SEMESTER 2

Paper V   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 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.

I. Approaches to the Study of Nationalism in India (12 Lectures)
Nationalist, Cambridge School, Marxist, and Subaltern interpretations

II. Reformism and Anti-Reformism in the 19th Century (08 Lectures)

Major Social and Religious movements among Hindus and Muslims; Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Dharma Sabhas, Aligarh Movement

III. Nationalist Politics and Expansion of its Social Base (24 Lectures)

(a) Phases of Nationalist Movement and different ideological streams: Moderates and Extremists within Congress and revolutionary radicals; Formation of the Muslim League
(b) Gandhi and mass mobilisation: Khilafat, Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements

(c) Socialist alternatives: Congress socialists, Communists
(d) Communalism in Indian Politics

IV. Social Movements (10 Lectures)

(a) *The Women's Question*: participation in the national movement and its impact(3 Lectures)
(b) *The Caste Question*: anti-Brahmanical Politics   (3 Lectures)
(c) *Peasant*, *Tribals,* and *Workers* movements   (4 Lectures)

V. Partition and Independence (6 Lectures)

The two-Nation theory, negotiations over partition

Essential Readings

I. Approaches to the Study of Nationalism in India
   Bandopadhyay, S. (2004) *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India.* New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 184-191.

Thapar, R. (2000) 'Interpretations of Colonial History: Colonial, Nationalist, Post-colonial', in DeSouza, P.R. (ed.) *Contemporary India: Transitions*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 25-36.

II. Reformism and Anti-Reformism in the 19th Century

Bandopadhyay, S. (2004) *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India.*New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 139-158 ; 254-247.

Sen, A.P. (2007), 'The idea of Social reform and its critique among Hindus of Nineteenth Century India', in Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi . (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

Bandopadhyay, S. (2004) *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India.* New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 279-311.

Sarkar, S. (1983) *Modern India (1885-1847).* New Delhi: Macmillan.
Jalal, A. and Bose, S. (1997) *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, and Political Economy.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 109-119 ; 128-134.

IV. Social Movements

Bandopadhyaya, S. (2004) *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*. New delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 342-357; 369-381.

V. Partition and Independence

Bandopadhyay, S. (2004) *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India.*New Delhi: Orient Longman, pp. 405-438.

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

Additional Readings

Smith, A.D. (2001) *Nationalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Islam, S. (2004) 'The Origins of Indian Nationalism', in *Religious Dimensions of Indian Nationalism*. New Delhi: Media House, pp. 71-103.

Islam, S. (2006) 'Rashtravaad: Ek Siddhanthik Preepreksh', in *Bharat maen algaovaad aur dharm*. New Delhi: Vani Prakashan, pp. 33-51.

Chatterjee, P. (2010) 'A Brief History of *Subaltern Studies*', in Chatterjee, Partha *Empire & Nation: Essential Writings (1985-2005)*. New Delhi: Permanent Black.

Sangari, Kand Vaid, S. (1989) *Recasting Woman: Essays in Colonial History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Pradhan, Ram Chandra. (2008) *Raj to Swaraj*. New Delhi: Macmillan.

Mani, B.R. (2005) *Debrahmanising History, Dominance and Resistance in Indian Society*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.

Paper VI   Political Theory: Concepts and Debates

Course Objective: This course is divided into two sections. Section A helps the student familiarize with the basic normative concepts of political theory. Each concept is related to a crucial political issue that requires analysis with the aid of our conceptual understanding. This exercise is designed to encourage critical and reflective analysis and interpretation of social practices through the relevant conceptual toolkit. Section B introduces the students to the important debates in the subject. These debates prompt us to consider that there is no settled way of understanding concepts and that in the light of new insights and challenges, besides newer ways of perceiving and interpreting the world around us, we inaugurate new modes of political debates.

Section A: Core Concepts

I. Importance of Freedom (10 Lectures)

a) Negative Freedom: Liberty

b) Positive Freedom: Freedom as Emancipation and Development

Important Issue: Freedom of belief, expression and dissent

II. Significance of Equality (12 lectures)

a) Formal Equality: Equality of opportunity

b) Political equality

c) Egalitarianism: Background inequalities and differential treatment

Important Issue: Affirmative action

III. Indispensability of Justice (12 Lectures)

a) Procedural Justice

b) Distributive Justice

c) Global Justice

Important Issue: Capital punishment

IV. The Universality of Rights (13 Lectures)

a) Natural Rights

b) Moral and Legal Rights

c) Three Generations of Rights

d) Rights and Obligations

Important Issue: Right of the girl child

Section B: Major Debates (13 Lectures)

I. Why should we obey the state? Issues of political obligation and civil disobedience.

II. Are human rights universal? Issue of cultural relativism.

III. How do we accommodate diversity in plural society? Issues of multiculturalism and toleration.

<u>**Essential Readings**</u>

Section A: Core Concepts

I. Importance of Freedom

Riley, Jonathan. (2008) 'Liberty' in Mckinnon, Catriona (ed.) *Issues in Political Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 103-119.

Knowles, Dudley. (2001) *Political Philosophy*. London: Routledge, pp. 69- 132.

Swift, Adam. (2001) *Political Philosophy: A Beginners Guide for Student's and Politicians.* Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 51-88.

Carter, Ian. (2003) 'Liberty', in Bellamy, Richard and Mason, Andrew (eds.). *Political Concepts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 4-15.

Sethi, Aarti. (2008) 'Freedom of Speech and the Question of Censorship', in Bhargava, Rajeev and Acharya, Ashok. (eds.) *Political Theory: An Introduction.* New Delhi: Pearson Longman, pp. 308-319.

II. Significance of Equality

Swift, Adam. (2001) *Political Philosophy: A Beginners Guide for Student's and Politicians.* Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 91-132.

Casal, Paula & William, Andrew. (2008) 'Equality', in McKinnon, Catriona. (ed.) *Issues in Political Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 149- 165.

Acharya, Ashok. (2008) 'Affirmative Action', in Bhargava, Rajeev and Acharya, Ashok. (eds.) *Political Theory: An Introduction.* New Delhi: Pearson Longman, pp. 298-307.

III. Indispensability of Justice

Menon, Krishna. (2008) 'Justice', in Bhargava, Rajeev and Acharya, Ashok. (eds.) *Political Theory: An Introduction.* New Delhi: Pearson Longman, pp. 74-86.

Wolf, Jonathan. (2008) 'Social Justice', in McKinnon, Catriona. (ed.) *Issues in Political Theory.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 172-187.

Swift, Adam. (2001) *Political Philosophy: A Beginners Guide for Student's and Politicians.* Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 9-48.

Knowles, Dudley. (2001) *Political Philosophy.* London: Routledge, pp. 177-238.

McKinnon, Catriona. (ed.) (2008) *Issues in Political Theory.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 289-305.

Bedau, Hugo Adam. (2003) 'Capital Punishment', in LaFollette, Hugh (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Practical Ethics.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 705-733.

IV. The Universality of Rights

Seglow, Jonathan. (2003) 'Multiculturalism' in Bellamy, Richard and Mason, Andrew (eds.). *Political Concepts.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 156-168.

Tulkdar, P.S. (2008) 'Rights' in Bhargava, Rajeev and Acharya, Ashok. (eds.) *Political Theory: An Introduction.* New Delhi: Pearson Longman, pp. 88-104.

McKinnon, Catriona. (2003) 'Rights', in Bellamy, Richard and Mason, Andrew. (eds.) *Political Concepts.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 16-27.

Menlowe, M.A. (1993) 'Political Obligations', in Bellamy Richard.(ed.) *Theories and Concepts of Politics.* New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 174-194.

Amoah, Jewel. (2007) 'The World on Her Shoulders: The Rights of the Girl-Child in the Context of Culture & Identity', in *Essex Human Rights Review,* 4(2), pp. 1-23.

Working Group on the Girl Child (2007), *A Girl's Right to Live: Female Foeticide and Girl Infanticide*, available on http://www.crin.org/docs/Girl's infanticide CSW 2007.txt

Section B: Major Debates

Hyums, Keith. (2008) 'Political Authority and Obligation', in Mckinnon, Catriona. (ed.) *Issues in Political Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. *9*-26

Martin, Rex. (2003) 'Political Obligation', in Bellamy, Richard and Mason, Andrew. (eds.) *Political Concepts*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 41-51.

Campbell, Tom. (2008) 'Human Rights' in Mckinnon, Catriona. (ed.) *Issues in Political Theory.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 194-210.

Mookherjee, Monica, 'Multiculturalism', in Mckinnon, Catriona. (ed.) *Issues in Political Theory.* New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 218- 234.

Seglow, Jonathan, 'Multiculturalism', in Bellamy, Richard and Mason, Andrew. (eds.) *Political Concepts*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 156-168.

Paper VII   Political Processes in India

Course Objective: Actual politics in India diverges quite significantly from constitutional legal rules. An understanding of the political process thus calls for a different mode of analysis - that offered by political sociology. This course maps the working of 'modern' institutions, premised on the existence of an individuated society, in a context marked by communitarian solidarities, and their mutual transformation thereby. It also familiarizes students with the working of the Indian state, paying attention to the contradictory dynamics of modern state power.

I. Political Parties and the Party System: National and regional parties; trends in the party system - from the Congress system to the era of multiparty coalitions **(10 Lectures)**

II. Elections and the Electoral System: The nature of, and challenges to, the electoral system ; social determinants of voting.   **(10 Lectures)**

III. Federalism and Regional Aspirations: Politics of secession, autonomy and accommodation.   (0**8 Lectures)**

IV.   Religion and Politics: Debates on secularism; majority and minority communalism.

(10 Lectures)

V. Caste and Politics: Caste in politics and the politicization of caste; interaction of caste with class and gender; caste discrimination and affirmative action policies. **(11 Lectures)**

VI. Globalisation and the Changing Nature of the Indian State: The nature of political power in India, with reference to developmental, welfare, ideological and coercive dimensions   **(11 Lectures)**

<u>**Essential Readings**</u>

I. Political Parties and the Party System: National and regional parties; trends in the party system – from the Congress system to the era of multiparty coalitions

Arora, B. (2000) 'Negotiating Differences: Federal Coalitions and National Cohesion', in
     Frankel, F. Hasan, Z. Bhargava, R. and Arora, B. (eds.) *Transforming India: Social and
     Political Dynamics of Democracy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 176-206.

Jaffrelot, C. (2001) 'The Sangh Parivar Between Sanskritization and Social Engineering', in
     Hansen, T.B. and Jaffrelot, C. (eds.) *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India.*
     New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 22-71.

Kothari, R. (2002) 'The Congress "System" in India', in Hasan, Z. (ed.) *Parties and Party
     Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 39-55.

Manor, J. (1995) 'Regional Parties in Federal Systems', in Arora, B. and Verney, D.V. (eds.)
     Multiple Identities in a Single State: Indian Federalism in Comparative Perspective.
     Delhi: Konark, pp. 105-135.

Rodrigues, V. (2006) 'The Communist Parties in India', in deSouza, P.R. and Sridharan,
     E.(eds.) *India's Political Parties*. New Delhi: Sage, pp. 199-252.

Yadav, Y. and Palshikar, S. (2006) 'Party System and Electoral Politics in the Indian States, 1952-2002: From Hegemony to Convergence', in deSouza, P.R. and Sridharan, E. (eds.) *India's Political Parties*. New Delhi: Sage, pp. 73-115.

II. Elections and the Electoral System : The nature of, and challenges to, the electoral system; social determinants of voting.

Chibber. P. and Petrocik, J.R. (2002) 'Social Cleavages, Elections and the Indian Party System', in Hasan, Z. (ed.) *Parties and Party Politics in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 56-75.

Ansari, I.A. (2001) 'Ensuring Representation', *Seminar,* Issue 506, pp. 37-41. [Online] DOI: http://www.india-seminar.com/semsearch.htm.

De Souza P.R. (2001) 'Whose Representative?', *Seminar,* Issue 506, pp. 57-61.[Online] DOI: http://www.india-seminar.com/semsearch.htm.

McMillan, A. (2001) 'Population Change and the Democratic Structure', *Seminar,* Issue 506, pp. 50-56. [Online] DOI: http://www.india-seminar.com/semsearch.htm.

Sridharan, E. 'Reforming Political Finance,' *Seminar,* Issue 506, pp. 29-36. [Online] DOI: http://www.india-seminar.com/semsearch.htm.

Yadav, Y. (2000) 'Understanding the Second Democratic Upsurge: Trends of Bahujan Political Participation in Electoral Politics in the 1990s', in Frankel, F.R. Hasan Z., Bhargava,

R. and Arora, B. (eds.) *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy.*New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 120-145.

III. Federalism and Regional Aspirations: Politics of secession, autonomy and accommodation

Brass, P.R. (1999) 'Crisis of National Unity: Punjab, the Northeast and Kashmir', in *The Politics of India Since Independence*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press and Foundation Books, pp.192-227.

Chadda, M. (2010) 'Integration Through Internal Reorganization: Containing Ethnic Conflict in India,' in Baruah, S. (ed.) *Ethnonationalism in India: A Reader*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 379-402.

King, R.D. (1997) 'Linguistic States and the National Language', in *Nehru and the Language Politics of India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 52-96.

Rao, M.G. and Singh, N. (2005) 'A Historical Review of Indian Federalism', in *The PoliticalEconomy of Federalism in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.41-61.

Stepan, A. (2010) 'Federalism, Multinational Societies and Negotiating a Democratic "StateNation": A Theoretical Framework, the Indian Model and a Tamil Case Study', in Baruah, S.(ed.) *Ethnonationalism in India: A Reader*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 347-378.

IV. Religion and Politics: **Debates on secularism; majority and minority communalism**

Bilgrami, A. (1999) 'Two Concepts of Secularism', in Kaviraj, S. (ed.) *Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 349-361.

Brass, P.R. (2003) 'Introduction: Explaining Communal Violence', in *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 5-39.

Chandra, B. (1999) 'Communalism as False Consciousness', in Kaviraj, S. (ed.) *Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 299-304.

Mehta, P.B. (2004) 'Introduction to the Omnibus', in Zavos, J. Hansen, T.B. and Jaffrelot, C. *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics: An Omnibus*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. vii-xxiii.

Menon, N. and Nigam, A. (2007) 'Politics of Hindutva and the Minorities', in *Power and Contestation: India since 1989*. London: Fernwood Publishing, Halifax and Zed Books, pp.36-60.

Nandy, A. (1999) 'A Critique of Modernist Secularism', in Kaviraj, S. (ed.) *Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 329-341.

Pandey, G. (1999) 'Communalism as Construction', in Kaviraj, S. (ed.) *Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. pp. 305-317.

V. Caste and Politics: Caste in politics and the politicization of caste; interaction of caste with class and gender; caste discrimination and affirmative action policies

Chakravarti, U. (2003) 'Caste and Gender in Contemporary India', in *Gendering Caste Through a Feminist Lens*. Calcutta: Stree, pp. 139-171.

Galanter, M. (2002) 'The Long Half-Life of Reservations', in Hasan, Z. Sridharan, E. and Sudarshan, R (eds.) *India's Living Constitution: Ideas, Practices, Controversies*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, pp. 306-318.

Hasan, Z. (2000) 'Representation and Redistribution: The New Lower Caste Politics of North India', in Frankel, F. Hasan, Z. Bhargava, R. and Arora, B. (eds.) *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 146-175.

Jaffrelot, C. (2005) 'The Politics of the OBCs', in *Seminar*, Issue 549, pp.41-45.

Kothari, R. (1970) 'Introduction,' in *Caste in Indian Politics*. Delhi: Orient Longman, pp.3-25.

Omvedt, G. (2002) 'Ambedkar and After: The Dalit Movement in India', in Shah, G. (ed.) *Social Movements and the State*. New Delhi: Sage, pp. 293-309.

VI. Globalization and the Changing Nature of the Indian State: **The nature of political power in India, with reference to developmental, welfare, ideological and coercive dimensions.**

Deshpande, R. (2005) 'State and Democracy in India, Strategies of Accommodation and Manipulation', Occasional Paper, Series III, No.4, Special Assistance Programme, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Pune.

Frankel, F. (2005) 'Crisis of National Economic Planning', in *India's Political Economy (1947-2004): The Gradual Revolution*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.293-340.

Frankel, F. (2005) 'Crisis of Political Stability', in *India's Political Economy (1947-2004): The Gradual Revolution*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.341-387.

Frankel, F. (2005) 'Impasse', in *India's Political Economy (1947-2004): The Gradual Revolution*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.491-547.

Frankel, F. (2005) 'Emergency and Beyond', in *India's Political Economy (1947-2004): The Gradual Revolution*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.548-579.

Gupta, A. and Sharma, A. (2006) 'Globalization and Postcolonial States', *Current Anthropology*, 47 (2), pp. 277-307 [pp. 277-294, 304-307].

Mohanty, M. (1989) 'Duality of the State Process in India: A Hypothesis', in *Bhartiya Samajik Chintan*, Vol. XII, Nos.1-2.

Palshikar, S. (2008) 'The Indian State: Constitution and Beyond', in Bhargava, R. (ed.) *Politics and Ethics of the Indian Constitution*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.143-63.

Sinha, A. (2007) 'Economic Growth and Political Accommodation', in *Journal of Democracy,* 18 (2), pp. 41-54.

Additional Readings

Brass, P.R. (1999) *The Politics of India Since Independence*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press and Foundation Books.

Brass, P.R. (1974) *Language, Religion and Politics in North India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, K. (2000) 'The Transformation of Ethnic Politics in India: The Decline of Congress and Rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party in Hoshiarpur', in *Journal Of Asian Studies*, 59 (1), pp. 26-61.

Chatterjee, P. (ed.) (2004) *State and Politics in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press. deSouza, P.R. and Sridharan, E. (eds.) (2006) *India's Political Parties*. New Delhi: Sage.

Frankel, F. Hasan, Z. Bhargava, R. and Arora, B. (eds.) (2000) *Transforming India: Social and Political Dynamics of Democracy*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Galanter, M. (1984) *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Hasan, Z. (ed.) (2002) *Parties and Party Politics in India.* New Delhi: Oxford UniversityPress.

Hasan, Z. (ed.) (2000) *Politics and the State in India*. New Delhi: Sage.

Jaffrelot, C. (2003) *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India.* New Delhi: Permanent Black.

Jayal, N.G. and Mehta, P.B. (eds.) (2010) *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kaviraj, S. (ed.) (1999) *Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kohli, A. (ed.) (2008) *The Success of India's Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kothari, R. (1985) *Politics in India.* Delhi: Orient Longman.

Pai, S. (2002) *Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*. New Delhi: Sage.

Roy, R. and Wallace P. (eds.) (1999) *Indian Politics and the 1998 Elections: Regionalism, Hindutva and State Politics.* New Delhi: Sage.

PAPER VIII

CONCURRENT - CREDIT LANGUAGE