HISTORY PROGRAMME
TRIMESTER 2, 2009
(Monday, 13 July – Sunday, 15 November 2009)

HIST230: GANDHI, INDIA AND THE WORLD
CRN 9155

Co-ordinator: Professor Sekhar Bandyopadhyay
Room: Old Kirk 411 (OK411)
Phone: 463 6772
Email: sekhar.bandyopadhyay@vuw.ac.nz
Lecture Times: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 12.00 – 12.50pm
Venue: Hunter Lecture Theatre 220 (HU220)
Office Hours: These will be announced at the first lecture and posted on Blackboard.
Tutorials: One 50 minute tutorial per week. Tutorial times will be arranged in the first week of the term and group lists placed on the History Programme noticeboard (outside OK405). Tutorials begin in week 2.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
Additional information or information on changes during the course will be posted on the History notice board or announced in lectures or put up on Blackboard.

COURSE DELIVERY
HIST230 is taught in the period Monday, 13 July to Friday, 16 October, 2009. Students enrolled in HIST230 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 three assignments and do an in-course test (assignment details are below).

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 decolonization 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 civilization - 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 individuals in history;
• the cultural traditions of India and her social diversities;
• the process of nation building and the roots of some of her present day political problems;
• how, in general, 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 has his method of non-violent agitation influenced some other world leaders and movements;
• 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.

Apart from these cognitive objectives, like all other HIST courses this course also seeks to contribute to the attainment of specific skills, like:

Critical Thinking
1: Assess conflicting or different arguments
2: Develop understanding of historical events, context and change
3: Use appropriate methodologies to evaluate evidence

Creative Thinking
1: Synthesise information in a clear, logical and lively way
2: Create well-documented interpretations of historical events
3: Search for patterns in historical processes over time and space

Communication
1: Develop lucid historical arguments through writing and oral discussion
2: Use library print and online resources efficiently and constructively
3: Strengthen learning through collegial interchange

Leadership
1: Pursue and manage independent research
2: Develop critical citizenship
3: Develop confidence through public speaking
4: Strengthen decision-making capabilities

Other
Understand the development of the historical discipline.
WORKLOAD
In accordance with the FHSS guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 15 hours per week to HIST 230. This includes two 50 minute lectures and one 50 minute tutorial.

COURSE READINGS

Essential text:
HIST230 Book of Readings

Recommended text:
David Arnold, Gandhi: Profiles in Power (London: Longman, 2001)

For the first two weeks of trimester, all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer, 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, all undergraduate textbooks will be sold from VicBooks and student notes from the Student Notes Distribution Centre on the ground floor of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop. 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.

Background reading:


Other useful books are:
Burton Stein, A History of India, (Oxford, Blackwell, 1998);


Peter Robb, A History of India (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002)

Sumit Sarkar, Modern India, 1885-1947 (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1989),


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 AND MANDATORY COURSE 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 essays, 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 essay will be on a question more specifically focussed on one aspect of the Gandhian movements or his philosophy. Questions in the terms 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.

**ASSESSMENT INFORMATION:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of assessment</th>
<th>% of final grade</th>
<th>Important dates:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 x book review</td>
<td>Approx. 1,500 words</td>
<td>30%</td>
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<td>Due date: Monday, 17 August at 5pm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 x research essay</td>
<td>Approx. 3,000 words</td>
<td>45%</td>
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<td>Due date: Monday, 5 October at 5pm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 x in-class test</td>
<td>(50mins)</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<td>Thursday, 15 October</td>
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<td>(held during the last lecture period – 12noon in our usual lecture theatre, HU220)</td>
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**PENALTIES**

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

**MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

The minimum course requirements are:

1. Submission of written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)
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 in-class test held during the last lecture period.

Faculty guidelines permit you to miss up to 3 tutorials without penalty. Extra absences will result in a student failing terms, 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.

PLEASE NOTE that **Friday, 23 October** is the FINAL DATE on which any written work can be accepted by the Programme, since this is the date on which we must determine whether students have
met the course requirements. 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, Dr Glyn Parry, and will only be granted for serious medical reasons (supported by medical certificate), or in case of serious personal crisis.

NB: A student who has obtained an overall mark of 50% or more, but failed to satisfy a mandatory requirement for a course, will receive a K grade for that course, while a course mark less than 50% will result in the appropriate fail grade (D, E or F).

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

GENERAL UNIVERSITY STATUTES AND POLICIES
Students should familiarise themselves with the University’s policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the Victoria University Calendar or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy

The AVC(Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/Publications.aspx
## LECTURE PROGRAMME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 14 July</td>
<td>Introduction: Gandhi in myth and history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 16 July</td>
<td>Gandhi’s India: colonial economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 21 July</td>
<td>Gandhi’s India: some important social changes</td>
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<td>4. 23 July</td>
<td>Gandhi’s India: beginning of nationalism</td>
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<td>5. 28 July</td>
<td>Gandhi’s life</td>
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<td>6. 30 July</td>
<td>Gandhi’s philosophy: a counter-modernist critique of the West?</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. 4 Aug</td>
<td>Gandhi’s South African experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. 6 Aug</td>
<td>World War I and the political context of Gandhi’s rise as an Indian leader</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. 13 Aug</td>
<td>Gandhi as a champion of the national cause: Rowlatt <em>satyagraha</em> of 1919</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. 18 Aug</td>
<td>Gandhi as a leader of the Indian National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. 20 Aug</td>
<td>Gandhi, Muslims and the Khilafat</td>
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### Mid-trimester break

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. 8 Sept</td>
<td>Non-Co-operation movement, 1920-22</td>
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<td>14. 10 Sept</td>
<td>Civil Disobedience and the 'Salt March', 1929-34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. 15 Sept</td>
<td>Gandhi and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. 17 Sept</td>
<td>Muslim alienation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. 22 Sept</td>
<td>Gandhi and the untouchables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. 24 Sept</td>
<td>'Quit India' movement: a 'spontaneous revolution'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. 29 Sept</td>
<td>Popular movements of the 1940s and the dilemmas of Gandhian Congress.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. 1 Oct</td>
<td>Gandhi and the Partition of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. 6 Oct</td>
<td>Gandhian movements outside India: Civil Rights movement in the US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. 8 Oct</td>
<td>Gandhi’s South African legacy: Anti-Apartheid movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. 13 Oct</td>
<td>Is there any contemporary relevance of Gandhian thoughts?</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. 15 Oct</td>
<td>Terms test</td>
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**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.


**Week 1**  
No tutorial

**Week 2**  
**Gandhi’s India**


**Week 3.**  
**Gandhi’s philosophy**

Bhikhu Parekh, *Gandhi’s Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination*, (Notre Dame, 1989), chapter 1;


**Week 4**  
**Gandhi in South Africa**


**Week 5.**  
**Gandhi’s politics**

Judith Brown, *Gandhi’s Rise to Power*, (Cambridge, 1972), chapter 2;


**Week 6.**  
**Gandhi and mass movements**


**Week 7.**  
**Gandhi and peasant utopia**


**Week 8.**  
**Gandhi and women**

Week 9.  

**Gandhi, Congress and the minorities**


Week 10.  

**Gandhi’s last battle**


Week 11.  

**Gandhi in world history**

David Hardiman, *Gandhi in his time and ours* (New Delhi, 2003), chapter 9;


Week 12  

**No tutorial**
ASSIGNMENTS

Book Review: (approximately 1,500 words, worth 30% of the final grade, due at 5pm on Monday, 17 August):

You have to write a review essay on any one 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.


A useful guide on how to write a book review may be found at the VUW Library Homepage. You can directly access it at: http://www.victoria.ac.nz/library/instruction/additionalguides/bookreview.aspx or you may go to it through the Library homepage. Click on Instruction & Support link; then click on Additional Tutorials and Guides link and it appears here
Questions for the research essay:  (approximately 3,000 words, worth 45% of the final grade, Due at 5pm on Monday, 5 October):

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. Will 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 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 Chauri Chaura, did Gandhi betray the masses?
7. Was the mass movement in the winter of 1920-21 the result of mobilization 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 '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 prevent 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
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
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)
Chandra, Biplab The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India
Chandra, Biplab 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
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
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
Pandey, Gyan. Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India
Ray, Rajat Kanta. Social Conflict & Political Unrest in Bengal 1875-1927
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)
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
Arnold, D. The Congress in Tamilnad, Nationalist Politics in South India 1919-1937
Ashe, G. Gandhi: A Study in Revolution
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, 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
Chatterjee, P. 'Gandhi and the Critique of Civil Society', in Subaltern Studies III: Writings on South Asian History and Society, edited by R. Guha.
Chaudhuri, B. B. Peasant history of late pre-colonial and colonial India.
Copley, Antony and George Paxton, (eds), Gandhi and the contemporary world.
Dalton, Dennis. Gandhi’s Power.
DeLuca, Anthony R., Gandhi, Mao, Mandela and Gorbachev: studies in personality, power and politics.
Dhanagare, D. N. Peasant Movements in India 1920-1950
Ellinwood, D. C. & Pradhan, S.D. (eds.) India and World War I
Gallagher, J., Johnson, G. & Seal, A. (eds.) *Locality, Province and Nation* also published as MAS, 7, 3 (July 1973)

Gandhi, M.K. *The Story of my Experiments with Truth*

Gopal, S. *Jawaharlal Nehru. A biography. Volume 1 1889-1947*


Gopal, S. *The Viceregency of Lord Irwin*

Gordon, A. D. D. *Businessmen and Politics: Rising Nationalism and a Modernising Economy in Bombay, 1918-1932*

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


Guha, A. *From Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826-1947*

Guha, Ranajit. 'Discipline and Mobilize', in *Subaltern Studies VII: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, eds, P. Chatterjee and G. Pandey.

Guha, Ramchandra. 'Forestry and Social Protest in British Kumayun, c.1893-1921', in *Subaltern Studies IV: Writings on South Asian history and Society*, edited by Ranajit Guha.

Hardiman, David. *Peasant Nationalists of Gujrat Kheda District 1917-1934*

Henningham, Stephen. *Peasant Movements in Colonial India North Bihar 1917-42*


Hick, J. and L. C. Hempel eds.*Gandhi’s significance for today.*

Irshick, E. *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*

Itzkin, Eric. *Gandhi’s Johannesburg: birthplace of satyagraha*

Kapil Kumar (ed.), *Congress and Classes: Nationalism, Workers and Peasants*

Kapil Kumar. *Peasants in Revolt: Tenants, Landlords, Congress and the Raj in Oudh, 1886-1922.*

Krishna, G. 'The Development of the Indian National Congress as a Mass Organisation, 1918-1923', JAS, XXV, 3 (May 1966)

Kumar, R. (ed.), *Essays on Gandhian Politics. The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919*; (also published as MAS, October 1969, Special Gandhi number)

Leiten, G. K. *Colonialism, Class and Nation: The Confrontation in Bombay around 1930*

Low, D.A. (ed.)*Soundings in Modern South Asian History*

Low, D.A. (ed.), *Congress and the Raj*

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

Markovits, C. *Indian Business and Nationalist Politics, 1931-39*

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

Mehrotra, S. R. *Towards India’s Freedom and Partition*

Moon, P. *Gandhi and Modern India*

Moore, R. J. *The Crisis of Indian Unity of 1917-1940*

Mukherjee, Subrata and S. Ramaswamy, eds, Non-violence and Satyagraha: Facets of Mahatma Gandhi

Nanda, B. R. Mahatma Gandhi

Nanda, B. R. The Nehrus, Motilal and Jawaharlal

Nehru, J. An Autobiography

Owen, H. F. 'Negotiating the Lucknow Pact', JAS, XXX, 3 (May 1972)

Pandey, G. The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh 1926-1934

Panikkar, K.N. (ed.) National and Left Movements in India

Parekh, Bhikhu, Gandhi.

Parekh, Bhikhu, Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi’s Political Discourse.

Patel, Sujata. The Making of Industrial Relations: The Ahmedabad Textile Industry 1918-1939

Pati, Biswamoy. Resisting Domination: Peasants, Tribals and the National Movement in Orissa 1920-50

Pouche padass, Jacques. Champaran and Gandhi: Planters, Peasants and Gandhian Politics

Robb, P. G. The Government of India and Reform

Sen, Sukomal. Working Class in India: History of Emergence and Movement 1830-1970

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

Steger Manfred B., Gandhi’s Dilemma: nonviolent principles and nationalist power

Tomlinson, B. R. The Political Economy of the Raj 1914-1947. The Economics of Decolonization in India


Wolpert, S. Jinnah of Pakistan.

Wolpert, S. Gandhi’s Passion: the life and legacy of Mahatma Gandhi,

Wood, Conrad The Moplah Rebellion and Its Genesis

4. **Muslim politics**

Ahmed, Rafiuddin. The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906. A Quest for Identity

Barrier, N. G. (ed.), Roots of Communal Politics

Bolitho, H. Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan

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