Radical Democracy in Modern Indian Political Thought

Between the 1910s and the 1970s, an eclectic group of Indian thinkers, constitutional reformers, and political activists articulated a theory of robustly democratic, participatory popular sovereignty. Taking parliamentary government and the modern nation-state to be prone to corruption, these thinkers advocated for ambitious federalist projects of popular government as alternatives to liberal, representative democracy. *Radical Democracy in Modern Indian Political Thought* is the first study of this countertradition of democratic politics in South Asia. Examining well-known historical figures such as Dadabhai Naoroji, M. K. Gandhi, and M. N. Roy, alongside long-neglected thinkers from the Indian socialist movement, Tejas Parasher illuminates the diversity of political futures imagined at the end of the British Empire in South Asia. This book reframes the history of twentieth-century anti-colonialism in novel terms – as a contest over the nature of modern political representation – and pushes readers to rethink accepted understandings of democracy today.

TEJAS PARASHER is Assistant Professor of Political Theory at the University of California, Los Angeles. He received his PhD from the University of Chicago in 2019 and was formerly Junior Research Fellow in Political Thought and Intellectual History at King's College, University of Cambridge.

IDEAS IN CONTEXT

Edited by DAVID ARMITAGE, RICHARD BOURKE and JENNIFER PITTS

The books in this series will discuss the emergence of intellectual traditions and of related new disciplines. The procedures, aims and vocabularies that were generated will be set in the context of the alternatives available within the contemporary frameworks of ideas and institutions. Through detailed studies of the evolution of such traditions, and their modification by different audiences, it is hoped that a new picture will form of the development of ideas in their concrete contexts. By this means, artificial distinctions between the history of philosophy, of the various sciences, of society and politics, and of literature may be seen to dissolve.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/IdeasContext

Radical Democracy in Modern Indian Political Thought

TEJAS PARASHER University of California, Los Angeles



www.cambridge.org



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 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 Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009305600

DOI: 10.1017/9781009305563

© Tejas Parasher 2023

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 & Assessment.

First published 2023 First paperback edition 2024

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

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data Names: Parasher, Tejas, author.

Title: Radical democracy in modern Indian political thought / Tejas Parasher, University of California, Los Angeles.

Description: First Edition. | New York : Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Series: Ideas in context | Includes index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022059818 (print) | LCCN 2022059819 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009305594 (Hardback) | ISBN 9781009305600 (Paperback) | ISBN 9781009305563 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Democracy–India. | Representative government and representation– India. | Self-determination, National–India. | Political science–India–Philosophy.

Classification: LCC JQ281 .P383 2023 (print) | LCC JQ281 (ebook) | DDC 320.954–dc23/eng/20230118

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022059818

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022059819

ISBN 978-1-009-30559-4 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-30560-0 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 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.

To the memory of my grandmother, Radhika Sharma

> This is real democracy. Otherwise that kind of representative government which consists in a mere parliament of intermediaries or middlemen, 'representing' the people because they manage to get themselves elected, is only a disguised oligarchy. There the representatives soon grow into a bourgeoisie or bosses or a group of labor *sardars* [lords], they form rings and caucuses, with vested interests. The real people – the millions in the fields, factories, and workshops – are deprived of all share and voice in the government – even universal adult suffrage cannot prevent this, for the middlemen or intermediary representatives manage the whole show in their own interests.

> > *—The Modern Review* (August 1923)

Contents

Acknowledgments		<i>page</i> viii
1	Popular Sovereignty and the End of Empire	1
2	"The Genius of the People": The 1923 Constitution of Mysore	31
3	"A Vast Subterranean Democracy": Pluralism in the 1920	s 60
4	"A Living Union": The Project of Gandhian Democracy	93
5	Representation, Popular Sovereignty, and the Indian Founding	121
6	"Towards Total Revolution": The Aftermath of Independence	146
7	Conclusion: The Challenge of Representative Democracy	165
Bibliography		172
Index		193

vii

Acknowledgments

I have long been waiting for an opportunity to thank everyone involved in this project. The book began as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago. My foremost debt is to my dissertation committee: Jennifer Pitts, Sankar Muthu, John McCormick, and Lisa Wedeen. Jennifer was an exceptional advisor from my first semester of graduate school. Much of my work has been shaped by her intellectual rigor, her generosity, and her vision for taking the history of political thought in a more global direction.

The University of Chicago as a whole provided a wonderfully nurturing academic environment. I have learned greatly from conversations with Adom Getachew over the years. Colleagues in the Departments of Political Science, History, and Law sustained my research through regular feedback: Chiara Cordelli, Tom Ginsburg, Daragh Grant, Alex Haskins, Annie Heffernan, Isaac Hock, Joel Isaac, Sana Jaffrey, Sarah Johnson, Demetra Kasimis, Matt Landauer, Zachary Leonard, Patchen Markell, Natasha Piano, Sarath Pillai, Erin Pineda, Lucas Pinheiro, Paul Staniland, Nazmul Sultan, Lael Weinberger, and James Lindley Wilson. Will Levine very kindly read multiple iterations of each chapter. Kathy Anderson in the Department of Political Science made my dissertation (and many other dissertations) possible.

I could not have asked for a better institution than King's College, University of Cambridge, to continue the project. I must first thank Provost Michael Proctor and the Research Committee for electing me to a Junior Research Fellowship in 2019. Richard Bourke was a supportive, generous, and encouraging mentor from the day I arrived in England. Discussions with John Dunn taught me to think critically about twentieth-century politics. During my fellowship at King's, I was fortunate to find a remarkable group of interlocutors working at the intersections of history, politics, and philosophy: Anna Alexandrova, John Arnold, Gareth Austin, John Filling, Freddy Foks, David Good,

Acknowledgments

Caroline Goodson, Ryan Heuser, Caroline Humphrey, Peter Jones, Douglas Moggach, Robin Osborne, Surabhi Ranganathan, Jason Sharman, Mira Siegelberg, Michael Sonenscher, and Sharath Srinivasan. Special thanks are due to Sally Thorp for arranging the logistics of my time at Cambridge through the difficult circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Since moving to my new home in Los Angeles, I have found an incredibly dynamic, welcoming, and supportive community in the Department of Political Science and the International Institute at UCLA. I would like to thank my colleagues in the Department of Political Science, particularly the UCLA political theory community around Davide Panagia, Anthony Pagden, and Giulia Sissa. I am excited for many further conversations to come. I also appreciate the administrative support of Stephanie Jeffers, Evelyn Godinez, Belinda Sunnu, and Barbara Wakasa.

This book was shaped by the incisive feedback given by colleagues spread across institutions and countries, including Rochana Bajpai, Mukulika Banerjee, Duncan Bell, Udit Bhatia, Annabel Brett, Chris Brooke, Arudra Burra, Donal Coffey, Sandipto Dasgupta, Rohit De, Arvind Elangovan, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, Burke Hendrix, Leigh Jenco, Charlotte Johann, Lisa Kattenberg, Sudipta Kaviraj, Duncan Kelly, Tarunabh Khaitan, Steven Klein, Harshan Kumarasingham, Adam Lebovitz, Karuna Mantena, Rama Mantena, Robyn Marasco, Jaby Mathew, Chris Meckstroth, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Eleanor Newbigin, Hussein Omar, Bhikhu Parekh, Dinyar Patel, Srinath Raghavan, Hari Ramesh, Shaunna Rodrigues, Lucia Rubinelli, Rahul Sagar, Will Selinger, Joshua Simon, Boyd van Dijk, Georgios Varouxakis, Lydia Walker, Melissa Williams, and Samuel Zeitlin. Archivists at the Nehru Memorial Library in New Delhi and at the British Library's India Office Records in London were invaluable in helping track down primary sources and newspaper records, as were Sue Donnelly at the LSE Records Office in London; Laura Ring at the Regenstein Library, South Asia Collections, in Chicago; and Rachel Rowe and Kevin Greenbank at the Centre of South Asian Studies in Cambridge.

Sections of the book were previously presented at the American Political Science Association, the Association for Asian Studies, Columbia University, Duke University, the London School of Economics, the Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory in Frankfurt, University College London, UCLA, University

ix

х

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-30560-0 — Radical Democracy in Modern Indian Political Thought Tejas Parasher Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

of Cambridge, University of Oxford, University of Wisconsin Madison, and Yale University. I have benefited greatly from the productive engagement of audiences at each institution.

Financial support for research and writing was generously provided by the Department of Political Science and the International Institute at UCLA; the Nicholson Center for British Studies, the Pozen Family Center for Human Rights, the Committee on Southern Asian Studies, the Division of Social Sciences, and the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago; the Fellows' Research Fund at King's College, Cambridge; the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada; and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. I am grateful to all these institutions. I am also very grateful to the American Political Science Association for recognizing an earlier version of the book with the 2020 Leo Strauss Award in Political Philosophy.

Liz Friend-Smith has been an absolute pleasure to work with as an editor for Cambridge University Press. Insightful comments from two anonymous readers sharpened the stakes of the manuscript. A version of Chapter 2 was previously published as "Federalism, Representation, and Direct Democracy in 1920s India," *Modern Intellectual History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (June 2022), 444–72. A version of Chapter 4 was previously published as "Beyond Parliament: Gandhian Democracy and Postcolonial Founding" in *Political Theory*, vol. 50, no. 6 (December 2022), 837–60. I would like to thank both journals for granting permission to reprint the relevant material here. Meridith Murray of MLM Indexing produced an excellent index for the book.

Finally, the love and support of family and friends are the pillars of any writing process. This book is dedicated, above all, to my parents, Alpana Sharma and Sanjay Sharma. Their incredible sacrifices have allowed for all the opportunities in my life. None of what I do would be possible without everything they have taught me.