANDHI, NEHRU AND THE IDEA(S) OF INDIA

SUSHMITA NATH





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, vic 3207, Australia

314 to 321, 3rd Floor, Plot No.3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009180290

© Sushmita Nath 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2022

Printed in India

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-009-18029-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



CONTENTS

Prejace Acknowledgements		V11
		ix
	Introduction	1
1	Debating the Secular beyond the West	20
2	Gandhi's Ashram and Political Thought: A Counter-narrative of Secularity	47
3	Gandhi's Associationalism: A Non-state Alternative to Liberal Secularism?	98
4	Was Nehru Nehruvian? Religion, Secularity and Nehruism	141
5	Nehru and the Politics of Liberalism of Fear	192
	Conclusion	231
Bibliography		237
Index		253



PREFACE

December 2019 was a season of faith's perfection when India saw countrywide protests in response to an Act passed by the parliament which challenged the secular spirit of the Indian constitution.¹ Many of these peaceful protests were accompanied by ritualised reading of the preamble of the Indian constitution, and with this simple act, 'We, the people of India' sought to reaffirm the idea of India as a secular democratic republic. The postcolonial state in India today shows alarming impunity towards individual and minority rights, accompanied by a disregard for and dismissal of norms and values on which the 'idea of India' stands.2 One such value that has increasingly become marginal and seemingly only of symbolic importance to the state in contemporary India, most visibly after the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992, is secularism. This political ideal, which found expression in the 'Gandhi-Nehru tradition' through popular slogans like 'unity in diversity' and sarva dharma samabhava during the Indian national movement and in Nehruvian secularism after independence, from being dominant and indeed one of the defining features of Indian nationhood, stands at the margins today. One may even go as far as to argue that today India is a 'secular republic' only nominally. Right-wing politics today does not simply reject secularism.

¹ The Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019.

² I borrow this famous phrase from Sunil Khilnani's book, where he argues that the founding idea of India, based on pluralism and democracy, was not simply a commitment to abstract values but borne out of and rooted in a practical understanding of the compulsions and constraints of Indian politics. Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2012 [1997]).



viii PREFACE

It has re-defined the secular ideal; it is homogeneous and majoritarian. The Gandhi-Nehru tradition, by contrast, is based on ideals of pluralism and equality. The unfolding crisis in India's post-colonial history makes it urgent for us to revisit the inclusive ideas and ideals that marked the beginning of this nation. By examining Gandhi and Nehru's thought and politics on the question of the religion-state-society relationship, this book revisits the Gandhi-Nehru tradition in order to gain moral and political insights that may guide contemporary India's imperilled secular imaginary. Both the intellectual and political decline of the Gandhi-Nehru tradition of secularity, from a dominant one in the twentieth century to a marginal one in the twentyfirst century, are tinged with irony when seen through the lens of intellectual history. On the one hand, late-twentieth-century writings on Gandhi and Nehru are replete with hagiographical accounts. On the other hand, many contemporary writings have moved in a direction where a defence or a critical appraisal of secularism in India is closely tied to a defence or criticism of the personalities of Gandhi and Nehru themselves. In this book, I attempt to move away from such academic proclivities and polemical arguments. By locating the Gandhi-Nehru tradition in the global intellectual history of secularity, in this book, I wish to draw attention to the possibilities as well as the limitations of Gandhian and Nehruvian thought and practice. My hope is that, instead of outright dismissal of ideas and thinkers, we may engage with concepts and ideas in ways that can question and challenge contrived binary narratives, such as those positing religion/tradition/Indian/Gandhian against secular/modern/Western/Nehruvian, and thereby effectively respond to the post-colonial state's irreverence towards constitutional secularism.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In writing this book I have accrued several unrepayable debts. I owe immense gratitude to my PhD supervisor at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Rinku Lamba, as the first iterations of this book emerged as a doctoral dissertation under her supervision. Her patience and willingness to enthusiastically and critically engage with my ideas trained me to nourish an idea instead of chasing it. I would like to thank my PhD examiners, Tridip Suhrud and Vasanthi Srinivasan, who provided crucial insights which helped refine my arguments in the book. Tridip's show of humility and generosity gave me the confidence to stay the course despite some unexpected challenges. I would also like to thank my teachers at the Centre for Political Studies, JNU: Shefali Jha, Rajarshi Dasgupta, Anupama Roy and Amir Ali, who transformed a master's student into a scholar.

This book would not have been possible without the generous support of KFG 'Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities', Leipzig University, where the majority of the revisions to the manuscript were undertaken between 2019 and 2021. I cannot think of a more fitting environment than KFG in writing this book as I have gained immensely from the rich intellectual discussions with my colleagues in weekly colloquiums, workshops and conferences. The joint coffee-break on Tuesdays, the delectable *Eranos* and the monthly 'Screening Religion' added colour to an already engaging and interactive environment. At KFG, I found the opportunity to interact with scholars whom I have read and admired, and learnt about secularities around the world, across time. Here I also learnt how one may sincerely engage in comparative social and political theorisation. I would like to thank the Fritz Thyssen Foundation for granting a year-long postdoctoral



x

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-18029-0 — The Secular Imaginary Sushmita Nath Frontmatter More Information

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

fellowship which enabled me to return to KFG, 'Multiple Secularities' in 2019. I would especially like to thank the directors of KFG, 'Multiple Secularities' -Monika Wohlrab-Sahr and Christoph Kleine - for not only granting the fellowship which gave me the opportunity and time to work on the manuscript, but also for their unwavering support and encouragement. Revisions to the manuscript were done during the unprecedented circumstances of a pandemic. Words fall short as I wish to express my gratitude to my friends and colleagues at KFG who, during this time, were a home away from home. The friendship, concern and continuous support of Monika, Markus Dreßler and Judith Zimmerman made this place more than a research institution for me. Without Judith's support I would not have been able to navigate German academia. Lucy, Foteine, Pavel, Anja and Hannah turned KFG into a lively place of work. I would also like to thank my colleagues at KFG, André and Jill, Nader, Peter, Mohammad, Elliot, Lena, Sana, Elisabeth and Mariam, for their camaraderie. Johannes Duschka sacrificed days from his Christmas holidays to read a very long chapter. I have gained immensely from his detailed comments and critique on two of the chapters. I would also like to thank my colleagues and intellectual interlocuters, Florian Zemmin and Vanya Bhargav, both of whom read portions from this book and provided their invaluable feedback. Thanks is also due to the two anonymous reviewers of Cambridge University Press for their detailed comments and critique which helped me revise and sharpen the arguments in the book.

As a non-NET fellowship holder, during my PhD it was impossible to attend international conferences unless the organisers agreed to cover all the expenses. This, as I have come to realise over the years, is difficult to arrange for most conference organisers. That is why I would like to thank the conference organisers of 'Public Life and Religious Diversity' (2017) at Oxford University, 'Worldviews in World View: Particularizing Secularism, Secularity and Nonreligion' (2018) at King's College, London, and 'Patterns of Distinction, Paths of Differentiation' (2018), at KFG, 'Multiple Secularities', Leipzig University, for ensuring funds to attend the conference. Portions of the papers presented in these conferences have been incorporated in the book. I would like to thank the participants in these conferences for their helpful comments. During my PhD, a teaching job in Ashoka University, Haryana, provided the much-needed financial stability, as well as my first teaching experience. I thank Ravindran Sriramachandran and Ali Khan Mahmudabad for the trust and respect they exhibited towards an early career scholar. I also thank my students at Ashoka University who taught me how to be a better teacher.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

хi

Max Kramer has been a constant friend and colleague in conversation as both of us traverse between India and Germany, and fortuitously continue to work on related themes. In Delhi, Surajit Chakravarty always found time to meet up. Growing up in a Bengali *para*, our childhood friends were more like family than friends. I am grateful to Deepanjana Chakravarti for coming to our family's rescue during a very difficult time in Delhi. In Germany, Maruan has made sure by his presence in my life that I always have an alternative perspective on things. You amuse and inspire me in equal measure.

In the course of writing this book, new lives greeted us and brought immense happiness to our family. My niece and nephew, Ira and Niyor, are hope and happiness. I am ever so grateful to my sister, Arpita, whose support, kindness and generosity I often take for granted. Thanks for always being there. My parents, Rekha and Swapan, continue to support their daughter's unconventional life. I am grateful for their unconditional love and support. *Baba*, you will always be the better teacher. *Ma*, with your unrelenting strength, you continue to awe and inspire me. Lastly, how does one thank someone when they, as your fiercest critic and most ardent admirer, are the ones with whom you started the journey into adulthood and academia together? Deep, you always enthusiastically engaged with my first random thoughts to the final idea, and this book is as much yours as mine.

Berlin March 2022