## 5.2 Course – XII: Indian Political Thought-I

Course objective: This course introduces the specific elements of Indian Political Thought spanning over two millennia. The basic focus of study is on individual thinkers whose ideas are however framed by specific themes. The course as a whole is meant to provide a sense of the broad streams of Indian thought while encouraging a specific knowledge of individual thinkers and texts. Selected extracts from some original texts are also given to discuss in class. The list of additional readings is meant for teachers as well as the more interested students.

#### **Total Lectures and Tutorials - 84**

Unit-I: Traditions of Pre-colonial Indian Political Thought – Emergence of Brahmanic and Shramanic (Buddhist and Jainism Philosophies) traditions and their basic tenets;
 Emergence of Islamic Traditions in India and the development of Hindu-Muslim Syncretism.

**Unit-II:** Rajadharma- Origin, Relation between Kinship and the State, Duties of the King; Kautilya- views on Statecraft, Elements of the State (The Saptanga Theory)

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit- III:** Manu: Social Laws –Sources, Dharma of the four Classes and governance, Rules relating to Law, Rules of Action in Terms of Adversity.

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit- IV**: Aggannasutta (Digha Nikaya)- Theory of kingship-Origin, Social Classes, Notion of Sovereignty, Views on State and Ideal State.

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

Unit-V: Barani: Ideal Polity; Abul Fazal: Monarchy; Kabir: Syncretism

12 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

### **Reading List:**

- T. Pantham, and K. Deutsch (eds.), *Political Thought in Modern India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications
- A. Altekar, (1958) 'The Kingship', in *State and Government in Ancient India*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 75-108.
- M. Shakir, (1986) 'Dynamics of Muslim Political Thought', in T. Pantham, and K. Deutsch (eds.), *Political Thought in Modern India*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 142-160
- G. Pandey, (1978) *Sraman Tradition: Its History and Contribution to Indian Culture*, Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, pp. 52-73.
- S. Saberwal, (2008) 'Medieval Legacy', in *Spirals of Contention*, New Delhi: Routledge
- *The Mahabharata* (2004), Vol. 7 (Book XI and Book XII, Part II), Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

- V. Varma, (1974) Studies in Hindu Political Thought and Its Metaphysical Foundations, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 211-230.
- B. Chaturvedi, (2006) 'Dharma-The Foundation of Raja-Dharma, Law and Governance', in *The Mahabharta: An Inquiry in the Human Condition*, Delhi: Orient Longman
- Manu, (2006) 'Rules for Times of Adversity', in P. Olivelle, (ed. & trans.) *Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Manava- Dharamsastra*, New Delhi: OUP
- V. Mehta, (1992) 'The Cosmic Vision: Manu', in *Foundations of Indian Political Thought*, Delhi: Manohar
- R. Sharma, (1991) 'Varna in Relation to Law and Politics (c 600 BC-AD 500)', in *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 233-251.
- P. Olivelle, (2006) 'Introduction', in *Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Manava –Dharmasastra*, Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Kautilya, (1997) 'The Elements of Sovereignty' in R. Kangle (ed. and trns.), *Arthasastra of Kautilya*, New Delhi: Motilal Publishers, pp. 511- 514.
- V. Mehta, (1992) 'The Pragmatic Vision: Kautilya and His Successor', in *Foundations of Indian Political Thought*, Delhi: Manohar, pp. 88-109.
- S. Collins, (ed), (2001) *Agganna Sutta*: An Annotated Translation, New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, pp. 44-49.
- S. Collins, (2001) 'General Introduction', in *Agganna Sutta: The Discussion on What is Primary (An Annotated Translation from Pali)*, Delhi: *Sahitya Akademi*, pp. 1-26.
- B. Gokhale, (1966) 'The Early *Buddhist* View of the State', in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXVI, (1), pp. 15-22.
- I. Habib, (1998) 'Ziya Barni's Vision of the State', in *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 2, (1), pp. 19- 36.
- M. Alam, (2004) 'Sharia Akhlaq', in *The Languages of Political Islam in India 1200-1800*, Delhi: Permanent Black, pp. 26-43
- A. Fazl, (1873) *The Ain-i Akbari* (translated by H. Blochmann), Calcutta: G. H. Rouse, pp. 47-57.
- V. Mehta, (1992) 'The Imperial Vision: Barni and Fazal', in *Foundations of Indian Political Thought*, Delhi: Manohar, pp. 134-156
- G. Omvedt, (2008) 'Kabir and Ravidas, Envisioning Begumpura', in *Seeking Begumpura: The Social Vision of Anti Caste Intellectual*, Delhi: Navayana, pp. 91-107.
- L. Hess and S. Singh, (2002) 'Introduction', in *The Bijak of Kabir*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-35.

## 6.2 Course – XIV: Indian Political Thought-II

**Course objective:** Based on the study of individual thinkers, the course introduces a wide span of thinkers and themes that defines the modernity of Indian political thought. The objective is to study general themes that have been produced by thinkers from varied social and temporal contexts. Selected extracts from original texts are also given to discuss in the class. The list of additional readings is meant for teachers as well as the more interested students.

#### **Total Lectures and Tutorials - 84**

**Unit-I:** Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought: Trends and Genesis

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit-II:** Reformist Political Thought- Rammohan Roy- Rights – Freedom of Press, Civil Liberties, Gender; Pandita Ramabai: Gender- Women's Education, Sarada Sadan

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

Unit-III: Nationalist Political Thought: Gandhi: Swaraj; Nehru: Secularism; Tagore: Critique of Nationalism

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

Unit-IV: Thoughts For Social Change: Ambedkar: Social Justice; Lohia: Socialism, M.N.Roy: Radical Humanism13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

Unit-V: Thoughts of Cultural Nationalism: Iqbal: Community; Savarkar: Hindutva

12 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

### **Reading List:**

- V. Mehta and T. Pantham (eds.), (2006) 'A Thematic Introduction to Political Ideas in Modern India: Thematic Explorations, History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian civilization' Vol. 10, Part: 7, New Delhi: Sage Publications
- D. Dalton, (1982) 'Continuity of Innovation', in *Indian Idea of Freedom: Political Thought of Swami Vivekananda, Aurobindo Ghose, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi*, Academic Press: Gurgaon
- R. Roy, (1991) 'The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness', S. Hay, (ed.) *Sources of Indian Tradition, Vol.* 2. Second Edition. New Delhi: Penguin, pp. 24-29.
- C. Bayly, (2010) 'Rammohan and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India 1800- 1830', in Sh. Kapila (ed.), *An intellectual History for India*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, pp. 18-34.

- T. Pantham, (1986) 'The Socio-Religious Thought of Rammohan Roy', in Th. Panthom and K. Deutsch, (eds.) *Political Thought in Modern India*, New Delhi: Sage, pp.32-52.
- S. Sarkar, (1985) 'Rammohan Roy and the break With the Past', in *A Critique on colonial India*, Calcutta: Papyrus, pp. 1-17.
- P. Ramabai, (2000) 'Woman's Place in Religion and Society', in M. Kosambi (ed.), *Pandita*
- Ramabai Through her Own Words: Selected Works, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 150-155.
- M. Kosambi, (1988) 'Women's Emancipation and Equality: Pandita Ramabai's Contribution to Women's Cause', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 23(44), pp. 38-49.
- U. Chakravarti, (2007) *Pandita Ramabai A Life and a Time*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, pp.1-40.
- G. Omvedt, (2008) 'Ramabai: Women in the Kingdom of God', in *Seeking Begumpura*: *The Social Vision of Anti Caste Intellectuals*, New Delhi: Navayana. pp. 205-224.
- S. Vivekananda, (2007) 'The Real and the Apparent Man', S. Bodhasarananda (ed.), *Selections from the Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Kolkata: Advaita Ashrama, pp. 126-129.
- A. Sen, (2003) 'Swami Vivekananda on History and Society', in *Swami Vivekananda*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 62-79.
- H. Rustav, (1998) 'Swami Vivekananda and the Ideal Society', in W. Radice (ed.),
   Swami Vivekananda and the Modernisation of Hinduism, Delhi: Oxford University
   Press, pp. 264-280.
- M. Gandhi, (1991) 'Satyagraha: Transforming Unjust Relationships through the Power of the Soul', in S. Hay (ed.), *Sources of Indian Tradition*, Vol. 2.Second Edition, New Delhi: Penguin, pp. 265-270.
- A. Parel, (ed.), (2002) 'Introduction', in *Gandhi, freedom and Self Rule*, Delhi: Vistaar Publication.
- D. Dalton, (1982) Indian Idea of Freedom: Political Thought of Swami Vivekananda, AurobindoGhose, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, Gurgaon: The Academic Press, pp. 154- 190.

- B. Ambedkar, (1991) 'Constituent Assembly Debates', S. Hay (ed.), *Sources of Indian Tradition*, *Vol.* 2, Second Edition, New Delhi: Penguin, pp. 342-347.
- Phukon Girin, Glimpse to Political Thought, DVS Publishers, Guwahati, 2013
- V. Rodrigues, (2007) 'Good society, Rights, Democracy Socialism', in S. Thorat and Aryama (eds.), *Ambedkar in Retrospect Essays on Economics, Politics and Society*, Jaipur: *IIDS* and Rawat Publications.
- B. Mungekar, (2007) 'Quest for Democratic Socialism', in S. Thorat, and Aryana (eds.), *Ambedkar in Retrospect Essays on Economics, Politics and Society*, Jaipur: *IIDS* and Rawat Publications, pp. 121-142.
- P. Chatterjee, (2005) 'Ambedkar and the Troubled times of Citizenship', in V. Mehta and Th. Pantham (eds.), *Political ideas in modern India: Thematic Explorations*, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 73-92.
- R. Tagore, (1994) 'The Nation', S. Das (ed.), *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore*, *Vol. 3*, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, pp. 548-551.
- R. Chakravarty, (1986) 'Tagore, Politics and Beyond', in Th. Panthams and K. Deutsch (eds.), *Political Thought in Modern India*, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 177-191.
- M. Radhakrishnan, and Debasmita, (2003) 'Nationalism is a Great Menace: Tagore and Nationalism' in P. Hogan, Colm and L. Pandit, (eds.) *Rabindranath Tagore: Universality and Tradition*, London: Rosemont Publishing and Printing Corporation, pp. 29-39.
- M. Iqbal, (1991) 'Speeches and Statements', in S. Hay (ed.), *Sources of Indian Tradition*, *Vol.* 2, Second Edition, New Delhi: Penguin, pp. 218-222.
- A. Engineer, (1980) 'Iqbal's Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam', in *Social Scientist*, Vol.8 (8), pp. 52-63.
- Madani, (2005) Composite Nationalism and Islam, New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 66-91.
- J. Nehru, (1991) 'Selected Works', in S. Hay (ed.), Sources of Indian Tradition, Vol.
  2,Second Edition, New Delhi: Penguin, pp. 317-319.
- R. Pillai, (1986) 'Political thought of Jawaharlal Nehru', in Th. Pantham, and K. Deutsch (eds.), *Political Thought in Modem India*, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 260-274.
- B. Zachariah, (2004) *Nehru*, London: Routledge Historical Biographies, pp. 169-213.
- M. Anees and V. Dixit (eds.), (1984) *Lohia: Many Faceted Personality*, Rammanohar Lohia Smarak Smriti.

- S. Sinha, (2010) 'Lohia's Socialism: An underdog's perspective', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLV (40) pp. 51-55.
- A. Kumar, (2010) 'Understanding Lohia's Political Sociology: Intersectionality of Caste, Class, Gender and Language Issue', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLV (40), pp. 64-70.

## **Discipline Specific Electives**

### Semester-V: DSE-1A: Contemporary Politics in Assam

#### **Total Lectures and Tutorials - 84**

**Objectives:** The primary aim of this paper is acquaint with the students with the politics of contemporary Assam and its neighbouring states. Moreover, being located in the Northeast region it is invariably the concern of the students to have proper understanding of the region.

**Unit – I :** Composite state of Assam and its Dismemberment- Geo-political features, Colonial Legacy, Social Heterogeneity, Assamese Nationality Question

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit – II:** Politics of Autonomy in Assam: Regionalism and sub-regionalism – Demand for Autonomous state, Demand for Separate State, Demand for Sixth Schedule

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit – III:** Politics of Ethnicity in Assam: Politics of migration and its impact on identity Movements – Language movements - Foreign national movement – Insurgency and Secessionist movements.

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit – IV:** Inter-State border disputes (Assam-Nagaland, Assam-Meghalaya, Assam-Arunachal Pradesh)

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit – V:** Politics of Development - Development induced Displacement, Environment-Large dams

12 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

#### **Books Recommended:**

- Joysankar Hazarika : Geopolitics of Northeast India, Gyan Publishers, New Delhi,1996
- Manirul Hussain: The Assam Movement: Class, Identity and Ideology, Manak Publications, New Delhi, 1993
- Sandhya Goswami : Language Politics in Assam, Ajanta, New Delhi, 1997
- K.M. Deka (ed.): Nationalism and Regionalism in Northeast India, Dibrugarh University,1985
- K.M. Deka & K.N. Phukon: Ethnicity in ASSAM, Dibrugarh University, 2001
- Girin Phukon: Assam's Attitude to Federalism, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1984
   : Inter-Ethnic conflict in Northeast India, (South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, 2005)
  - : Politics of Regionalism in Northeast India (Spectrum Publication, New Delhi, 2003.
- Girin Phukon & : Politics of Identity and Nation Building in Northeast India, South Asian N.L. Dutta (eds), Publishers, New Delhi, 1997
- A.K.Baruah: Social Tensions in Assam
- J.Upadhyay: Student Politics in Assam, 2017
- Monirul Hussain: Iterrogating Development, Sage, 2008

- S.K. Chaube: Hill Politics in Northeaswt India, Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi, 1999
- Meeta Deka: Student Movement in Assam, Vikas, New Delhi, 1996
- Samir Kr. Das: ULFA, (United Liberation Front of Assam): A Political analysis, 1994
- B. Dutta Roy: Re-organisation of Northeast India since, 1947 (Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1996)

#### **Semester-V:**

## DSE-2B: Development Process and Social Movements in Contemporary India

Course objective: Under the influence of globalization, development processes in India have undergone transformation to produce spaces of advantage and disadvantage and new geographies of power. The high social reproduction costs and dispossession of vulnerable social groups involved in such a development strategy condition new theatres of contestation and struggles. A variety of protest movements emerged to interrogate and challenge this development paradigm that evidently also weakens the democratic space so very vital to the formulation of critical consensus. This course proposes to introduce students to the conditions, contexts and forms of political contestation over development paradigms and their bearing on the retrieval of democratic voice of citizens.

### **Total Lectures and Tutorials – 84**

### **UNIT- I: Development Process since Independence**

- a. State and planning
- b. Liberalization and reforms

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

## **UNIT-II: Industrial Development Strategy and its Impact on the Social Structure**

- a. Mixed economy, privatization, the impact on organized and unorganized labour
- b. Emergence of the new middle class

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

### **UNIT- III: Agrarian Development Strategy and its Impact on the Social Structure**

- a. Land Reforms, Green Revolution
- b. Agrarian crisis since the 1990s and its impact on farmers

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

#### **UNIT- IV: Social Movements-I**

- a. Tribal, Peasant, Dalit
- b. Maoist challenge

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

## **UNIT-V: Social Movements-II**

- a. Civil rights movements, Women's movements
- b. Environmental and Ecological Movements

12 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

#### **READING LIST**

- Mozoomdar, (1994) 'The Rise and Decline of Development Planning in India', in T. Byres (ed.) *The State and Development Planning in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 73-108.
- A. Varshney, (2010) 'Mass Politics or Elite Politics? Understanding the Politics of India's Economic Reforms' in R. Mukherji (ed.) *India's Economic Transition: The Politics of Reforms*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp 146-169.
- P. Chatterjee, (2000) 'Development Planning and the Indian State', in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Politics and the State in India*, New Delhi: Sage, pp.116-140.
- P. Patnaik and C. Chandrasekhar, (2007) 'India: Dirigisme, Structural Adjustment, and the Radical Alternative', in B. Nayar (ed.), *Globalization and Politics in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 218-240.

- P. Bardhan, (2005) 'Epilogue on the Political Economy of Reform in India', in *The Political Economy of Development in India*. 6th impression, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- T. Singh, (1979) 'The Planning Process and Public Process: a Reassessment', *R. R. Kale Memorial Lecture*, Pune: Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics.
- A. Aggarwal, (2006) 'Special Economic Zones: Revisiting the Policy Debate', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLI (43-44), pp.4533-36.
- B. Nayar (1989) *India's Mixed Economy: The Role of Ideology and its Development*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- F. Frankel, (2005) 'Crisis of National Economic Planning', in *India's Political Economy (1947-2004): The Gradual Revolution*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 93-340.
- L. Fernandes, (2007) *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- S. Shyam, (2003) 'Organizing the Unorganized', in *Seminar*, [Footloose Labour: A Symposium on Livelihood Struggles of the Informal Workforce, 531] pp. 47-53.
- S. Chowdhury, (2007) 'Globalization and Labour', in B. Nayar (ed.) *Globalization and Politics in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.516-526.
- V. Chibber, (2005) 'From Class Compromise to Class Accommodation: Labor's Incorporation into the Indian Political Economy' in R. Ray, and M.F. Katzenstein (eds.) *Social Movements in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp 32-60.
- A. Desai, (ed.), (1986) *Agrarian Struggles in India After Independence*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. xi-xxxvi
- F. Frankel, (1971) *India's Green Revolution: Economic Gains and Political Costs*, Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- F. Frankel, (2009) *Harvesting Despair: Agrarian Crisis in India*, Delhi: Perspectives, pp. 161- 169.
- J. Harriss, (2006) 'Local Power and the Agrarian Political Economy' in Harriss, J. (ed) *Power Matters: Essays on Institutions, Politics, and Society in India*, Delhi. Oxford University Press, pp. 29-32.
- K. Suri, (2006) 'Political economy of Agrarian Distress', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLI(16) pp. 1523-1529.
- P. Joshi, (1979) *Land Reforms in India: Trends and Perspectives*, New Delhi: Allied publishers.
- P. Appu, (1974) 'Agrarian Structure and Rural Development', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, IX (39), pp.70 75.
- P. Sainath, (2010) 'Agrarian Crisis and Farmers', Suicide', *Occasional Publication*22, New Delhi: India International Centre (IIC).
- M. Sidhu, (2010) 'Globalisation vis-à-vis Agrarian Crisis in India', in R. Deshpande and S. Arora, (eds.) *Agrarian Crises and Farmer Suicides (Land Reforms in India Series)*, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 149-174.
- V. Sridhar, (2006) 'Why Do Farmers Commit Suicide? The Case Study of Andhra Pradesh', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLI (16).
- G. Haragopal, and K. Balagopal, (1998) 'Civil Liberties Movement and the State in India', in M. Mohanty, P. Mukherji and O. Tornquist, (eds.) *People's Rights: Social Movements and the State in the Third World* New Delhi: Sage, pp. 353-371.
- M. Mohanty, (2002) 'The Changing Definition of Rights in India', in S. Patel, J. Bagchi, and K. Raj (eds.) *Thinking Social Sciences in India: Essays in Honour of Alice Thorner* Patel, New Delhi: Sage.

- G. Omvedt, (2012) 'The Anti-caste Movement and the Discourse of Power', in N. Jayal (ed.) *Democracy in India*, New Delhi: Oxford India Paperbacks, sixth impression, pp.481-508.
- P. Ramana, (2011) 'India's Maoist Insurgency: Evolution, Current Trends and Responses', in M. Kugelman (ed.) *India's Contemporary Security Challenges*, Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars Asia Programme, Washington D.C., pp.29-47.
- A. Ray, (1996) 'Civil Rights Movement and Social Struggle in India', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, XXI (28). pp. 1202-1205.
- A. Roy, (2010) 'The Women's Movement', in N.Jayal and P. Mehta (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.409-422.
- N. Sundar, (2011) 'At War with Oneself: Constructing Naxalism as India's Biggest Security Threat', in M. Kugelman (ed.) *India's Contemporary Security Challenges*, Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars Asia Programme, Washington D.C., pp.46-68.
- M. Weiner, (2001) 'The Struggle for Equality: Caste in Indian Politics', in A.Kohli. (ed.) *The Success of India's Democracy*, Cambridge: CUP, pp.193-225.
- S. Sinha, (2002) 'Tribal Solidarity Movements in India: A Review', in G. Shah. (ed.) *Social Movements and the State*, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 251-266.
- S. Banerjee, (1986) 'Naxalbari in Desai', in A.R. (ed.) *Agrarian Struggles in India After Independence*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.566-588.
- B. Nayar, (ed.), (2007) *Globalization and Politics in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- S. Roy and K. Debal, (2004) *Peasant Movements in Post-Colonial India: Dynamics of Mobilization and Identity*, Delhi: Sage.
- G. Omvedt, (1983) Reinventing Revolution, New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India, New York: Sharpe.
- G. Shah, (ed.), (2002) Social Movements and the State. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- G. Shah, (2004) *Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- G. Rath, (ed.), (2006) *Tribal development in India: The Contemporary Debate*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- J. Harris, (2009) *Power Matters: Essays on Institutions, Politics, and Society in India*. Delhi: Oxford University press.
- K. Suresh, (ed.), (1982) *Tribal Movements in India*, Vol I and II, New Delhi: Manohar (emphasis on the introductory chapter).
- M. Mohanty, P. Mukherji and O.Tornquist, (1998) *People's Rights: Social Movements and the State in the Third World*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- M. Rao, (ed.), (1978) Social Movements in India, Vol. 2, Delhi: Manohar.
- N. Jayal, and P. Mehta, (eds.), (2010) *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*, Delhi:Oxford University Press.
- P. Bardhan, (2005) *The Political Economy of Development in India*, 6th impression, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- R. Mukherji, (ed.), (2007) *India's Economic Transition: The Politics of Reforms*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- R, Ray and M. Katzenstein, (eds.), (2005) *Social Movements in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

# **Generic Elective Papers**

#### Semester-I

### **GE-1A:** Nationalism in India

Course objective: The purpose of this course is to help students understand the struggle of Indian people against colonialism. It seeks to achieve this understanding by looking at this struggle from different theoretical perspectives that highlight its different dimensions. The course begins with the nineteenth century Indian responses to colonial dominance in the form of reformism and its criticism and continues through various phases up to the events leading to the Partition and Independence. In the process, the course tries to highlight its various conflicts and contradictions by focusing on its different dimensions: communalism, class struggle, caste and gender questions.

**Total Lectures and Tutorials – 84** 

#### **Unit-I:** Approaches to the Study of Nationalism in India

Nationalist, Imperialist, Marxist, and Subaltern Interpretations

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

## **Unit-II: Reformism and Anti-Reformism in the Nineteenth Century**

Major Social and Religious Movements in 19th century

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

### **Unit-III: Nationalist Politics and Expansion of its Social Base**

- a. Phases of Nationalist Movement: Liberal Constitutionalists, Swadeshi and the radicals; Beginning of Constitutionalism in India
- b. Gandhi and Mass Mobilisation: Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, and Quit India Movement
- c. Socialist Alternatives: Congress Socialists, Communists

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

#### **Unit-IV: Social Movements**

- a. The Women's Question: Participation in the National Movement and its Impact
- b. The Caste Question: Anti-Brahminical Politics
- c. Peasant, Tribals and Workers Movements

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

## **Unit-: Partition and Independence**

- a. Communalism in Indian Politics
- b. The Two-Nation Theory, Negotiations over Partition

12 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

#### Reading List

## I. Approaches to the Study of Nationalism in India

**Essential Readings:** 

- S. Bandopadhyay, (2004) *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 184-191.
- R. Thapar, (2000) 'Interpretations of Colonial History: Colonial, Nationalist, Post-colonial', in
- P. DeSouza, (ed.) *Contemporary India: Transitions*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 25-36.

## II. Reformism and Anti-Reformism in the Nineteenth Century

**Essential Readings:** 

- S. Bandopadhyay, (2004) From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India, New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp.139-158, 234-276.
- A. Sen, (2007) 'The idea of Social Reform and its Critique among Hindus of Nineteenth Century India', in S. Bhattacharya, (ed.) *Development of Modern Indian Thought and the Social Sciences*, Vol. X. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

### III. Nationalist Politics and Expansion of its Social Base

**Essential Readings:** 

- S. Bandopadhyay, (2004) *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 279-311.
- S. Sarkar, (1983) *Modern India* (1885-1947), New Delhi: Macmillan, P. Chatterjee, (1993) 'The Nation and its Pasts', in P. Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 76-115.

#### **IV. Social Movements**

**Essential Readings:** 

- S. Bandopadhyay, (2004) *From Plassey to Partition: A history of Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 342-357, 369-381.
- G. Shah, (2002) Social Movements and the State, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 13-31

## V. Partition and Independence

A. Jalal, and S. Bose, (1997) *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, and Political Economy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 135-156.

A. Nandy, (2005) *Rashtravad banam Deshbhakti* Translated by A. Dubey, New Delhi: Vani Prakashan. pp. 23-33. (The original essay in English is from A. Nandy, (1994) New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-8.)

## Additional Readings:

- B. Chakrabarty and R. Pandey, (2010) *Modern Indian Political Thought*, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- P. Chatterjee, (1993) *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- R. Pradhan, (2008) *Raj to Swaraj*, New Delhi: Macmillan (Available in Hindi).
- S. Islam, (2006) Bharat Mein Algaovaad aur Dharm, New Delhi: Vani Prakashan.

## Semester-II GE-2B: Gandhi and the Cotemporary World

**Course objective:** Locating Gandhi in a global frame, the course seeks to elaborate Gandhian thought and examine its practical implications. It will introduce students to key instances of Gandhi's continuing influence right up to the contemporary period and enable them to critically evaluate his legacy.

#### **Total Lectures and Tutorials – 84**

**Unit-I:** Gandhi on Modern Civilization and Ethics of Development.

- (a) Conception of Modern Civilisation and Alternative Modernity
- (b) Critique of Development: Narmada Bachao Andolan

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit-II:** Gandhi thought in Theory

- Theories of Satyagraha and Ahimsa
- Trusteeship
- Critique of Caste
- Vision of State

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit – III:** Gandhian thought in practice

Satyagraha in Action – Kheda Satyagraha; Temple Entry Satyagraha; Dandi March: Bhoodan Movement

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit- IV:** Gandhi's Legacy

- (a) Tolerance: Anti- Racism Movements (Anti-Apartheid and Martin Luther king)
- (b) The Pacifist Movement Disarmament Movement, Peace Brigades International 1981 (PBI); Peace & Ecology movement (Green peace Movement)
- (c) Women's Movements Cipko Movement, Anti-liqour Movement Bodhgaya Struggle

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

**Unit- V:** Gandhi and the idea of political

- (a) Swaraj
- (b) Swadeshi

12 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

### **Reading list:**

- B. Parekh, (1997) 'The Critique of Modernity', in *Gandhi: A Brief Insight*, Delhi: Sterling Publishing Company, pp. 63-74.
- K. Ishii, (2001) 'The Socio-economic Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi: As an Origin of Alternative Development', *Review of Social Economy*. Vol. 59 (3), pp. 297-312.

- D. Hardiman, (2003) 'Narmada Bachao Andolan', in *Gandhi in his Time and Ours*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 224- 234.
- A Baviskar, (1995) 'The Politics of the Andolan', in In the Belly of the River: Tribal Conflict Over Development in the Narmada Valley, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.202-228.
- R Iyer, (ed) (1993) 'Chapter 4' in *The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- R. Ramashray, (1984) 'Liberty Versus Liberation', in *Self and Society: A Study in Gandhian Thought*, New Delhi: Sage Publication.
- B. Parekh, (1997) 'Satyagrah', in *Gandhi: A Brief Insight*, Delhi: Sterling Publishing Company, pp. 51-63.
- D. Dalton, (2000) 'Gandhi's originality', in A. Parel (ed) *Gandhi, Freedom and Self-Rule*, New Delhi: Lexington Books, pp.63-86.
- D. Hardiman, (1981) 'The Kheda Satyagraha', in *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat: Kheda District, 1917-1934*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 86-113.
- J. Brown, (2000) 'Gandhi and Human Rights: In search of True humanity', in A. Parel (ed) *Gandhi, Freedom and Self-Rule*, New Delhi: Lexington Books, pp. 93-100.
- R. Iyer, (2000) 'Chapter 10 and 11', in *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 251-344
- P. Rao, (2009) 'Gandhi, Untouchability and the Postcolonial Predicament: A Note'. *Social Scientist*. Vol. 37 (1/2). Pp. 64-70.
- B. Parekh, (1999) 'Discourse on Unsociability', in *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse*, New Delhi: Sage Publication.
- D. Hardiman, (2003) 'Fighting Religious Hatreds', in *Gandhi in His Time and Ours*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- D. Hardiman, (2003) 'Gandhi's Global Legacy', in *Gandhi in His Time and Ours*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 238-283.
- Manimala, (1984) 'Zameen Kenkar? Jote Onkar: Women's participation in the Bodhgaya struggles', in M. Kishwar and R. Vanita (eds) *In Search of Answers: Indian Women's Voices from Manushi*, London: Zed Press.
- A. Ghosh and T. Babu, (2006) 'Lage Raho Munna Bhai: Unravelling Brand 'Gandhigiri', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41 (51), pp. 5225 5227.
- J Brown and A Parel (eds), *Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*, Cambridge University Press 2011
- P. Chatterjee, (1986) 'The Moment of Maneuver', in *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A derivative discourse?*, Delhi: Zed Books.
- Indian Council for Historical Research (1976) 'The Logic of Gandhian Nationalism: Civil Disobedience and the Gandhi Irwin Pact, 1930-31', *Indian Historical Review*, Available at http://www.ichrindia.org/journal.pdf, Accessed: 18.04.2013.
- D. Dalton, (1996) 'Swaraj: Gandhi's Idea of Freedom', in *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings*, USA: Hackett Publishing, pp. 95-148.
- A. Parel (ed.) (1997) 'Editor's Introduction', in *Gandhi, Hind Swaraj and Other Writings* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- A. Baviskar, (1995) 'National Development, Poverty and the environment', in *In the Belly of the River: Tribal Conflict Over Development in the Narmada Valley*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 18-33.
- B. Parekh, (1997) 'Religious Thought', in *Gandhi: A Brief Insight*, Delhi: Sterling Publishing Company.

- R. Iyer, (1993) *The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 299-344; 347-373.
- S. Sarkar, (1982) *Modern India 1885-1947*, New Delhi: Macmillan, pp. 432-39.
- R. Iyer, (2001) *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 344-358.
- H. Coward, (2003) 'Gandhi, Ambedkar, and Untouchability', in H. Coward (ed)
   *Indian Critiques of Gandhi*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 4166.
- J. Lipner, (2003) 'A Debate for Our Times', in Harold Coward (ed) *Indian Critiques of Gandhi*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 239-58
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- R. Terchek, (1998) *Gandhi: Struggling for Autonomy*, USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- N. Dirks, (2001), 'The Reformation of Caste: Periyar, Ambedkar and Gandhi', in *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the making of Modern India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- R. Mukharjee, (ed) (1995), *The Penguin Gandhi Reader*, New Delhi: Penguin.
- T. Weber, (2006) 'Gandhi is dead, Long live Gandhi- The Post Gandhi Gandhian Movement in India', in *Gandhi, Gandhism and the Gandhians*, New Delhi
- A. Taneja, (2005) Gandhi Women and the National Movement 1920-1947, New Delhi: Haranand Publishers.
- J. Brown, (2008) *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008
- R. Ramashray, (1984) 'What Beyond the Satanic Civilization?', in *Self and Society: A Study in Gandhian Thought*, New Delhi: Sage Publication.

## Semester-III GE-3A: Understanding Ambedkar

Course objective: This course is broadly intended to introduce Ambedkar's ideas and their relevance in contemporary India, by looking beyond caste. Ambedkar's philosophical contributions towards Indian economy and class question, sociological interpretations on religion, gender, caste and cultural issues; ideas on politics such as concepts of nation, state, democracy, law and constitutionalism are to be pedagogically interrogated and interpreted. This will help students to critically engage themselves with the existing social concerns, state and economic structures and other institutional mechanisms. This also will facilitate them to strengthen their creative thinking with a collective approach to understand ongoing social, political, cultural and economic phenomena of the society.

#### **Total Lectures and Tutorials – 84**

### **Unit-I: Introducing Ambedkar**

Approach to Study Polity, History, Economy, Religion and Society

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

## **Unit-II: Caste and Religion**

- a. Caste, Untouchability and Critique of Hindu Social Order
- b. Religion and Conversion

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

### **Unit-III: Women's Question**

- a. Rise and Fall of Hindu Women
- b. Hindu Code Bill

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

#### **Unit-IV: Political Vision and Economic Vision**

- a. Democracy and Citizenship
- b. Land and Labour

13 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

### **Unit-V: Constitutionalism**

- a. Rights and Representations
- b. Constitution as an Instrument of Social Transformation

12 Lectures and 4 Tutorials

#### READING LIST

- G. Omvedt, (2008) 'Phule-Remembering The Kingdom of Bali', Seeking Begumpura Navyana,pp. 159-184.M.
- Gore, (1993) *The Social Context of an Ideology: Ambedkar's Political and Social Thought*, Delhi: Sage Publication, pp. 73-122; 196-225.

- B. Ambedkar, (1989) 'Annihilation of Caste with a Reply to Mahatma Gandhi', in *Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches: Vol. 1*, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp. 23-96.
- E. Zelliot, (1996) 'From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement', in *The Leadership of Babasaheb Ambedkar*, Delhi: Manohar, pp. 53-78.
- G. Omvedt, *Liberty Equality and Community: Dr. Ambedkar's Vision of New Social Order*, Available at http://www.ambedkar.org/research/LibertyEquality.htm, Accessed: 19.04.2013.
- B. Ambedkar, (1987) 'The Hindu Social Order: Its Essential Principles', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches: Vol. 3*, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, 1989, pp. 95-129.
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- B. R. Ambedkar, (2003), 'I have no Homeland', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings* and *Speeches Vol- 17*, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp-51-58.
- B. Ambedkar, (2003), 'Role of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Bringing The Untouchables on the Political Horizon of India and Lying A Foundation of Indian Democracy', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 17-I*, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp-63-178.
- B. Ambedkar, (2003) 'Buddhism paved way for Democracy and Socialistic Pattern of Society', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches*, *Vol. 17-III*, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp. 406-409.
- B. Ambedkar, (2003) 'Failure of Parliamentary Democracy will Result in Rebellion, Anarchy and Communism', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 17-III*, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp. 423-437.
- B. Ambedkar, (2003) 'Prospects of Democracy in India', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 17-III*, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp. 519- 523.
- B. Ambedkar, (2003) 'People cemented by feeling of one country, One Constitution and One Destiny, Take the Risk of Being Independent', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches Vol. 17-III*, Education Deptt, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp. 13-59.
- Constituent Assembly Debates, Ambedkar's speech on Draft Constitution on 4th November 1948, CAD Vol. VII, Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India, 3rd Print, pp. 31-41.
- B. Ambedkar, (2013), *States and Minorities*, Delhi: Critical Quest.
- A. Gajendran, (2007) 'Representation', in S. Thorat and Aryama (eds.), *Ambedkar in Retrospect: Essays on Economics, Politics and Society*, Delhi: Rawat Publishers, pp. 184-194.

- B. Ambedkar, (2003), 'Depressed Classes against Second Chamber: Dr. Ambedkar on Joint Parliamentary Committee Report Provision for Better Representation Demanded', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 17-I*, Education Deptt, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp. 231-243.
- B. Ambedkar, (1987) 'Buddha or Karl Marx', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings* and Speeches, Vol. 3, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp-442-462.
- S. Thorat, (2007) 'Economic System, Development and Economic Planning', in S. Thorat and Aryama (eds), *Ambedkar in Retrospect: Essays on Economics, Politics and Society*, Delhi: Rawat Publishers, pp. 25-48.
- B. Ambedkar, (1991) 'Labor and Parliamentary Democracy and Welfare', in Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 10, Education Deptt., Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp. 106-112; 139-143; 243-252
- B. Mungekar, (2007) 'Labour Policy' in S. Thorat and Aryama (eds), *Ambedkar in Retrospect: Essays on Economics, Politics and Society*, Delhi: Rawat Publishers, pp. 76-92.
- R. Ram, (2010) 'Dr, Ambedkar, Neo Liberal Market-Economy and Social Democracy in India', in *Human Rights Global Focus*, Vol. V (384), pp. 12-38, Available at www.roundtableindia.co.in, Accessed: 19.04.2013.
- B. Ambedkar, (2003) 'Trade Union must Enter Politics to Protect their Interests', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 17-III*, Education Deptt, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai, pp.174-192.
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- A. Teltumbde and S. Sen (eds), 'Caste Question in India', in *Scripting the Change, Selected Writings of Anuradha Ghandi*, pp. 62-91.