PAPER 28: THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

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Course Description: 2020-21
The History of The Indian Subcontinent from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present Day

A fifth of the world's population lives in the Indian subcontinent. While today the region’s place in the global world order is widely recognised, this is in fact only the most recent chapter in a longer history. This paper offers an understanding of the part played by the Indian subcontinent and its people in the making of the modern world. From the decline of the great empire of the Mughals and the rise of British hegemony, to the rise of nationalism, the coming of independence and partition, the consolidation of new nation states despite regional wars and conflicts, and the emergence of India as the largest democracy in the world, this paper is a comprehensive and analytical survey of the subcontinent's modern history. The paper covers the dynamic and complex relationships between changing forms of political power and religious identities, economic transformations, and social and cultural change in the period from 1757 to 2007.

Key themes and brief overview:

The paper begins by examining the rise of British power in the context of economic developments indigenous to southern Asia; it analyses the role played by Indian polities and social groups in the expansion of the East India Company’s activities. It tracks the emergence of modern intelligentsias and their definitions of what constituted proper religious, public and domestic behaviour. The paper places these changes in the context of the concurrent decline of Indian handicrafts and the impact of British revenue arrangements on rural society, and explores India’s place in the development of global capitalism.

The central section of this paper is framed by the dramatic events associated with the rise of nationalism. It explores anti-colonial movements and Gandhian politics in the 1920s, ’30s and ’40s, and the events that led up to the Partition of 1947. Students may, however, opt to study, among other topics: the society and culture of particular Indian regions; the changing conditions of the peasant, tribal and industrial worker, the incidence of famine, the economic impact of free trade and the nature of colonial governmentality, all subjects which have benefited from recent research.

The paper goes on to examine political developments in South Asia since Independence. It considers relations between the centre and the states, planned development, affirmative action and the rise of the Hindu right in India; the dominance of the Army in Pakistan and problems of instability and militancy in Bangladesh.

Primary Sources are suggested for each topic and marked with an asterisk *. You will get most out of each topic if you make time to consult these, as well as the secondary material. Some of these sources are online, in which case the website is given. To supplement these, films and novels are also suggested for some topics.

Mode of teaching and mode of supervision:
There will be 30 (or 32) lectures, 4 revision classes (2 hours each) in the Easter Term and 6 (to 8) supervisions singly or in pairs.

Maximum supervision capacity:
30 hours per week.
**Libraries (in addition to Seeley and UL)**
FAMES, Sidgwick Avenue
Centre of South Asian Studies Library, Laundress Lane
Note: For articles in less accessible journals, use the journals website of the University Library, which will give you access to many journals online.

**Topics**

1. State and society in 18th century India: decline or decentralisation?
2. British expansion in India in the 18th and early 19th century
3. Imperial transitions: ideology, race, gender and culture 1757-1840
4. The ‘age of reform’ or the ‘liberal moment’, 1830-1850
5. The rebellion of 1857
6. Economy and society under the Raj: famines and Victorian holocausts
7. Statecraft and Colonial ‘governmentality’
8. Recasting religion: Nationalisation of Hinduism
9. ‘Invented identities’: caste, tribe and resistance
10. Recasting Muslim identity and Colonial Rule
11. The rise of Indian nationalism: perspectives and approaches
12. The Indian National Congress, 1885-1920
14. Political institutions under the Raj: the census and the growth of representative politics
15. Imagining India: Nationalist thought
16. Gandhi, Gandhism and ‘mass nationalism’
17. Structures of power and politics in the Indian empire, 1920-1945
18. Muslim politics between the wars, 1918-1939
19. The urban age: industry and capitalism, 1890-1939
20. The end of empire: partition and independence
21. The transition to democracy in India: constitution-making, the command economy and the 'Congress system'
22. Language, region and the challenges of federalism, India, 1947-70
23. Challenges to democracy in India: the Emergency and the rise of Hindu nationalism
24. India's political economy and liberalisation since the early 1990s
25. Constitution-making, the army and the challenges of federalism, Pakistan, 1940-70
26. Conflict and war in the Indian subcontinent: the question of Kashmir
27. The creation of Bangladesh: war, militancy and militarism
28. Globalisation, Liberalisation and the Culture of New India
29. The history of Sri Lanka.

**READING LIST: 2020-21**
General reading: Modern South Asia

C. A Bayly | Remaking the Modern World, 1900-2015, 2018
C. A Bayly | Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire, Cambridge, 1988
Tirthankar Roy | The Economic History of India, 1857-1947, Delhi, 2000
Paul Brass | The Politics of India since Independence, Cambridge, 1990
Ram Guha | India after Gandhi: The History of the World’s Largest Democracy, 2007
S Corbridge & J Harriss | Reinventing India, 2000
Raychaudhuri et al | Cambridge Economic History of India, 2005
Christophe Jaffrelot | The Pakistan Paradox: Instability and Resilience, 2015
William Van Schendel | History of Bangladesh, Cambridge, 2009
Sekhar Bandypadhyay | From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India, 2004
Stephen Hay (ed.) | Sources of Indian Tradition, vol. 2 (Excellent source of primary material)
R Guha and G Spivak | Selected Subaltern Studies, 1998
Bernard S Cohn | An Anthropologist Among Historians, 1990
Thomas Blom Hansen | The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism, 1999

The New Cambridge History of India volumes provide synoptic overviews of key themes with extensive bibliographies

General reading: Modern South Asia

Paul Brass | The Politics of India since Independence (Cambridge, 1990)
S Corbridge & J Harriss | Reinventing India, (2000)
Raychaudhuri et al | Cambridge Economic History of India (2005)
Stephen Hay (ed.) | Sources of Indian Tradition, vol. 2 (Excellent source of primary material)
R Guha and G Spivak | Selected Subaltern Studies (1998)
Bernard S Cohn | An Anthropologist Among Historians (1990)

The New Cambridge History of India volumes provide synoptic overviews of key themes with extensive bibliographies

General reading: imperialism, nationalism and decolonisation

Eric Hobsbawm | Nations and Nationalism since 1780, Cambridge, 1990
Edward Said | Orientalism, New York, 1979
John Darwin | The Empire Project, Cambridge, 2011
Burbank and Cooper | Empires in World History, Power and the Politics of Difference, 2011
Cooper and Stoler (ed.) | Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World, 1997
Arjun Appadurai | Modernity at Large: Cultural dimensions of Globalization, 1996
Dipesh Chakrabarty | Provincialising Europe, 2000
Literature, memoirs and novels

E M Forster                           *A Passage to India*, London, 1978
Rabindranath Tagore                  *Gora* (Penguin Books India reprint), 2010
Amitav Ghosh                         *Shadow lines*, London, 1988
W H Sleeman                           *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, reprint Karachi, 1973
Jawaharlal Nehru                      *The Discovery of India*, Bombay, 1964
Pankaj Mishra                         *The Romantics*, London 1999
VS Naipaul                           *Half a Life*, 2002
Suketu Mehta                          *Maximum City*, 2004
Amartya Sen                            *The Argumentative Indian*, 2005
Arundhati Roy                         *The God of Small Things*, 1998
Ismat Chughtai                       *The Quilt & Other Stories*, 1944

You are strongly advised to consult key journals for articles: *Modern Asian Studies, Indian Economic and Social History Review, Journal of Asian Studies, South Asia, Journal of Peasant Studies, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Contributions to Indian Sociology, Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*. For contemporary discussions see especially *Economic and Political Weekly*. For newspaper coverage see *The Hindu*, or *Times of India* (India), *Dawn* (Pakistan) and *Daily Star* (Bangladesh).

Below: MAS=Modern Asian Studies; IESHR=Indian Economic and Social History Review; JAS=Journal of Asian Studies; HJ=Historical Journal; MIH=Modern Intellectual History; EPW=Economic and Political Weekly; CSSH=Comparative Studies in Society and History.

**NB: in the reading list that follows, suggested readings for weekly essays are set out in bold type. Longer lists are appended as a guide to students wanting to expand their knowledge or wishing to write a Part II dissertation.**

**Topic 1: India Between Empires: Decline or Decentralisation?**

Q. Was Mughal decline inevitable? Discuss the view that Indian society and economy was ‘divided but buoyant’ in the eighteenth century.

C.A. Bayly                      *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* ch.1-3
Muzaffar Alam                   *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India*
Alavi, Seema (ed.)              *The Eighteenth Century in India*
Peter Marshall                  *British Bridgehead*, ch 1-2
D. A Washbrook                  ‘Progress and Problems: South Asian Economic and Social History 1720-1860’ MAS 1988
C.A. Bayly                      *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, Cambridge, 1983
Bernard S Cohn                  ‘Political Systems in 18c India’ in his *Anthropologist among Historians*
M Alam and S Subrahmanyam (ed.) *The Mughal State 1526-1750, Delhi 1998* (see introduction)
J Heesterman ‘Western expansion; Indian reaction: Mughal Empire and British Raj’, in C Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition*, Chicago, 1985
Meena Bhargava *The decline of the Mughal Empire*, 2014
Barbara Ramusack *The Indian Princes and their States*, 2007
R. O’Hanlon and D. Washbrook *Religious Cultures in early Modern India*, 2012
Karen Leonard *Social History of an Indian Caste: the Kayasths of Hyderabad*, 1978
J. R McLane *Land and Local Kingship in 18 Century Bengal*, 2002
Suzanne Rudolph ‘State Formation in South Asia’ JAS, 1987
Sumit Guha ‘An Indian Penal Regime’, *Past and Present* 1997
Richard Barnett *North India between Empire*, 1987
Kumkum Chatterjee The Cultures of History in early Modern India, 2009

**Topic 2: East India Company: Land, Trade &the Dominion of Empire, 1757-1857**

Q How important were British revenue settlements in transforming Indian rural society before the mutiny?
Q How would you characterise the East India Company before 1790– a global trading company or a political institution?

**Travers (above)**

Lawrence Stone (ed.) *An Imperial State at War, 1993*
Seema Alavi *The Sepoy and the Company, 1999*
Ranajit Guha *A Rule of Property for Bengal, 1996*
Claude Markovits *The Global World of Indian Merchants 2000*
Kumkum Chatterjee *Merchants, Politics and Society in Early Modern India, 1996*
Eric Stokes *The Peasant and the Raj, 1978*
Anand Yang *The Limited Raj, 1989*
C A Bayly *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars, ch. 5-7*
Philip J Stern ‘British Asia and British Atlantic: Comparisons and Connections’ *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2006
Peter Marshall *The Making and Unmaking of Empires, 2005*
K. N. Chaudhuri *The East India Company*
Sumit Guha *The Bombay Deccan*
David Ludden *Peasant History in South India, 1985*
DHS Kolff *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy, 1990*
Philip J Stern *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of The British Empire in India, 2012*
**Good biographies of key actors include:**
John Rosselli, Lord William Bentinck, Burton Stein, Thomas Munro, Ainslee Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in India, and Percival Spear, Master of Bengal. Clive and his India.

**Topic 3: Imperial Transitions: Race, Gender and Culture, c. 1757-1840**

Q. In what ways and to what effects did orientalism and race define the Indo-British encounter in the early nineteenth century?
Q. Why and how was the status of women significant for colonial law?

**Eric Stokes**
*English Utilitarians and India, ch 1-3*

**C A Bayly**
*Empire and Information, ch. 1-5*

**Ronald Inden**
*Imagining India, 2000*

**Indrani Chatterjee**
*Gender Slavery and the Law in Colonial India, 1998*

**Radhika Singh**
*A Despotism of Law, 1998*

**Lata Mani**
*Contentious Traditions, 1987*

**Javed Majeed**
*Ungoverned Imaginings*

**David Washbrook**
‘Law, State and Society’ MAS 1981

**David Skuy**

**Ronald Inden**
“Orientalist Constructions of India”, MAS 1986

**Shruti Kapila**

**Juan R I Cole**
The Roots of Shi’ism in Iran and North India

**E. M. Collingham**
*Imperial Bodies, 2001*

**Veena Oldenburg,**
‘Lifestyle as Resistance: Case of the Courtesans’ in *Lucknow: Memoirs of a City*

**Jeevan Deol**
‘Sex, Social Critique and the Female Figure’, MAS, 2002

**Durba Ghosh**
*Sex and the Family in Colonial India, 2006*

**Thomas Trautmann**
*Aryans and British India*

**Michael S Dodson**
*Orientalism Empire and National Culture*

**S. N. Mukerjee**
*Sir William Jones*

**K. Ballhatchet**
*Race Sex and Class under the Raj, 1980*

**Peter van der Veer & C Breckenridge**
*Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* (Relevant essays)

**Jamal Malik (ed.)**
*Perspectives of Mutual Encounter in South Asian History, 2000*

**Durba Mitra**
*Indian Sex Life: Sexuality and the Colonial Origins of Modern Thought, 2020*

**This would be the moment to read critically William Dalrymple’s White Mughals**

**Topic 4: The ‘Liberal Moment’: Religion, Education and Elites in the mid 19C**

Q. In what ways and for what reasons did Indians challenge and transform liberal ideas between 1800-60?

**David Kopf**
*British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*

**Eric Stokes**
*English Utilitarians and India, ch 1-3*

**Jon Wilson**
‘Early colonial India beyond empire’ *Historical Journal, 2007.*

**C A Bayly**
‘Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India’, MHI, 2007

**Lynn Zastoupil,**
Rammohan Roy and the making of Victorian Britain (2010)

**Sumanta Banerjee**
The Parlour and the Street

**Javed Majeed**
*Ungoverned Imaginings*

**Tapan Raychaudhuri**
‘Europe in India’s Xenology’, *Past and Present* 1992

**Tapan Raychaudhuri**
Europe Reconsidered

**Peter Hardy**
*Muslims of British India, ch 1-3*

**Thomas Metcalf**
Iledgies of the Raj

**Lynn Zastophil et al**
J.S. Mill’s Encounter with India

**Andrew Sartori**
*Bengal in global concept history* (2008) ch. 3

**Brian Hatcher**
*Bourgeois Hinduism, 2008*
Topic 5: 1857 and Peasant Rebellions in the Nineteenth Century

Q. ‘A typical peasant rebellion writ large’ or the ‘first war of Indian independence’? Why have the events of 1857-8 been elusive to characterise?

R. Mukherjee  
Eric Stokes  
Eric Stokes  
Ranajit Guha  
C A Bayly  
Ranajit Guha  
William Pinch  
Kim Wagner  
Francis Hutchins  
Thomas Metcalf  
David Omissi  
Gautam Bhadra  
Marx and Engels  
Narayani Gupta  
W H Sleeman  
*Sir John Kaye  
S N Sen  
Seema Alavi  
S. B Chaudhuri  
David Baker  
Douglas Peers  
E I Brodkin  
Seema Alavi  
Tapti Roy

**You could watch Satyajit Ray’s ‘The Chess Players’, or Shyam Benegal's 'Junoon'.
Topic 6: Rural Commerce: Famines and ‘Victorian Holocausts’

Q. Did the commercialisation of agriculture lead to famines in the nineteenth century?

David Arnold - Famine: Social Crises and Historical Change also essays by him in Subaltern Studies III and Past and Present 1979
B M Bhatia - Famines in India
Mike Davis - Late Victorian Holocausts 2001
D Hall-Matthews - Peasants Famine and the State 2005
David Hardiman - Feeding the Bania
Michelle Mc Alpin - Subject to Famine
Jairus Banaji - ‘Capitalist Domination and the Small Peasantry’ EPW 1977
Louis Dumont - “The ‘village community from Munro to Maine” Contributions to Indian Sociology 1966
Ramchandra Guha - The UNquiet Woods, 2000
S Ambirajan - “Political Economy and Indian Famines”, South Asia 1971
R. C. Dutt - Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines… 1900
Michael Mann - British Rule on Indian Soil 1999
Paul Greenough - Prosperity and Misery in Modern Bengal (on 1943 famine but important)
Sanjay Sharma - Famine, Philanthropy and the Colonial State
A K Sen - ‘Famine Mortality’ in E J Hobsbawm (ed.) Peasants in History
Sugata Bose (ed.) - Credit, Markets and the Agrarian Economy of Colonial India 91994
Gyan Prakash - Bonded Histories
Tim Dyson (ed.) - India’s Historical Demography: Studies in Famine, Disease & Society

**You could read Verrier Elwin Leaves from the Jungle: Life in a Gond Village (1936), and see Satyajit Ray’s classic film Pather Panchali, or Mrinal Sen’s 'Akaler Sandhaney - In search of famine’. The recent Bollywood blockbuster, Lagaan, is an entertaining look at British land revenue demands.

Topic 7: Colonial Governmentality: Effects of the Colonial State and Science

Q. Did knowledge translate into power in colonial India?

Matthew Edney - Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1999
Bernard S Cohn - Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge
C A Bayly - Empire and Information, ch. 7-8
William Pinch - Same Difference in Europe and India History and Theory 1999
David Arnold - Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India
Gyan Prakash - Another Reason, Science and the Imagination of Modern India 1999
David Arnold - Colonising the Body, Berkeley, 1993
R S Chandavarkar - Imperial Power and Popular Politics, Cambridge, 1997, ch 8
Mark Harrison - Climates and Constitutions
David Scott - ‘Colonial Governmentality’ Social Text 1998
Kavita Philip - Civilizing Natures 2004
Gauri Viswanathan - Masks of Conquest. Literary Study and British Rule in India, 1990
Deepak Kumar - Science and the Raj
Kapil Raj - Locating Modern Science 2005
R Suamarez Smith - ‘Rule-by-records and rule-by-reports: complementary aspects of the British imperial rule of law’, Contributions to Indian Sociology (n.s.), 19, 1, 1985
Arjun Appadurai - ‘Number in Colonial Imagination’ in Van der Veer and Breckenridge (ed.) Orientalism and Postcolonial Predicament
Christopher Pinney
Rohan Deb Roy

Camera Indica Ch. 1.
Malarial Subjects: Empire, Medicine and Nonhumans in British India, 1820-1909, 2017

* You could read the highly entertaining thriller *Calcutta Chromosome* by Amitav Ghosh on the invention of the cure for malaria by Ronald Ross in Calcutta. Hari Kunzru’s *The Impressionist* is amusing on colonial phrenology and princely pecadillos.

**Topic 8: Recasting Religion: Making Hinduism ‘National’, 1850-1920**

Q. How and with what consequences was Hinduism transformed by 1920?

Andrew Sartori
Peter van der Veer
Tanika Sarkar
Mark Juergensmeyer
David Lorenzon
Shruti Kapila and Faisal Devji (eds.)

Bengal in global concept history (2008)
Gods on Earth
Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation
Religion as a Social Vision
‘Who invented Hinduism?’, CSSH 1999

Kenneth Jones
Leela Gandhi
Rosalind O’Hanlon
Radha Kumar
Sandria Freitag
Sudipta Kaviraj
Kenneth Jones
Andrew Sartori
Peter van der Veer
Tanika Sarkar
Mark Juergensmeyer
David Lorenzon
Shruti Kapila and Faisal Devji (eds.)

Socio-Religious Reform Movements in India
Aryan Dharma
Affective communities, 2006
Caste Conflict and Ideology
A History of Doing (on gender)
Collective Action and Community

K Prior
Kama MacLean
Partha Mitter
William Radice
Joseph Alter
Charles Heimsath
Vasudha Dalmia
Charu Gupta
C R King
Romila Thapar
Cristophe Jaffrelot
William Pinch
G D Sontheimer and H Kulke
Peter Van der Veer
Gyanendra Pandey
Anand Yang
N Gooptu
Richard S. Weiss

‘Making History: The State’s Intervention in Religious Disputes’, *MAS*, 1993
‘Making the Colonial State work for you: Modern beginnings of Kumbh Mela’ *Journal of Asian Studies*, 2003
Hinduism Reconsidered
Much Maligned Monsters
Swami Vivekananda and the Modernisation of Hinduism, 1998
Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform, Princeton, 1964
Nationalization of Hindu Tradition
Sexuality, Obscenity, Community
‘Forging a new linguistic identity’, in S Freitag (ed.) *Culture and power in Benares*.

The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics, London, 1996.
Peasants and monks in British India, 1996
Hinduism Reconsidered, Delhi, 1989.
The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India, 1990
‘Sacred Symbol and Sacred Space’, CSSH, 22, 4, 1980
‘The Urban Poor and Militant Hinduism in Early Twentieth Century UP’, *MAS*, 31, October 1997

The Emergence of Modern Hinduism: Religion on the Margins of Colonialism, 2019

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Topic 9: Invented Identities? Caste, Tribe and Resistance

Q. Was caste ‘invented’ in the nineteenth century?
Q. How did caste and social hierarchy change over the course of the nineteenth century?

Susan Bayly
Caste Politics and Indian Society

Sudipta Kaviraj
‘Imaginary Institution of Indian Society’ Subaltern Studies VII

Nicholas Dirks
Castes of Mind

Special Issue on Caste
Indian Economic and Social History Review, 2004

R O’Hanlon
Caste Conflict and Ideology, Cambridge, 1985

Vijay Prashad
Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of a Dalit Community

Peter Robb (ed.)
The Concept of Race in South Asia

Arjun Appadurai
Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule, Cambridge, 1982

Bernard Cohn
An Anthropologist among Historians and other essays

*H H Risley
The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Calcutta, 1891.

*Abbe Dubois
A Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India, London, 1817

Sanjay Nigam

Meena Radhakrishnan
“Criminal Tribes Act in Madras”, IESHR 1990

Ajay Skaria
Hybrid Histories

Rajni Kothari (ed.)
Caste in Indian Politics see essay by Eلانor Zelliott on Mahars

N Dirks, ‘The invention of caste’ Social Analysis 1989

Rashmi Pant
‘The cognitive status of caste in colonial ethnography’ IESHR, 1987

David Washbrook

Radhika Singha
A despotism of law. Crime and justice in early colonial India, New (From Faujdar to Faujdar Adalat)

F Conlon

Dharma Kumar
Land and Caste in South India, Cambridge, 1965

N Dirks

Deshpande G. P
Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule, Left Word, 2002

Jotiba (Jotirao) Phule
Gulamgiri [Slavery], available on web

Topic 10: Recasting Muslim Identity and Colonial Rule, 1850-1920

Q. Why and in what ways did Muslim politics emerge as distinctive after the mutiny of 1857?

F. C. R Robinson
Separatism among Indian Muslims, Cambridge, 1974

C. A. Bayly
‘The Prehistory of Communalism’, MAS, 1985

Barbara Daly Metcalf
Islamic Revival in British India, Berkeley, 1982

Faisal Devji

Christopher King
One Language Two Scripts

Michael Anderson
‘Islamic Law and the Colonial Encounter’ David Arnold and Peter Robb (ed.) Ideologies and Institutions

Ayesha Jalal

David Lelyveld, Aligarh’s First Generation, Princeton, 1977

Rafiuddin Ahmed
The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906: A Quest for Identity, Delhi, 1981

C. Troll
Sayyid Ahmed Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology, New Delhi, 1978

Peter Hardy
The Muslims of British India, Cambridge, 1972

Rosalind O’Hanlon
Abdul Malik Mujahid  
*Conversion to Islam: Untouchable’s strategy for protest in India*

T. N. Madan (ed.)  
*Muslim Communities in South Asia*

Avrill Powell  
*Muslims and Missionaries in pre Mutiny India*

Usha Sanyal  
*Devotional Islam and Politics of British India 1996*

G. Kozlowski  
*Muslim Endowments and Society in British India 1993*

Kenneth McPherson  
*The Muslim Microcosm, Calcutta 1918-1935*

Farina Mir  
‘Genre and Devotion in Punjabi Popular Narrative: Rethinking Cultural and Religious Syncreticism’, CSSH, 2006

*W W Hunter  
*The Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen*, London, 1871

*Sayyid Ahmad Khan  
*Strictures on the Present State of English Education in India*, London, 1869

**TOPICS 11-17: INDIAN NATIONALISM:**

**This part of the reading list is inter-related and you are advised to read across the different themes for addressing essay topics.**

**POLITICAL MEMOIRS BIOGRAPHIES AND TEXTS:**

B.B. Majumdar  
*History of Political Though from Rammohan to Dayananda* 1934

Annemarie Schimmel  
*Gabriel’s Wing: A study into the religious ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal*

Sri Aurobindo  
*Doctrine of Passive Resistance* 1948

BR Nanda  
*Gokhale: The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*, 1977

S Gopal  
*Brothers Against the Raj A Biography of Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose*, 1990

Rani Shankardass  
*Vallabhbhai Patel*, 1988

Richard Cashman  
*The Myth of the Lokmanya*, Berkeley, 1975

E. Thompson &.  

G T Garratt  

Bankimchandra Chatterjee  
*Anandamath*, 1882

Rabindranath Tagore  
*Gora*, London, 1912

Surendra Nath Banerjee  

Surendra Nath Banerjee  

Dadabhai Naoroji  
*Poverty and UnBritish Rule in India*, Delhi, 1901

B. R. Ambedkar  
*Gandhi and Gandhism*, Jullunder, 1970

E. M. S. Namboodiripad  

M. K. Gandhi  
*The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Ahmedabad, 1927

M. K. Gandhi  
*Hind Swaraj and Other Writings* (ed. A J Parel), 1997

Bepin Chandra Pal  

Rabindranath Tagore  
*Nationalism*, London, 1917

Jawaharlal Nehru  
*An Autobiography*, Bombay, 1962

Rajani Palme Dutt  
*India To-day*, London, 1940

Abdul Kalam Azad  
An *intellectual and Religious biography* ed. Gail Minault and Christian Troll

**You could watch ‘Rebels of the Raj’ a documentary on Subhas Bose, and of course, David Attenborough’s *Gandhi.*

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**Topic 11: Indian Nationalism: Historiography and debates**

Q. What has been the contribution of Subaltern Studies and the Cambridge School to our understanding of Indian nationalism?

Q. Why has the study of Indian nationalism proven to be divisive?

Anil Seal  
*The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, 1968.
### Sumit Sarkar
- *Westernised Middle-Class Intellectuals and Society in Late Colonial India*, EPW, 25, 4, 1990

### M Torri

### Anil Seal

### David Hardiman
- ‘On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India’ in Ranajit Guha (ed), *Subaltern Studies Vol 1.*

### Ranajit Guha
- *Beyond Nationalist Frames 2004/ Writing Social History*
- ‘Nationalism and the trials of becoming’, *Oracle*, 24:2, 2002

### G Pandey
- ‘View of the observable’, in *JPS, 1980*

### Rosalind O’Hanlon
- ‘Recovering the Subject. Subaltern Studies and the Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia’, MAS, 1988 (review article)

### O’Hanlon & Washbrook
- ‘After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism and Politics in the Third World’, *CSSH, 34, 1, 1992*

### Gyan Prakash
- ‘Can the ‘Subaltern’ Ride?’ *CSSH, 34, 1, 1992*

### Gayatri Spivak
- ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ in her *Selected Subaltern Studies: A Reader*

### Dipesh Chakrabarty
- *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies 2004*

### Sumit Sarkar
- Beyond Nationalist Frames 2004/ Writing Social History

### Partha Chatterjee
- A Princely Imposter. The Secret History of Nationalism, Princeton, 2002 (see last chapter)

### P Chatterjee

### C A Bayly
- Origins of Nationality in South Asia

### Ranajit Guha

### Ranajit Guha
- ‘Nationalism and the trials of becoming’, *Oracle*, 24:2, 2002

### Rajnarayan Chandavarkar

### C A Bayly
- The Local Roots of Indian Politics, Oxford, 1975

### G Johnson
- Proving Nationalism and the Early Congress 1877-1917, Princeton, 1977

### D A Washbrook
- The Emergence of Provincial Politics: the Madras Presidency 1870-1892, Cambridge, 1976

### S Wolpert
- Tilak and Gokhale, Berkeley, 1962

### S Sarkar
- Modern India, Madras, 1985

### B Chandra,
- *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, Delhi, 1966*

### D Chakrabartty
- Habitations of modernity (2002), ch 1.

### Vinayak Chaturvedi
- Mapping Subaltern Studies, 2000

### Topic 12: The Indian National Congress, 1885-1920

Q. Can the conflict between the ‘moderates’ and the ‘extremists’ in the Indian National Congress be adequately explained in terms of factional differences?

Q. What and who did the early Congress represent?

### The early associations and the formation of Congress:

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<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>A Seal</td>
<td><em>The Emergence of Indian Nationalism</em>, Cambridge, 1968</td>
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<td>J R McLane</td>
<td><em>Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress</em>, Princeton, 1977</td>
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<td>D A Washbrook</td>
<td><em>The Emergence of Provincial Politics: the Madras Presidency 1870-1892</em>,</td>
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<td>Cambridge, 1976</td>
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<td>S Wolpert</td>
<td><em>Tilak and Gokhale</em>, Berkeley, 1962</td>
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<td>S Sarkar</td>
<td><em>Modern India</em>, Madras, 1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>B Chandra,</td>
<td><em>The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India</em>, Delhi, 1966</td>
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<td>D Chakrabartty</td>
<td>Habitations of modernity (2002), ch 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C A Bayly</td>
<td><em>The Local Roots of Indian Politics</em>, Oxford, 1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>G Johnson</td>
<td><em>Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism, Bombay and the Indian National</em></td>
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<td>Congress 1880-1915, Cambridge, 1973</td>
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<td>R Ray</td>
<td><em>Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal, 1875-1927</em>, Delhi, 1984</td>
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</table>
Extremism and terrorism; the Congress split:

Andrew Sartori, *Bengal in global concept history* (2008) chs.5-8
Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, Delhi, 1973
Bipan Chandra, ‘Revolutionary Terrorists in Northern India in the 1920s’, in B R Nanda (ed.), *Socialism in India*, Delhi, 1972
Prachi Deshpande, Creative pasts; historical memory in western India (2206).


Q. What were the economic and cultural conditions for the rise of anti-colonial movements of 1905-08?
Q. ‘Deindustrialisation’ or a chapter in economic globalisation? Assess the nature of industrial capitalism before 1914.

Neil Charlesworth, *British Rule and Indian Economy 1800-1914*
C Simmons, “Deindustrialisation, industrialisation and the Indian economy 1850-1947”, *MAS* 1985
Mariaka Vicziany, “Deindustrialisation of India” *IESHR* 1979
Barun De (ed.), Essays in Honour of S C Sarkar see esp. Bagchi
Gyan Pandey, “Economic dislocation in 19c UP” in Robb (ed.) *Rural South Asia*
Burton Stein & S. Subrahmanyan (ed.), *Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia*
Amiya K Bagchi, ‘Deindustrialisation in India in the 19th Century’ *Journal of Development Studies* 1976
Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*
David Washbrook, ‘Progress and Problems’ *MAS*, 1988
Manu Goswami, *Producing India*, 2005
Andrew Sartori, ‘The Categorical Logic of a Colonial Nationalism’ *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 2003
Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*, Delhi, 1973
Lisa Trivedi, “The Visual Culture of Swadeshi Nationalism’*, JAS* 2005
Sudhir Chandra, ‘The cultural component of economic nationalism’, *Indian Historical Review*, 12, 1-2, 1985-86.
Kumar and Raychaudhuri (eds.) The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vols 1&2 (Cambridge, 1982 –1983)
Gyan Prakash Bonded Histories: Genealogies of Labor Servitude in Colonial India. Cambridge
South Asian Studies, number 44, New York, 1990 (Introduction)
‘The Rise and Fall of Indian Economic History’, Economic History of Developing Regions, 29(1), 2014
*Dadabhai Naoroji Poverty and Unbritish Rule in India, 1901
*Romesh Chandra Dutt The Economic History of India, Vol 2: In the Victorian Age, New York, (1904) 1969

**You ought to watch Satyajit Ray’s ‘Home and the World’, or read Tagore’s novel of the same name on which it is based.

**Topic 14: Political institutions under the Raj: the census and the growth of ‘representative politics’**

Q: Why and with what effects was ‘native representation’ introduced in British India between 1858 and 1909?

Anil Seal The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the later Nineteenth Century, Cambridge, 1968, (especially Chapter 4)
D A Washbrook ‘Law, State and Society’ MAS, 1981
Arjun Appadurai ‘Number in the colonial imagination’ in C Breckenridge & Van der Veer (eds.), Orientalism and the Post-colonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia, Philadelphia 1993
C A Bayly Empire and Information, Cambridge, 1999
Pradeep Datta Carving Blocs. Delhi, 1999 (sp Chapter 1)
S Bhattacharyya Financial Foundations of the British Raj, Simla, 1971
R Fox Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule, Berkeley, 1971
Ronald Inden Imagining India, 1990 (also see review by Declan Quigley in MAS, 1991)
Ronald Inden, ‘Orientalist Constructions of India’, MAS 1986
David Arnold Colonising the Body, Berkeley, 1993
S Gopal British Policy in India 1860-1914, Cambridge, 1965
Topic 15: Imagining the nation: Indian nationalist thought

Q. Was Indian nationalist thought ‘a derivative discourse’?

P Chatterjee  *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse, Delhi, 1986*

P Chatterjee  *The Nation and its Fragments, Princeton, 1993*


C A Bayly  *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia, Cambridge, 1998*


Sunil Khilnani  *The Idea of India, London, 1998*


Shruti Kapila  ‘Self, Spencer and Swaraj’, *MIH* 2007

Ashis Nandy  *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism, Delhi, 1983*

Sumit Sarkar  ‘“Kaliyuga”, “Chakri” and “Bhakti”: Ramakrishna and his Times’, *EPW*, 26, 29, 1992.


Sudipta Kaviraj  *The Unhappy Consciousness, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India, Delhi, 1995.*

Peter Van der Veer  *Religious Nationalism. Hindus and Muslims in India*, Berkeley, 1994

Gyanendra Pandey  *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, Delhi, 1990

J Chatterji  *Bengal Divided*, Cambridge, 1994, chapter 4

Topic 16: Gandhi, Gandhism and 'mass nationalism'

Q. ‘Popular protest against British rule occurred despite Gandhi, not because of him.’ Discuss.

Q. Were Gandhian ideas and politics illiberal?

Gandhi and Gandhism:

Partha Chatterjee  *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse, London, 1986*

Ravinder Kumar  *Essays in the Social History of Modern India, Calcutta, 1986*

Ajay Skaria  “Gandhi's Politics: Liberalism and the Question of the Ashram”, *South Atlantic Quarterly* Fall 2002

Joseph Alter  *Gandhi’s Body 2000*

David Hardiman  *Gandhi: In his times and Ours 2005*


Anupama Rao  *The caste question , ch 1-3*

Ashis Nandy  “Final Encounter: Politics of the Assassination of Gandhi” in his *Edge of Psychology*

N K Bose  *Studies in Gandhism, Calcutta, 1962* Alternatively, see his *Gandhi in Indian Politics, Calcutta 1967*
Bhikhu Parekh *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform. An Analysis of Gandhi’s Political Discourse*, Delhi, 1989

R Fox *Gandhian Utopia. Experiments with Culture*, Boston, 1989


**Gandhi and ‘mass nationalism’:**


Shahid Amin *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992*, Delhi, 1995

Shahid Amin ‘Gandhi as Mahatma’, R Guha (ed), *Subaltern Studies Vol III.*


R Guha ‘Discipline and Mobilise’ in P Chatterjee and G Pandey (eds.), *Subaltern Studies Vol VII*

Sumit Sarkar ‘The Logic of Gandhian Nationalism’, *Indian Historical Review*, 1976

A Seal and A Jalal ‘Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars’, *MAS*, 1981

J A Gallagher, A Seal, B R Tomlinson ‘Britain and India between the Wars’ *MAS*, 1981

B R Tomlinson ‘India and the British Empire 1880-1935’, *IESHR* 1975

B R Tomlinson ‘India and the British Empire, 1935-47’, *IESHR* 1976

A Seal ‘Imperialism and Nationalism in India’, in J Gallagher, A Seal and G Johnson (eds), *Locality, Province and Nation*, MAS, 1973


C J Baker, J Chatterji, B Chatterji *Holding India to Empire: the British Conservative Party and the 1935 Constitution*, Delhi, 1986


R Sisson & S Wolpert (eds.), *The Congress and Indian Nationalism. The Pre-Independence Phase*, Delhi, 1988

B Chatterji ‘Business and Politics in the 1930s: Lancashire and India’, *MAS*, 1981


**Attenborough’s Gandhi is a must-see.**

**Topic 17: Structures of power in the Indian empire, 1920-1945**

Q. ‘A struggle between impotent rivals, locked in motionless and simulated combat.’ Do you agree with this assessment of the conflict between the Congress and the Raj between 1920 and 1945?

J A Gallagher & A Seal ‘Britain and India between the Wars’ *MAS*, 1981

B R Tomlinson ‘India and the British Empire 1880-1935’, *IESHR* 1975

B R Tomlinson ‘India and the British Empire, 1935-47’, *IESHR* 1976

A Seal ‘Imperialism and Nationalism in India’, in J Gallagher, A Seal and G Johnson (eds), *Locality, Province and Nation, MAS*, 1973


C J Baker, J Chatterji, B Chatterji *Holding India to Empire: the British Conservative Party and the 1935 Constitution*, Delhi, 1986


R Sisson & S Wolpert (eds.), *The Congress and Indian Nationalism. The Pre-Independence Phase*, Delhi, 1988

B Chatterji ‘Business and Politics in the 1930s: Lancashire and India’, *MAS*, 1981


C Bridge *Holding India to Empire: the British Conservative Party and the 1935 Constitution*, Delhi, 1986

*Jawaharlal Nehru* *An Autobiography*, Bombay, 1962


*Lionel Carter (ed.)* *Punjab Politics 1940-1943, the strains of war*, New Delhi, 2005

**Topic 18: Muslim politics between the wars**

Q: In what ways did the Khilafat/Non-cooperation movement change Hindu-Muslim politics between 1919-1942?


C A Bayly ‘The Prehistory of Communalism’, *MAS*, 1985

Barbara Daly Metcalf *Islamic Revival in British India*, Berkeley, 1982

Gyan Pandey *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*

Pradeep Datta *Carving Blocs*. Delhi, 1999


A Seal and A Jalal ‘Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars’, *MAS*, 1981

Ayesha Jalal “Exploding Communalism: Politics of Muslim Identity” in Bose and Jalal (ed.) *Nationalism, Democracy and Development*


Mushirul Hasan *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1916-1928*, Delhi, 1979


Javed Majeed “Geographies of Subjectivity, Pan Islam and Muslim Separatism”, *MIH* 2007


S S Hameed *Islamic Seal on India's Independence*, 1998

**Topic 19: The Urban Age: Industry and Capitalism, 1890-1947:**

Q. What was the nature of industrial capitalism in late colonial India – ‘underdeveloped’ by workers ‘culture’ and/or imperial dependence?

Ritu Birla *Stages of capital, 2010*

R Chandavarkar *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India* plus *History Workshop Journal* article 1999

‘Industrialisation in India before 1857: Conventional Approaches and Alternative perspectives’, *MAS*, 1985

Dipesh Chakrabarty *Rethinking Working Class History*

Amiya Kumar Bagchi *Private Investment in India, 1900-1939*

Sugata Bose (ed.) *South Asia and World Capitalism*


K N Chaudhuri ‘Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments 1757-1947’ Dharma Kumar (ed.) *Cambridge Economic History of India*

Thomas Blom Hansen *Wages of Violence 2001*, ch, 1-2

David Washbrook, ‘South Asia, the World System and World Capitalism’, *Journal of Asian Studies, 1990*

Rajat Ray *Industrialisation in India 1914-47*
B R Tomlinson  

Samita Sen  
*Women and Labour in Late Colonial India*, 1999

D R Gadgil  
*The Industrial Evolution and India in Recent Times*, 1942

Nigel Harris  
Economic Development of Cities: The Case of Bombay, 1978

Jim Masselos  
“Power in a Bombay Mohalla” *South Asia* 1973

Ian Derbyshire  
“Economic change and the railways in north India* MAS 1987

D. Tripathi  
*Business Communities of India*

Ian J Kerr  
*Building the Railways of the Raj*

S Bhattacharyya  
*Financial Foundations of the British Raj*, Simla, 1971

C Dewey & A Hopkins  

Nandini Gooptu  

Tirthankar Roy  


**Topic 20: The end of empire:**

**a) Partition and independence**

Q. Who demanded the partition of India in 1947, and why?

Ayesha Jalal  
*The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*, Cambridge, 1985

David Gilmartin  
The Historiography of India’s Partition, JAS, 2015

B R Tomlinson  
‘India and the British Empire, 1935-47’, *IESHR* 1976

J Chatterji  

R J Moore  
*Escape from Empire: The Attlee Government and the Indian Problem*, Oxford, 1982

David Gilmartin  
‘Partition, Pakistan and South Asian History: In search of narrative’, *JAS* 57:4, Nov 1998

Ian Copland  
‘The Princely States, the Muslim League and the Partition of India’, *International History Review*, 12:1, 1991

Mushirul Hasan (ed.)  
*India’s Partition: Process, Strategy and Mobilisation*, Delhi, 1993 (especially chapter by A Roy)

D Gilmartin  
*Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, Berkeley, 1988

L Brennan  
‘UP Muslims’, *MAS* 1984

Sumit Sarkar  

* Khaliquzzaman  
Pathway to Pakistan, Lahore, 1961

*Pyarelal  

*P Moon,  
Divide and Quit: An Eye-Witness Account of the Partition of India*, Delhi, 1998

*V P Menon  
The Transfer of Power in India, Princeton, 1957

*A K Azad  

*P Moon (ed)  

Ian Copland  
‘Lord Mountbatten and the integration of the Indian States’, *JICH*, 21,2, 1993

D Arnold and  
D Hardiman (eds.)  
*Subaltern Studies* Vol 8, chapter by Pandey

Anita Inder Singh  
The Partition of India 1937-47, Delhi, 1987

S Sarkar  
Writing Social History, Delhi, 1997, Chapter 9
b) The aftermath of partition: riots, refugees, minorities and borders.

Q. Why were the consequences of partition in the east so different from those of partition in the west?

W van Schendel and I Abraham, Illicit flows and criminal things, Indiana, 2005.
Veena Das (ed.), Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots, Survivors in South Asia, Delhi, 1990
Urvashi Butalia, The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition, London, 2000
Gyanesh Kudaisya, ‘The demographic upheaval of Partition’, South Asia, Special Issue, 1995
Sarah Ansari, ‘Partition, Migration, Refugees’, South Asia, Special Issue, 1995
Joya Chatterjee, ‘Rights or Charity?’ in Suvir Kaul (ed.) Partition of Memory, Delhi, 2000
Mushirul Hasan, Legacy of a Divided Nation, Delhi, 1997
Gyanendra Pandey, Remembering Partition, Cambridge 2001
Suranjana Das, Communal Riots in Bengal, 1905-1947, New Delhi, 1991
Veena Das, Critical Events. An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India, Delhi, 1995
Swarna Aiyer, ‘August Anarchy’, South Asia, Special Issue, 1995
Ranabir Samaddar, The Marginal Nation.
A B Hansan, Partition and Genocide, India Research Press 2002
G Kudaisya & Tai Yong Tan, The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia, London 2000

***'Tamas', the serial by Bhishma Sahani, 'Garam Hawa', Pinjar are excellent on partition. The collection of short stories edited by Alok Bhalla is also worth reading if you are interested in this theme. Amitav Ghosh's Shadowlines and Ritwik Ghatak's 'Mehe-Dhaka Tara- A cloud-capped star' reflect on the experiences of people displaced by the events, and fall out, of India's partition.
Topic 21: The transition to democracy in India:

a) Constitution-making, 1947-50

Q. To what extent, and why, was India's constitution of 1950 modelled on the Government of India Act of 1935?

J. Chatterji  The Spoils of partition, Chapter 2
Rohit De  A People’s Constitution, Princeton, 2018
Atul Kohli (ed.)  India’s Democracy, chapter by Manor
Sunil Khilani  The Idea of India, London 1997 (chapter 1)
Anupama Rao  The caste question, 2010
Granville Austin  Working a Democratic Constitution, Delhi, 1999
C Bridge  Holding India to Empire: The British Conservative Party and the 1935 Constitution, Delhi 1986
Taylor Sherman  State violence and punishment in India (2010)
Ornit Shani ‘Conceptions of citizenship and the Muslim question’, MAS, 44: 2, 2010
*R Jawaharlal Nehru,  The Unity of India, London 1948
*C Rajagopalachari  Our Democracy, Madras, 1957
D D Basu  Introduction to the Constitution of India, (13th edn.), Delhi, 1987
Francine Frankel  India’s Political Economy, 1947-77.  The Gradual Revolution, Princeton 1978
Granville Austin  The Indian Constitution. Cornerstone of a Nation, Oxford, 1966
S Kochanek  The Congress Party in India, Princeton 1968

b) The Nehru era: the 'Congress system'

Q. Was there a 'Congress system' in Nehru's India, and if so, why?

R. Kothari  Politics in India, Delhi 1970
W H Morris-Jones  Government and Politics of India, London 1964
Ramchandra Guha  India after Gandhi, 2007
Francine Frankel  India’s political economy 1947-77: The Gradual Revolution, Princeton 1978
Benjamin Zachariah  Developing India: An Intellectual and Social History c 1930-1950, Delhi 2005
Atul Kohli (ed.)  India’s Democracy, Princeton 1988 (in particular see chapter by Manor)
Myron Weiner  Party Building in a new Nation: The Indian National Congress, Chicago 1968
S Khilnani  The Idea of India, London 1997

*Saroj Chakrabarty  With Dr B C Roy and other Chief Ministers. A record up to 1962, Calcutta, 1974.
B Zachariah  Nehru, London 2004
c) Planning, development and the command economy

Q. ‘The contribution of early decades of Indian planning has been integral to India’s recent economic success.’ Discuss.

Vivek Chibbar *Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialisation in India*, Princeton, 2003
Terry Byres (ed.) *Planning and Development*, 1994
S Chakravarthy *Development Planning: the Indian Experience*. 1990
B Datta *Indian Planning at the Crossroads*, Delhi, 1990
Frankel, F and Rao *A Dominance and State Power in Modern India: Decline of a Social Order*, 1989
B Jalan(ed.) *The Indian Economy*, 1994
A. Kohli *Democracy and Discontent*, 1990
Streeten, P and M. Lipton (eds.) *The Crisis of Indian Planning*, 1968
Gunar Myrdal *Indian economic planning in its broader setting*, New Delhi 1958

Topic 22: Language, region and the challenges of federalism, India, 1947-70

Q. Why did so many regional language movements erupt in India the 1950s and 60s?

Granville Austin *The Indian constitution. Cornerstone of a nation* (Ch 12)
P.R. Brass *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, 2005 edn
J Das Gupta *Language conflict and national development*, California 1970
Amrit Rai *A House divided: The origin and development of Hindi/Hindavi*, Delhi 1984
Myron Weiner *Sons of the Soil*, Princeton 1978

J Chatterji, *Spoils of Partition*, Ch 2

*S K Chatterji *Languages and the linguistic problem* (OUP Bombay, 1945)
Mr. Barnett *The Politics of Cultural Nationalism in South India*, Princeton 1976
Franda, M *West Bengal and the federalising process in India*, Princeton, 1968.

**** Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight's Children* is evocative on this period.

**Topic 23: Challenges to democracy in India:**

a) The Emergency and its legacies

Q. 'The chief victim of the Emergency was the Congress party.' Discuss.

Francine Frankel *India's Political Economy*, chs. 10-13. (detailed account of the background to the Emergency)
Gyan Prakash *Emergency Chronicles*, Princeton, 2019
R. Blackburn (ed), *Explosion in a Sub-Continent*, London 1975
B D Dua and James Manor, *Nehru to the Nineties. The changing office of Prime Minister in India*, Hurst 1994

*Dilip Hiro* *Inside India Today*. Michigan 1976
*Kuldip Nayar* *Between the lines*, Delhi 1969
*Kuldip Nayar* *In Jail*, New Delhi 1978.
*D Selbourne* *An Eye to India. The unmasking of a tyranny*, London 1976
*Z Masani, Indira Gandhi, a biography*. 1976
U Baxi *The Indian Supreme Court and Politics*, Lucknow, 1980.

b) The Rise of Hindu nationalism

Q. Account for the rise of Hindutva in the 1980s?

Q. Was it caste politics that determined the rise of Hindu nationalism in the late 1980s?

Ornit Shani
Communalism, Caste and Hindu Nationalism, Cambridge 2007

T. Basu, et al.,
Khaki Shorts, Saffron Flags, London, 1993

Thomas Blom Hansen
The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India, Princeton, 1999

Christophe Jaffrelot

Tanika Sarkar and Urvashi Butalia (ed.)
Women and the Hindu Right: A Collection of Essays, Delhi, 1995

T. B. Hansen, and C, Jaffrelot (eds.)
The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India. Delhi, 1998

D. Ludden (ed.)
Contesting the Nation, Pennsylvania, 1997


S. Bose and A. Jalal (eds) Nationalism, Development and Democracy in South Asia. (essay by Sumantra Bose)

A Varshney
Ethnic conflict and civic life: Hindus and Muslims in India, Yale, 2002

S I Wilkinson
Votes and violence. Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India, 2004

Christopher Jafferlot
India’s Silent Revolution, 2006

B.D Graham


A Nandy et al

W. Anderson & Damle

P Van Der Veer
Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India, 1994

Mushirul Hasan,
The Legacy of a Divided Nation: Muslims in India since Independence, Delhi, 1997.

S Gopal. (ed.)
The Anatomy of a Confrontation: Ayodhya New Delhi, 1990

Brass, P. R.
Theft of an Idol 1996.


Paul Brass
The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India, Washington 2005

R Chandavarkar
‘Customs of Governance: Colonialism and Democracy in Twentieth Century India’, MAS, 41, 3, 199

*** Lalit Vachani’s 'Men in the tree' is an interesting documentary on the Hindutva movement and its ideology.

Topic 24: India's political economy and liberalisation since 1990

Q. Assess the impact of market reforms on India's economy since 1990.

M Alhuwalia and I.M.D.Little, (eds.) India’s Economic Reforms and Development: Essays for Manmohan Singh Delhi, 1998
Topic 25: Constitution-making and the challenges of federalism, Pakistan, 1940-70

Q. Why have successive governments in Pakistan, civilian or military, failed to satisfactorily accommodate regional aspirations?

H. Alavi
"The Politics of Ethnicity in India and Pakistan' in Alavi, H. & John Harris (eds), South Asia.

Paula Newburg

Katherine Adeney
Federalism and ethnic conflict resolution in India and Pakistan, (2006)


A. Jalal, Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, Cambridge 1995

A Jalal

DA Low
The Political Inheritance of Pakistan, Macmillan, 1991

K Adeney

R Malik
‘The politics of one unit 1955-58’, Lahore, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Punjab, 1988

Y Samad
A Nation in Turmoil, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan, 1937-58, New Delhi (Sage) 1998.

M Waseem

William B Milla,
Bangladesh and Pakistan. Flirting with failure in South Asia (2009)
H Rashid and J Gardezi, (ed.), Pakistan: the Roots of a Dictatorship, London, 1983 (especially the article by Hamza Alavi)
R Nations ‘The economic structure of Pakistan and Bangladesh’ in R Blackburn (ed.), Explosion in A Sub-continent, Harmondsworth, 1975
O. Veerkaaik Migrants and Militants: Fun and Violence in Urban Pakistan, Princeton, 2004

** An interesting and controversial novel on Pakistan's first decades is Salman Rushdie's Shame.

** Topic 26: Conflict and war in the Indian subcontinent: Kashmir

Q. Why has the Kashmir dispute been so intractable?

Alistair Lamb The Incomplete Partition: Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute, Hertingfordbury, 1997
Balraj Puri Kashmir: Towards Insurgency, Delhi, 1994
Sumantra Bose Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace, Cambridge Mass, 2000
Chitrakada Zutshi Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity and the Making of Kashmir, Delhi, 2004
Mrudi Rai Hindu Rulers, Muslims Subjects: the history of Kashmir, Hurst, 2004

Ashgar Ali Engineer A Secular Crown on Fire, Delhi, 1993
C. Dasgupta War and Diplomacy in Kashmir 1947-48, Sage, Delhi, 2002

** Topic 27: Bangladesh: war, militancy and militarism
Q. Why has the military been so important to the politics of Bangladesh?
Q Assess the significance of Islam in the politics of Bangladesh.

T Maniruzzaman  
Nayanika Mookherjee  
R Sisson and L Rose  
H Feldman  
A Jalal  
S Mahmud Ali

**Books**

*The Bangladesh Revolution and its Aftermath*, Dhaka, 1980


*War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh*, Berkeley, 1990


*A Quiet Violence: View from a Bangladesh Village.*

*K Gough and H P Sharma (eds.), Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia, New York, 1973, (section on Bangladesh).*

** ‘Meyebela: my Bengali girlhood’ by Taslima Nasreen is a moving autobiography, well worth reading.  
Tariq and Catherine Masud's film 'Muktir Gaan- Songs of Liberation' (1995) on the Bangladesh war won critical acclaim, as did their more recent reflection on the history of Bangladesh, 'Matir Moyna - The Clay Bird' (2006).**

**Topic 28: Globalisation, Inequality and the Politics of Culture**

‘Liberalization in India has merely perpetuated old hierarchies and entitlements.’ Discuss.

*India after Gandhi*, 2007

*Politics After Television*  

*Beyond Belief: India and the Politics of Postcolonial Nationalism, 2006*  

*Pleasure and the Nation: History, Politics and Culture of Consumption*  

*Democracy, Religious Violence and the Future of India, 2007*  

*Satellites over South Asia*
W. Mazzerella  
*Shoveling Smoke: Advertising and Globalization in Contemporary India*, 2003

P J. Assayag & C. Pinney (ed.)  
*Globalization in India: perspectives from below*, 2005

Fuller and Narasimhan  
‘Information Technology Professionals and the New-Rich Middle Class in Chennai (Madras)’, *MAS*, 2007

Edward Luce  

**Topic 29 Sri Lanka**

a. How distinct was the British colonialism of Sri Lanka from that of India, and would you use the term partition to describe the legacy of colonialism for the relationship between the island and the mainland?

b. To what extent is the post-colonial history of Sri Lanka the history of Sinhala Buddhist nationalism and its discontents?

---

**a) British colonialism**

K. M. De Silva,  

Sujit Sivasundaram  

Michael Roberts,  
*Sinhala Consciousness in the Kandyen period*, Colombo, 2004

John Rogers,  

Nira Wickramasinghe  

Sujit Sivasundaram,  
‘Ethnicity, Indigeneity and Migration in the advent of British rule to Sri Lanka’ *American Historical Review*, 2010

Anne Blackburn,  
*Locations of Buddhism: Colonialism and Modernity in Sri Lanka*, 2010

K. M. De Silva ed.  
*History of Sri Lanka*, Volume 3, from 1800-1948

James Duncan,  
*In the Shadow of the tropics: Climate, race and biopower in Ceylon*, 2007

Alicia Schrikker,  
*Dutch and British Colonialism in Sri Lanka*, 2007

Jonathan Spencer ed.  

Colvin R. De Silva,  

Kumari Jayawardena,  

Patrick Peebles,  
*Social change in nineteenth-century Ceylon*, Delhi, 1995.

Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere,  

John Rogers,  

John Rogers,  
‘Caste as a social category and identity in colonial Lanka’ in *IESHR*, 2004

Michael Roberts,  

Michael Roberts ed.  

---

**b) Decolonisation and Sinhala Buddhism**

**De Silva and Wickramasinghe as above.**

S.J. Tambiah  
*Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy*, Chicago, 1986

Michael Roberts  


