



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

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

**TRIMESTER 1 2012**  
**5 March to 4 July 2012**

**Trimester dates**

Teaching dates: Tuesday 6 March to Thursday 7 June 2012

Mid-trimester break: 6–22 April 2012

**Withdrawal dates**

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

**Names and contact details**

**Lecturer:** Professor Sekhar Bandyopadhyay  
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**Email:** [Sekhar.Bandyopadhyay@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:Sekhar.Bandyopadhyay@vuw.ac.nz)

**Class times and locations**

**Lectures:** Tuesday, Thursday, 11 – 11.50 AM,  
HMLT001

**Tutorials:** 1 one-hour tutorial.  
Tutorial times and venues will be arranged in the first week of the term and group lists placed on the History programme noticeboard.

**Course delivery**

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 23 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).

### **Communication of additional information**

Additional information or information on changes during the course will be posted on the History glass notice board (level 4, Old Kirk Building) or announced in lectures or put up on Blackboard.

### **Course 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 first 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.

### **Learning objectives**

This course is on Mahatma Gandhi, but it is not just about Gandhi. Its main objective is to use the story of Gandhi's leadership as an entry point into the complex story of an anti-colonial nationalist movement in an Asian society. Its aim is to take a critical look at Gandhi's personality, philosophy and leadership in order to find out how relevant he really was to the emerging nationalist movement in the British Indian Empire, how effective his novel non-violent direct action method of agitation was, and what impact did his philosophy of an alternative modernity - often branded as a counter-modernist critique of the Western civilisation - have on his own people and on the rest of the world.

Students passing this course should be able to comprehend clearly:

- the role of individual in history;
- the cultural traditions of India and her social diversities;
- the process of nation building and the roots of some of India's present day political problems;
- how, in general, European colonialism functioned in an Asian society;
- how such societies were transformed as a result of their encounter with the Western culture;
- some of the existing historical debates about colonialism and nationalism;
- how did Gandhi define his ideology of anti-imperialism;
- how had his method of non-violent agitation influenced some other world leaders and movements; and

- what relevance his ideas of an alternative modernity and his message of non-violence have in the present day context of industrialism, globalisation and international conflict.

### **Graduate attributes**

As with all History courses, learning objectives of HIST 230 contribute to the attainment of specific graduate attributes. For more details please consult our website:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/hppi/about/hist-overview.aspx#grad-attributes>

### **Expected 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, preparing for tutorials, researching and writing the two assignments, the class test and the preparation time for that.

### **Readings**

#### Essential text

HIST 230 Book of Readings

#### Recommended text

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

All undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer from 13 February to 16 March 2012, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of vicbooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus.

After week two of the trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from vicbooks on Level 4 of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at [www.vicbooks.co.nz](http://www.vicbooks.co.nz) or can email an order or enquiry to [enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz](mailto:enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz). Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from nominated collection points at each campus. Customers will be contacted when they are available.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

### **Recommended 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.

### **Assessment requirements**

#### **Relationship between assessment and course objectives:**

Since the objective of the course is to introduce students to immense complexities of colonial society in India, the assessment process will focus more on understanding than on marshalling of facts. Students are expected to write two assignments, one of which will be a review of a book on the general history of India or on nationalism in India. This is to familiarise the students with the broad outlines of historical developments in India, which provided the backdrop for the emergence of Gandhian leadership. The second assignment will be an essay on a question more specifically focused on one aspect of the Gandhian movements or his philosophy. Questions in the class test at the end of the term will relate to topics covered in the lectures and tutorials and will mainly focus on problems of interpretation. This is to assess how students have understood the significance of Gandhian leadership in the history of Indian nationalism and in world history.

Since the course also aims to help students gain certain specific skills, like creative and critical thinking and communication, 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 will also be assessed through these assignments.

#### **Weighting of each assignment task:**

1 book review 30% of the final grade  
1 research essay 45% of the final grade  
1 class test 25% of the final grade

#### **Critical dates for each piece of work:**

Monday 2 April, 5 PM for the book review

Monday 28 May, 5 PM for the research essay

Thursday 7 June – class test to be held during the last lecture period (11 – 11.50 AM, HM LT001)

#### **Word limits for each piece of work:**

Book review approximately 1500 words  
Research essay approximately 3000 words

**Essays complete with a History cover sheet will have to be handed in through the Assignment slots next to the History Office (OK 405).**

#### **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. 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.

Note that **Friday 8 June 2012** is the final date on which any written work can be accepted by the Programme. The provision for late submission with penalty does not apply beyond this 8 June date.

### **Mandatory course requirements**

The minimum course requirements which must be satisfied in order to earn the right to be assessed for a final grade are:

1. Submission of written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates
2. Attendance in 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.

You are permitted to miss up to 3 tutorials without penalty. Extra absences will result in a student failing course requirements, except in cases of serious illness (supported by a medical certificate), or serious personal crisis.

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 8 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.

### **Return of assignments**

Essays and tests will be returned during lectures and or tutorials. If students fail to attend, they may collect their essay from the History Programme Office in level 4, Old Kirk Building between the hours of 2 and 3pm from Monday to Friday and must show their Student ID card before collection.

### **Class Representative**

A class representative will be elected in the first class, and that person's name and contact details will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator, tutors and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

### **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

#### **WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION**

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study). Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress). Most statutes and policies are available at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy), except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx) (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at [www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about\\_victoria/avcacademic](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic).

## **LECTURE PROGRAMME**

1. 6 March Introduction: Gandhi in myth and history
2. 8 March Gandhi's India: colonial economy
3. 13 March Gandhi's India: some important social changes
4. 15 March Gandhi's India: beginning of nationalism
5. 20 March Gandhi's life
6. 22 March Gandhi's philosophy: a counter-modernist critique of the West?
7. 27 March Gandhi's South African experience
8. 29 March Gandhi as a champion of local issues: early movements, 1916-18.
9. 3 April Gandhi as a champion of the national cause: Rowlatt *satyagraha* of 1919.
10. 5 April Gandhi as a leader of the Indian National Congress

## **Mid-trimester break**

11. 24 April Muslims and the Khilafat
12. 26 April Non-Co-operation movement, 1920-22
13. 1 May Civil Disobedience and the 'Salt March', 1929-34.
14. 3 May Gandhi and women
15. 8 May Muslim alienation
16. 10 May Gandhi and the untouchables
17. 15 May 'Quit India' movement: a 'spontaneous revolution'?
18. 17 May Popular movements of the 1940s and the dilemmas of Gandhian Congress.
19. 22 May Gandhi, Independence and the Partition of India
20. 24 May The aftermath of Partition and the Gandhian legacy
21. 29 May Gandhian movements outside India: Civil Rights movement in the US
22. 31 May Gandhi's South African legacy: Anti-Apartheid movement
23. 5 June Is there any contemporary relevance of Gandhian thoughts?
24. 7 June 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**  
 Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947*, (Madras, 1983), pp. 24-42.  
 K.N.Panikkar, 'An Overview', from *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony: Intellectuals and Social Consciousness in Colonial India*, (New Delhi, 1995).
- 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's politics**  
 Judith Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power*, (Cambridge, 1972), chapter 2;  
 Claude Markovitz, *The Un-Gandhian Gandhi: The Life and Afterlife of the Mahatma* (London, Anthem Press, 2004), pp.91-103.
- Week 6.    **Gandhi and mass movements**  
 Judith Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, (New Haven and London, 1989), chapter 5.
- Week 7.    **Gandhi and peasant utopia**  
 S.Amin, 'Waiting for the Mahatma', in *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, ed. S.Bandyopadhyay (New Delhi, 2009).
- Week 8.    **Gandhi and women**  
 Sujata Patel, 'Construction and Reconstruction of Women in Gandhi', in *Ideals, Images and Real Lives: Women in Literature and History*, eds. A.Thorner and M.Krishnaraj, (Hyderabad, 2000).
- Week 9.    **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, 1992), chapter 7.  
 Eleanor Zelliott, 'Congress and the Untouchables, 1917-50', in *Congress and Indian Nationalism*, eds., Richard Sisson and Stanley Wolpert (Berkeley 1988).



Week 10. **Gandhi's last battle**

Gyanendra Pandey, 'Introduction: The Indian Nation in 1942', in *The Indian Nation in 1942*, ed. G.Pandey (Calcutta, 1988).

Week 11. **Gandhi in world history**

David Hardiman, *Gandhi in his time and ours* (New Delhi, 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 2 April 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. Burton Stein, *A History of India* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1998).
4. Judith Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, any edition)
5. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947* (2nd edition, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1989).
6. H. Kulke & H. Rothermund, *History of India* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) - you may also choose an earlier edition.
7. Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India* (New York: Oxford University Press, any edition).
8. Bipan Chandra, et. .al., *India's Struggle for Independence* (New Delhi, Penguin Books, 1989).
9. 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.
10. R. Sisson & S. Wolpert, (eds), *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1988).
11. 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.
12. Judith Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).
13. Claude Markovitz (ed), *A History of Modern India 1480-1950* (London: Anthem, 2002).
14. Peter Robb, *A History of India* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
15. Barbara D. and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A concise history of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge 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 28 May**):

**You may choose some other question not listed below; but prior approval of the course co-ordinator 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. 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  
 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. and 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*

### 3. Emergence of Gandhi and nationalist politics since World War I

- 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, G. & 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*
- 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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