



**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

**HISTORY PROGRAMME  
HIST 230: Gandhi, India and the World  
20 POINTS**

**TRIMESTER 1 2014**

**Important dates**

**Trimester dates:** 3 March to 2 July 2014

**Teaching dates:** 3 March to 6 June 2014

**Easter/Mid-trimester break:** 18 April to 4 May 2014

**Study week:** 9 – 13 June 2014

**Examination/Assessment Period:** 13 June to 2 July 2014

**Withdrawal dates:** Refer to [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/withdrawals-refunds](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/withdrawals-refunds). If you cannot complete an assignment or sit a test or examination, refer to [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats).

**Class times and locations**

**Lectures**

Wednesday 10.00 – 10.50 am; Room: EALT206

Friday 10.00 – 10.50 am; Room: LBLT118

**Tutorial**

*Choose any of the following three options*

Wednesday	14:10	15:00	EA201
Friday	12:00	12:50	VZ506
Friday	13:10	14:00	VZ506

## Names and contact details

Course Coordinator: Professor Sekhar Bandyopadhyay  
Room No: OK 411  
Phone: 463 6772  
Email: Sekhar.Bandyopadhyay@vuw.ac.nz  
Office hours: To be announced

## Communication of additional information

This course uses Blackboard and presumes that all enrolled students have valid myvuw.ac.nz addresses. Please check that this account is active and you have organised email forwarding. Additional information and any changes to the timetable or lecture and seminar programme will be advised by email, announced in lectures, posted on the course Blackboard site or on the History glass notice board (level 4, Old Kirk Building).

## Prescription

A study of Gandhi and his India and his influence on democratic movements in other parts of the British Empire, South Africa and the USA.

## Course content

This course will focus on one of the great personalities of twentieth century world history, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who used, with great success, the novel agitational technique of non-violent direct action against the powerful British Empire. This course will seek to situate Gandhi in a proper historical context. It will use the story of his leadership as a convenient entry point to delve deeper into the complex social and political history of modern India, particularly the history of nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century. It also proposes to look at Gandhi from a global comparative perspective, focusing on his South African experience, his influence on other world leaders and movements, such as the Civil Rights movement in the US or the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa, and the implications of his movement for the process of decolonisation in the British empire after World War II. It will end with a discussion of Gandhi's heritage, his contemporary relevance in his own India and in the world.

## Course learning objectives (CLOs)

Students passing this course should be able to:

1. know about the cultural traditions of India and her social diversities;
2. comprehend the process of nation building and the roots of some of India's present day political problems;
3. comprehend how, in general, European colonialism functioned in an Asian society;
4. analyse how such societies were transformed as a result of their encounter with the Western modernity;
5. evaluate the role of individual in history;
6. analyse some of the existing historical debates about colonialism and nationalism;
7. comprehend Gandhi's ideology of anti-imperialism;
8. analyse how his method of non-violent agitation influenced some other world leaders and movements; and
9. evaluate the relevance of his ideas of alternative modernity and his message of non-violence in the present day context of industrialism, globalisation and international conflict.

## Teaching format

Students enrolled in HIST 230 are expected to attend two one-hour lectures each week and participate in a one-hour tutorial. The course consists of 22 lectures in total and 10 weekly tutorials. To successfully complete the course, students need to participate in a minimum of 7 tutorials, submit two assignments and do an in-course test (assignment details are below).

## Mandatory course requirements

In addition to achieving an overall pass mark of 50%, students must:

1. Submit written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates
2. Attend at least 7 tutorials; in case of illness, this requirement will be waived if a medical certificate is provided;
3. Sit the class test held during the last lecture period.

PLEASE NOTE: THERE IS NO PROVISION FOR MAKE-UP EXERCISES IN THIS COURSE TO COMPENSATE FOR ADDITIONAL ABSENCES EXCEPT UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. You should allow for the possibility of unforeseen illness when using up your quota of permissible absences.

4. PLEASE NOTE that **Friday 13 June** is the **FINAL DATE** on which any written work can be accepted by the Programme. This means that the provision for late submission with a penalty does not apply beyond this date. Permission to submit work after 8 June must be sought in writing from the Head of Programme, and will only be granted for serious medical reasons (supported by medical certificate), or in case of serious personal crisis.

## Workload

In accordance with the FHSS guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote a total of 200 hours of work to HIST 230. This will include 2 hours of lectures and 1 hour of tutorial per week for the 12 week trimester (22 + 11 hours), 33 hours for preparing for tutorials, 34 hours for researching and writing book review, 85 hours for researching and writing the research essay, 15 hours for preparing for the class test.

## Assessment

Assessment items and workload per item		%	CLO(s)	Due date 2014
1	Book review, 1500 words	30%	1 - 5	31 March
2	Research essay, 3000 words	45%	6 - 9	26 May
3	Class test, 50 minutes	25%	6 - 9	6 June

### Marking criteria.

Marking for assignments 1 and 2 will take into account your writing skills, ability to present a coherent argument by using an array of secondary and primary sources and your ability to use proper referencing techniques.

There is no need for referencing in the class test, which will assess your overall understanding of the content of the course, your analytical skill and ability to construct an argument.

## Submission and return of work

Essays should be submitted through the office essay drop-off point, Old Kirk Room 405 together with completed cover sheet which is available on Blackboard and/or from the office.

Essays and tests will be returned at times to be advised. If students fail to attend these times, they may collect their essay from the Office, Old Kirk Room 405 between the hours of 2.00 and 3.00 pm from Monday to Friday and must show their Student ID card before collection.

## Extensions and penalties

### Extensions

Extensions may be granted in exceptional circumstances, but **all extensions require the student to provide documentation**. If granted an extension, students must agree to a new due date. Contact your tutor as soon as a problem emerges. Extension forms are available in the History Programme office.

### Penalties

History Programme policy stipulates that late submission of essays is penalised. Students lose 5% for the first day late and 2% thereafter for a maximum of 10 working days. After 10 days, work can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked.

## Set texts

### Essential text:

HIST 230 Book of Readings.

## Recommended reading

David Arnold, *Gandhi: Profiles in Power* (London: Longman, 2001).

Both of the above may be purchased from Vicbooks. Check their website: [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz).

### Background reading:

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004);

Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (London, New York: Routledge, Second edition, 2004)

Other useful books are:

Burton Stein, *A History of India*, (Oxford, Blackwell, 1998); Judith Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (New York, Oxford University Press, Second edition, 1994); Peter Robb, *A History of India* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002), Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1989), Sekhar Bandyopadhyay (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009). VUW Library has a good collection of books on Indian history. For further reference, students may consult the bibliographical notes in the books mentioned above.

## Class representative

The class representative provides a useful way to communicate feedback to the teaching staff during the course. A class representative will be selected at the first lecture of the course. Students may like to write the Class Rep's name and details in this box:

Class Rep name and contact details:
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## Student feedback

Enhancements made to this course, based on the feedback of previous students, will be covered during the course.

Student feedback on University courses may be found at [www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/feedback/feedback\\_display.php](http://www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/feedback/feedback_display.php).

## Other important information

The information above is specific to this course. There is other important information that students must familiarise themselves with, including:

- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/integrity-plagiarism](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/integrity-plagiarism)
- Aegrotats: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats)
- Academic Progress: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/academic-progress](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/academic-progress) (including restrictions and non-engagement)
- Dates and deadlines: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/dates](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/dates)
- FHSS Student and Academic Services Office: [www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin)
- Grades: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/grades](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/grades)
- Resolving academic issues: [www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications)
- Special passes: [www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications)
- Statutes and policies including the Student Conduct Statute: [www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/strategy](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/strategy)
- Student support: [www.victoria.ac.nz/students/support](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/students/support)
- Students with disabilities: [www.victoria.ac.nz/st\\_services/disability](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/disability)
- Student Charter: [www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/student-charter](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/student-charter)
- Student Contract: [www.victoria.ac.nz/study/apply-enrol/terms-conditions/student-contract](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/study/apply-enrol/terms-conditions/student-contract)
- Subject Librarians: <http://library.victoria.ac.nz/library/resources/subjectcontacts.html>
- Turnitin: [www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin](http://www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin)
- University structure: [www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/structure](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/structure)
- VUWSA: [www.vuwsa.org.nz](http://www.vuwsa.org.nz)

## LECTURE PROGRAMME

1. 5 March Introduction: Gandhi in myth and history
2. 7 March Gandhi's India: colonial economy
3. 12 March Gandhi's India: some important social changes
4. 14 March Gandhi's India: beginning of nationalism
5. 19 March Gandhi's life
6. 21 March Gandhi's philosophy: a counter-modernist critique of the West?
7. 26 March Gandhi's South African experience
8. 28 March Gandhi before Congress
9. 2 April Gandhi's rise to power
10. 4 April Khilafat movement
11. 9 April Non-Co-operation movement, 1920-22
12. 11 April Civil Disobedience and the 'Salt March', 1929-34.
13. 16 April Gandhi and women

## Mid-trimester break

14. 7 May Muslim alienation
15. 9 May Gandhi and the untouchables
16. 14 May 'Quit India' movement: a 'spontaneous revolution'?
17. 16 May Popular movements of the 1940s and the dilemmas of Gandhian Congress
18. 21 May Gandhi, Independence and the Partition of India
19. 23 May Gandhian legacy: alternative development and environmentalism
20. 28 May Gandhian movements outside India: Civil Rights movement in the US
21. 30 May Gandhi's South African legacy: Anti-Apartheid movement
22. 4 June Is there any contemporary relevance of Gandhian thoughts?
23. 6 June Class test

## TUTORIAL PROGRAMME

**Discussion of Readings:** The format of the discussion will be flexible. Students are expected to read David Arnold, *Gandhi: Profiles in Power* (London: Longman, 2001) before the beginning of the tutorial programme, as this book will provide necessary background information for understanding the more specialised articles prescribed for reading for each tutorial topic. For background information on Gandhi's India, students may also look at Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (London, New York: Routledge, Second edition, 2004) or Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004). Discussion in the seminars will however focus on the main arguments and theoretical issues raised in the prescribed readings for each week.

Week 1 No tutorial

Week 2 **Gandhi's India**

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004), pp. 122-58.

- Week 3. **Gandhi's philosophy**  
 Bhikhu Parekh, *Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination*, (Notre Dame, 1989), chapter 1;  
 Raghavan Iyer, (ed.), *The Moral and Political Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. III, (Oxford, 1987), pp. 44-50.
- Week 4 **Gandhi in South Africa**  
 M.B. Steger, *Gandhi's Dilemma: Non-violent Principles and Nationalist Power*, (New York, 2000), chapter 2;  
 Judith Brown, 'The Making of a Critical Outsider', in *Gandhi and South Africa: Principles and Politics*, eds., J.M. Brown and M. Prozesky, (New York, 1996).
- Week 5. **Gandhi and Indian nationalism**  
 Judith Brown, 'Gandhi as nationalist leader, 1915-1948', in *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*, eds. J.M. Brown and A. Parel (Cambridge 2011), pp. 51-68.  
 Claude Markovitz, *The Un-Gandhian Gandhi: The Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma* (London, Anthem Press, 2004), pp.91-103.
- Week 6. **Gandhi and the masses**  
 S. Amin, 'Waiting for the Mahatma', in *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, ed. S. Bandyopadhyay (New Delhi, 2009).
- Week 7. **Gandhi and women**  
 Sujata Patel, 'Construction and Reconstruction of Women in Gandhi', in A. Thorner and M. Rishnaraj, (eds), *Ideals, Images and Real Lives: Women in Literature and History*, (Hyderabad, Orient Blackswan, 2000).
- Week 8. **Gandhi, Congress and the minorities**  
 Dennis Dalton, (ed.), *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings*, (Indianapolis, Cambridge, 1996), pp.110-117.  
 Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*, (Delhi, OUP, 1992), chapter 7.  
 Eleanor Zelliot, 'Congress and the Untouchables, 1917-50', in *Congress and Indian Nationalism*, eds., Richard Sisson and Stanley Wolpert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
- Week 9. **Gandhi's last battle**  
 Gyanendra Pandey, 'Introduction: The Indian Nation in 1942', in G. Pandey (ed.), *The Indian Nation in 1942*, (Calcutta, K.P. Bagchi & Co., 1988).
- Week 10 **Gandhian legacy: environmentalism and alternative development**  
 Ramchandra Guha, 'Mahatma Gandhi and the Environmental Movement in India', in A. Kalland and G. Persoon (eds), *Environmental Movements in Asia* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1998), pp.65-82.
- Week 11. **Gandhi in world history**  
 David Hardiman, *Gandhi in his time and ours* (New Delhi, Permanent Black, 2003), chapter 9;

W.E.B. Du Bois, 'Gandhi and the American Negroes', in *Facets of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 2, eds. S. Mukherjee and S. Ramaswamy (New Delhi, 1994).

Week 12 **No tutorial**

## ASSIGNMENTS

**Assignment 1: Book Review** (30% of the final grade – due on Monday 31 March):

**You have to write a review essay on any of the following books. All these books have been placed on Closed Reserve in the VUW Library. You may choose another book not listed below; but for that you will need permission of the course co-ordinator.**

1. Sugata Bose & Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (London, New York: Routledge, 1998).
2. David Arnold, *Gandhi* (London: Longman, 2001).
3. Judith Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, any edition)
4. J. Brown and A. Parel (eds) *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
5. Bipan Chandra, et.al., *India's Struggle for Independence* (New Delhi, Penguin Books, 1989).
6. Jim Masselos, *Indian Nationalism: An History* (Revised edition, Delhi, Sterling, 1985). An earlier edition of this book is available with the title *Nationalism on the Indian Subcontinent*; you may also choose that book.
7. R. Sisson & S. Wolpert, (eds), *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1988).
8. D.A. Low, (ed.), *Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle 1917-47* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004); there is also an earlier 1977 edition.
9. Judith Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).
10. Claude Markovitz (ed.), *A History of Modern India 1480-1950* (London: Anthem, 2002).
11. Peter Robb, *A History of India* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
12. Barbara D. and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A concise history of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
13. Ramchandra Guha, *Makers of Modern India* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011).
14. Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's passion: the life and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

**Some useful web links on how to write a book review.**

<http://www.uk-student.net/modules/wfsection/article.php?articleid=224>

<http://library.queensu.ca/research/guide/book-reviews/how-write>

<http://library.concordia.ca/help/howto/bookreports.html>

<http://legacy.bluegrass.kctcs.edu/LCC/HIS/review.html>

<http://www.lib.uwaterloo.ca/libguides/1-12.html>



**Assignment 2: Questions for the research essay** (45% of the final grade – due on Monday 26 May):

**You may choose some other question not listed below; but prior approval of the course coordinator will be necessary for that.**

1. Would you argue that Gandhi's nationalism was based on a fundamental critique of modern civilisation? Discuss this point with reference to various aspects of his philosophy.
2. Would you agree with Judith Brown that "in several crucial ways South Africa made the Indian Gandhi"?
3. How did the Indian masses respond to Gandhi's call for political participation? Could Gandhi really transform Indian politics from the "politics of the classes" to "politics of the masses"?
4. What was the political significance of the Rowlatt Satyagraha? Did this movement fail because of weak organisation?
5. Was the Khilafat movement a "pan-Islamic" movement? Was Gandhi justified in supporting this movement?
6. What were the different forms of mass participation in the Non-Cooperation movement (1920-22)? By calling it off after the violent incident at Chaurichaura, did Gandhi betray the masses?
7. Was the mass movement in the winter of 1920-21 the result of mobilisation from above or groundswell from below?
8. In what ways did Gandhian movements differ from nationalist politics of the pre-World War I period?
9. Did the Civil Disobedience (1929-31) movement reveal the limitations of Gandhian mass movement?
10. How did Gandhi's message register in peasant consciousness?
11. How crucial was the role of the capitalists in the Civil Disobedience movement? Did Gandhi withdraw the movement in 1931 because of their pressure?
12. Was the 'Quit India' Movement (1942) a 'spontaneous revolution'? What was its impact on the future politics of India?
13. How did Gandhi propose to solve the problem of Hindu-Muslim division in India? To what extent did he succeed in his mission?
14. Did Gandhi bring about any significant change in the status of women in India?
15. Could Gandhi offer a satisfactory solution to the problem of untouchability? How did the untouchables respond to his movement and to nationalism?
16. How relevant were the Gandhian movements to the British decision to transfer power in India in 1947?
17. Could Gandhi have prevented the Partition of India in 1947?
18. Did Gandhi offer a sustainable and viable method of economic development for postcolonial India?
19. To what extent was the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa influenced by the Gandhian legacy?
20. How significant was Gandhi's influence on Martin Luther King Jr. and the Civil Rights movement in the USA?

## READINGS

The following is a list of relevant reading materials for this course; but it is by no means a complete bibliography.

There are a few journals which include many useful articles. These are:

*Economic and Political Weekly* (EPW)

*The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (IESHR)

*Journal of Asian Studies* (JAS)

*Modern Asian Studies* (MAS)

*South Asia* (SA)

### 1. **GENERAL WORKS**

Bandyopadhyay, S., (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*

Brown, Judith, M., *Modern India. The Origins of an Asian Democracy*

Cohn, B.S., *The Social Anthropology of a Civilization*

Guha, R., (ed.), *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, Vols. I-XI

Guha, Ramachandra, *Makers of Modern India*.

Kumar, Ravinder, *The Making of a Nation: Essays in Indian History and Politics*

Markovitz, Claude, (ed.), *A History of Modern India 1480-1950*

Masselos, J., *Nationalism on the Indian Subcontinent* (revised edition published as *Indian Nationalism: An History*)

Metcalf, Barbara D. & Thomas R., *A concise history of India*

Robb, Peter, *A History of India*

Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India 1885-1947*

Spear, Percival, *India a Modern History*

Spear, Percival, *The Oxford History of Modern India*

Suntharalingam, R., *Indian Nationalism: an historical analysis*

Schwartzberg, Joseph, E.A., *Historical Atlas of South Asia* (This superb piece of scholarship and cartographic skill is in the University Library. All students should familiarise themselves thoroughly with the relevant sections of it.)

Wolpert, Stanley, *A New History of India*

### 2. **Nationalism before Gandhi**

Argov, D., *Moderates and Extremists in the Indian Nationalist Movement 1883-1920*

Barrier, N.G., 'The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab 1894-1907', *JAS*, XXVI, 3 (MAY 1967)

Basu, Aparna, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India 1898-1920*

Bayly, C.A., *The Local Roots of Indian Politics, Allahabad 1880-1920*

Cashman, R., *The Myth of the Lokamanya* (Tilak)

Cashman, R. 'The Political Recruitment of the God Ganapati', *IESHR*, Sept. 1970

Chandra, Bipan, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*

Chandra, Bipan, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*

Desai, A.R., *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*

Freitag, Sandria, B., *Collective Action and Community: Public Areas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India*

Fusfield, Warren, 'Communal Conflict in Delhi: 1803-1930', *IESHR*, XIX, 2 (1982)

Gordon, L.A., *Bengal: the Nationalist Movement 1876-1940*

Johnson, Gordon, *Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism. Bombay and the Indian National Congress*

Joshi, V.C., (ed.), *Lajpat Rai Autobiographical Writings*

Low, D.A., (ed.). *Indian National Congress: Centenary Hindsight.*

Masselos, J.C., *Towards Nationalism*

Masselos. J., *Nationalism on the Indian Subcontinent* (revised edition published as *Indian Nationalism: An History*)

McCully, B.T., *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism*

McLane, J.R., *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*

Mehrotra, S.R., *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*

Mehrotra, S.R., *India and the Commonwealth 1885-1929*

Mehrotra, S.R., 'The Early Indian National Congress, 1885-1918: Ideals, Objectives and Organization', in B.R. Nanda, (ed.), *Essays in Modern Indian History*

Misra, B.B., *The Indian Middle Classes*

Nanda, B.R., *Gokhale the Indian Moderates and the British Raj*

Nanda, B.R., (ed.) *Essays in Modern Indian History*

Owen, H.F. 'Towards Nationwide Agitation and Organisation: the Home Rule Leagues, 1915-1918', in D.A. Low (ed.), *Soundings in Modern South Asian History*

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

Ray, Rajat Kanta, *Social Conflict & Political Unrest in Bengal 1875-1927*

Robb, Peter, 'The Challenge of Gau Mata: British Policy and Religious Change in India, 1880-1916', *MAS*, 20, 2 (Apr. 1986)

Robinson, Francis, *Separatism among Indian Muslims*

Sarkar, Sumit, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal*

Seal, Anil, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*

Seal, Anil, 'Imperialism and Nationalism in India', *MAS*, 7, 3 (1973)

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

Southard, Barbara, 'The Political Strategy of Aurobindo Ghosh: the Utilization of Hindu Religious Symbolism and the Problem of Political Mobilization in Bengal', *MAS*, 24, 3 (1980)

Suntharalingam, R., *Indian Nationalism: an historical analysis*

Suntharalingam, R., *Politics and nationalist awakening in South India 1852-1891*

Washbrook, D.A., *The Emergence of Provincial Politics. The Madras Presidency 1870-1920*

Wolpert, S., *Tilak and Gokhale*

Wolpert. S., *Gandhi's passion: the life and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi*

### 3. **Gandhi and nationalist politics since World War I**

Alter, Joseph A., *Gandhi's body: sex, diet and the politics of nationalism*

Amin, S., 'Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern UP, 1921-2', in R. Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies III: Writings on South Asian History and Society*

Amin, S., *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922 – 1992*

Arnold, D., *The Congress in Tamilnad, Nationalist Politics in South India 1919-1937*

Ashe, G., *Gandhi: A Study in Revolution*

- Richard Attenborough and Arun Gandhi, *Untold Story of Kasturba: wife of Mahatma Gandhi*, Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2000
- Bahl, Vinay, 'Attitudes of the Indian National Congress towards the Working Class Struggle in India 1918-1947', in *Congress and Classes: Nationalism, Workers and Peasants*, edited by Kapil Kumar
- Baker, C.J. 'Non-co-operation in South India', in Baker & Washbrook, *South India: Political Institutions and Political Change 1880-1940*
- Baker, C.J., *The Politics of South India 1920-1937*
- Baker, D.E.U., 'The Break-Down of Nationalist Unit and the Formation of the Swaraj Parties, India 1922 to 1924', G.C. Bolton & H.F. Owen (eds), *University Studies in History*, V, 4 (1970)
- Baker, D.E.U. *Changing Political Leadership in an Indian Province: The Central Provinces and Berar 1919-1939*
- Baker, C., Johnson, & Seal, A. (eds), *Power Profit and Politics: Essays on Imperialism, and Change in Twentieth Century India* [also published as *MAS*, 15, 3 (July 1981)]
- Bondurant, J.V., *Conquest of Violence. The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*
- Bose, Sugata, *Agrarian Bengal - economy, social structure and politics, 1919-1947*
- Blais, Genevieve, *Gandhi: a beginner's guide*
- Brass, P., *Language Religion and Politics in North India*
- Broomfield, J.H., *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society*
- Brown, J.M., *Gandhi's Rise to Power. Indian Politics 1915-1921*
- Brown, J.M., *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*
- Brown, J. and A. Parel, (eds) *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*
- Brown, Rebecca M. *Gandhi's spinning wheel and the making of India*
- Chandavarkar, Raj. *Imperial Power and Popular Politics: class, Resistance and the State in India, c.1850-1950*
- Chatterji, B. *Trade, Tariffs and Empire: Lancashire and British Policy in India 1919-1939*
- Chatterjee, P. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World - A Derivative Discourse*
- Chatterjee, P. *The Nation and Its Fragments*
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