

CRES 24003 (Colonizations III), Section 1, Autumn 2018
Nationalism, Decolonization, and Postcolonial Sovereignty in South Asia
(cross-listed as ANTH 24003, HIST 18303, SALC 20702, SOSC 24003)

Monday and Wednesday, 1:30 – 2:50pm, Classics 405

Fahad Sajid
PhD Candidate in Political Science at the University of Chicago
fmsajid@uchicago.edu

Office Hours: Wednesday, 9:00 – 11:00am, 5730 S. Woodlawn Ave. Rm. 403, and by appointment

Course Description

India and Pakistan were colonized by the same European power and became sovereign states in 1947 a mere twenty-four hours apart, but their political trajectories have diverged since independence in important ways. Whereas India is considered a consolidated democracy, Pakistan has cycled through four military dictatorships, the last of which ending as recently as 2008. The argument of this course is that the origins of this and many other national differences lie in the colonial period and in how the South Asian rivals gained their independence, making the study of decolonization indispensable to our understanding of the politics of the region today. With the help of theoretical and empirical approaches, we will deromanticize the politics of this foundational period and inquire into:

- the process by which Hindus and Muslims came to see themselves as political communities beginning in the late-19th century;
- the evolution of the Indian National Congress, from elite-driven and conservative to mass-based and radical;
- the often-irreconcilable methods and aims of anti-colonial nationalists like Gandhi, Bose, and Jinnah;
- the compositional and institutional differences between the independence movements of India and Pakistan;
- the effect of the Cold War on democracy and sovereignty in the region; and
- the fate of minorities in the postcolonial era.

Learning Objectives

By the end of the course, students will be able to articulate:

- why colonialism in South Asia ended when it did;
- why decolonization resulted in the partition of colonial India into two sovereign states; and
- why Pakistan has had a harder time than India in holding on to democracy.

Required Texts

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1983.

All other readings will be made available through Canvas.

For an excellent primer on the political history of colonial India in the half century leading up to independence, see:

Wolpert, Stanley A. "The Indian National Congress in Nationalist Perspective." In *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase*, edited by Richard Sisson and Stanley A. Wolpert, pp. 20-44. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988.

Policies

1. Attendance

Regular attendance and active participation are key to succeeding at any learning endeavor. For every unexcused absence, the student will lose a third of a letter grade from their overall course grade. A medical professional's note provided within two weeks of the missed session is required for the absence to be excused. All other personal conflicts with the course schedule must be brought to my attention within the first two weeks of the quarter.

2. Electronics

A [large body of research](#) strongly suggests that the use of electronic devices in class constitutes a major distraction, not only for the user but also for others seated nearby, resulting in poorer student performance all around. Therefore, unless an accommodation is needed (see below), the use of electronic devices is prohibited for this course.

3. Writing

All written submissions must be in .docx format and typed up in 12-point Times New Roman with double spacing, 1-inch margins, and clear pagination.

4. Grades

There is no curve for this course. The grading scale is:

A	91-100	A-	86-90	B+	81-85
B	76-80	B-	70-75	C+	66-70
C	61-65	C-	56-60		

Requirements and Assessment

1. Class Participation (30%)

Students are expected to come to class having read the assigned readings and prepared to contribute to discussion. Each session counts for 1.5 points, breaking down as follows:

- check minus: attendance without participation, 0.5
- check: attendance with limited participation, 1
- check plus: attendance with robust participation, 1.5

2. Mid-Term Exam (30%)

The mid-term exam will be held in the last 50 minutes of the November 5 session. The format will be communicated to students in Weeks 4 and 5.

3. *Term Paper (40%)*

Students will come up with their own topic or question and meet with me in office hours before the end of Week 8 to have their projects approved. The final draft should be no more than 2,500 words in length and is due by email by 5pm (CST) on December 12, 2018. Unless an accommodation has been reached in advance, late submissions will be docked one point for every hour of tardiness.

The grading rubric for this component is as follows:

- clarity of argument, 15 points (thesis statement, topic sentences, etc.);
- use of evidence, 15 points (range and appropriateness of sources, validity of inferences, etc.); and
- quality of writing, 10 points (structure, grammar, spelling, pagination, citation style, etc.)

4. *Extra Credit (up to 8%)*

There are two extra credit opportunities in this course (see Schedule of Readings below), each worth four percentage-points and graded along the same lines as the Term Paper.

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to produce original work. All sources used in written assignments (including articles, books, chalk posts) should be properly cited. In this class, the penalty for plagiarism will be a failing grade. In the unfortunate event that a student is suspected of plagiarism, I will follow the guidelines set forth in The University of Chicago Student Manual. Click [here](#) for more information. Please also note that Wikipedia articles, while they may be used privately to better understand a topic or event, are not to be cited in academic writing.

Accommodations

I am committed to providing an inclusive and accessible classroom environment for all students. Students who need disability accommodations should submit the necessary paperwork to me at the beginning of the quarter, or as soon as such paperwork can be arranged. For further information, visit the [Student Disability Services Office](#).

Conduct

My goal is to create and sustain a learning space in which all students feel safe engaging with both the material and their peers. Communication both in person and through email should always be professional and respectful. While disagreement and debate are crucial aspects of the learning process, students are asked to do so by referring to the texts as much as possible and by maintaining a non-confrontational tone at all times.

Acts of sexual misconduct, which include a range of behaviors, are major violations of community standards and will be reported. University guidelines may be accessed [here](#), and a useful university resource on sexual misconduct can be found [here](#). Discriminatory behavior based on race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, ability and other identity categories are equally unacceptable.

Schedule of Readings

Things to look out for:

1. October 1 Introduction

Further reading:

- Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Translated from the German by Shelley L. Frisch. Princeton: Markus Weiner Publishers, 1997.
 - “‘Colonization’ and ‘Colonies’” (pp. 1-12, ch. 1); and
 - “‘Colonialism’ and ‘Colonial Empires’” (pp. 13-22, ch. 2).

I. BACKGROUND: INDIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

2. October 3 Non-Settler Colonialism: Working Concepts

- Cheesman, David. “Introduction: Other People’s Countries.” In *Landlord Power and Rural Indebtedness in Colonial Sindh, 1865-1901*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997 (pp. 1-13).
- Robinson, Ronald. “Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration.” In *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, edited by Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, pp. 117-142 (ch. 5). London: Longman, 1972.

CLASS SPLIT:

- **A:** McLane, John R. “The Rulers.” In *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977 (pp. 21-49, ch. 1).
- **B:** Seal, Anil. “Political India.” In *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1968 (pp. 1-24, ch. 1).

Further reading:

- Gilmour, David. “The Governance of India.” In *Curzon*. London: John Murray, 1994 (pp. 149-63, ch. 11).

II. THE EMERGENCE OF IMAGINED POLITICAL COMMUNITIES

3. October 8 Nationalism I

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1983.
 - “Introduction” (pp. 1-7, ch. 1);
 - “Cultural Roots” (pp. 9-36, ch. 2); and
 - “The Origins of National Consciousness” (pp. 37-46, ch. 3).

Further reading:

- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006 [1983].

4. October 10 Nationalism II

- Anderson, Benedict. “Creole Pioneers.” In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1983 (pp. 47-66, ch. 4).
- Gellner, Ernest. “Nationalism.” In *Thought and Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965 (pp. 147-153, 163-175, parts of ch. 7).
- Naoroji, Dadabhai. “Second Congress – Calcutta – 1886.” In *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji*. Madras: Natesan, 1917 (pp. 1-19).
- Naoroji, Dadabhai. “Introduction,” and “Non-Fulfilment of Solemn Promises.” In *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901 (pp. v-xiv, 90-99).

IN CLASS: A Monarch’s Promise and Imperial Hypocrisy

- Queen Victoria. “Proclamation by the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India” (1958).

5. October 15 India Discovers Itself

- Goswami, Manu. “India as *Bharat*: A Territorial Nativist Vision of Nationhood, 1860-1880.” In *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004 (pp. 165-208, ch. 6).
- Kaviraj, Sudipta. “The Imaginary Institution of India.” In *The Imaginary Institution of India: Politics and Ideas*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010 (pp. 167-209, ch. 5).

6. October 17 Sub-Nationalism I: “Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan”

Content warning – violence.

- Pandey, Gyanendra. “Nationalism Versus Communalism.” In *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990 (pp. 233-261, ch. 7).
- Hansen, Thomas B. “Imagining the Hindu Nation.” In *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999 (pp. 60, 65-89, parts of ch. 2).
- McLane, John R. “The Early Congress, Hindu Populism, and the Wider Society.” In *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase*, edited by Richard Sisson and Stanley A. Wolpert, pp. 47-61 (ch. 3). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Further reading:

- Jaffrelot, Christophe. “Stigmatizing and Emulating ‘Threatening Others’ – The Formation of Hindu Nationalism.” In *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996 (pp. 11-79, ch. 1).

- Balachandran, G. “Religion and Nationalism in Modern India.” In *Unraveling the Nation: Sectarian Conflict and India’s Secular Identity*, edited by Kaushik Basu and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, pp. 81-111 (part of ch. 4). New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1996.
- Gould, William. *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

SUGGESTED TERM PAPER TOPIC: Cow protection and Hindu-Muslim relations

- McLane, John R. *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
 - “Cow Protection and National Politics,” (pp. 271-308, ch. 9), and
 - “Cow Protection Riots and Their Aftermath,” (pp. 309-331, ch. 10).
- Pandey, Gyanendra. “Mobilizing the Hindu Community.” In *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990 (pp. 158-200, ch. 5).
- Robb, Peter. “The Challenge of Gau Mata: British Policy and Religious Change in India, 1880-1916.” *Modern Asian Studies* 20, no. 2 (1986): 285-319.
- Yang, Anand A. “Sacred Symbol and Sacred Space in Rural India: Community Mobilization in the ‘Anti-Cow Killing’ Riot of 1893.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, no. 4 (October 1980): 576-96.
- Freitag, Sandra B. “Sacred Symbol as Mobilizing Ideology: The North Indian Search for a ‘Hindu’ Community.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, no. 4 (October 1980): 597-625.

7. October 22 Sub-Nationalism II: The “Two-Nation” Theory

- Hardy, Peter. *The Muslims of British India*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
 - “Muslims come to terms with British India as Muslims” (pp. 92-104, part of ch. 4); and
 - “Muslims move towards political community, 1871-1901” (pp. 135-46, part of ch. 5).
- Hunter, W. W. “Wrongs of the Muhammadans Under British Rule.” In *The Musalmans of British India*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1876 (pp. 146-216, ch. 4).

Further reading:

- Khan, Syed Ahmed. *Asbab Baghawat-i Hind* (The Causes of the Indian Revolt). Originally published 1858, translated into English 1873.
- Metcalf, Barbara D. *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Brass, Paul R. “Elite groups, symbol manipulation, and ethnic identity among the Muslims of South Asia.” In *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991 (pp. 69-108, ch. 3).
- Lelyveld, David. *Aligarh’s First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

8. October 24 Institutions I: Census and Consensus

- Jones, Kenneth W. "Religious Identity and the Indian Census." In *The Census in British India: New Perspectives*, edited by N. Gerald Barrier, pp. 73-101. New Delhi: Manohar, 1981.
- Mukerjee, Upendra Nath. *Hindus: A Dying Race*. Calcutta: Mukerjee & Bose, 1909 (pp. 28-38, 60-64, chs. 6, 7, and 13).
- Lieberman, Evan S., and Prerna Singh. "Census Enumeration and Group Conflict: A Global Analysis of the Consequences of Counting." *World Politics* 69, no. 1 (January 2017): 1-53 (**focus on the main argument; skim the analysis**).

Further reading:

- Cohn, Bernard S. "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia." In *An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987 (pp. 224-254, ch. 10).
- Dirks, Nicholas. "The Enumeration of Caste: Anthropology as Colonial Rule." In *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001 (pp. 198-227, ch. 10).

9. October 29 Institutions II: Community and Contention

- Sarkar, Sumit. *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1973.
 - "The Development of the Partition Plan" (pp. 9-20, ch. 1.1);
 - "The Genesis and Ideology of Economy Swadeshi" (pp. 92-108, ch. 3.2);
 - "Hindus and Muslims in Bengal" (pp. 405-18, ch. 8.1); and
 - "The Muslims and the Swadeshi Movement" (pp. 418-44, ch. 8.2).

Further reading:

- Goswami, Manu. "Territorial Nativism: *Swadeshi and Swaraj*." In *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004 (pp. 242-76, ch. 8).
- Johnson, Gordon. "Partition, Agitation, and Congress: Bengal 1904-1908." *Modern Asian Studies* 7, no. 3 (1973): 553-88.
- Zaidi, Z. H. "The Political Motive in the Partition of Bengal, 1905." *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 12, no. 2 (April 1964): 113-49.
- Broomfield, J. M. "The Partition of Bengal: A Problem in British Administration, 1830-1912." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 23, no. 2 (1960): 13-24.
- McLane, John R. "The Decision to Partition Bengal in 1905." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 2, no. 3 (July 1965): 221-37.

10. October 31 Institutions III: Separate Electorates and the Muslim Exit

- Robinson, Francis. "A high point of Muslim separatism, 1900-1909." In *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces*

Muslims, 1860-1923. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974 (pp. 133-174, ch. 4).

- Hasan, Mushirul. “The Parting of the Ways.” In *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-1928*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1979 (pp. 263-305, ch. 8).

IN CLASS: “Let us part as friends.”

Excerpt from Wolpert, Stanley A. “Calcutta (1928).” In *Jinnah of Pakistan*. New York: Oxford UP, 1984 (pp. 100-102, part of ch. 8).

Further reading:

- Address by the Muslim Deputation to Lord Minto at Simla on October 1, 1906 and the Viceroy’s Reply.
- Wolpert, Stanley A. “Separate and Unequal.” In *Morley and India, 1906-1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967 (pp. 185-200, ch. 8).
- Rahman, Matiur. *From Consultation to Confrontation: A Study of the Muslim League in British Indian Politics, 1906-1912*. London: Luzac & Company, 1970.
- All-Parties Conference (India). “II. The Communal Aspect.” In *The Nehru Report: An Anti-separatist Manifesto*. New Delhi: Michiko & Panjathan, 1975 (pp. 27-60).
- Jinnah, M. A. “Presidential Address.” In *Foundations of Pakistan, All-India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947, Vol. II (1924-1947)*, edited by Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, pp. 299-311. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2007.
- Wolpert, Stanley A. “Toward Lahore (1938-40).” In *Jinnah of Pakistan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984 (pp. 155-83, ch. 12).
- Jalal, Ayesha. *The Sole Spokesman. Jinnah, the Muslim League, and the Demand for Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

11. November 5 Failure in National Integration

- Robinson, Francis. “The Congress and the Muslims.” In *The Indian National Congress and Indian Society, 1885-1985: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Dominance*, edited by Paul R. Brass and Francis Robinson, pp. 162-83 (ch. 5). Delhi: Chanyaka Publications, 1987.

IN CLASS: **Mid-Term Exam**

SUGGESTED TERM PAPER TOPIC: Explaining the partition of colonial India in 1947

III. THE NATIONALISTS AND THEIR METHODS

12. November 7 Gandhi

- Brown, Judith M. “South African prelude: the creation of a leader and idealist.” In *Gandhi’s Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915-1922*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1972 (pp. 1-15, ch. 1).

- Broomfield, J. H. “The Non-Cooperation Decision of 1920: A Crisis in Bengal Politics.” In *Soundings in Modern South Asian History*, edited by D. A. Low, pp. 225-60 (ch. 8). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Dalton, Dennis. “Civil Disobedience: The Salt Satyagraha.” In *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*. Columbia University Press, 2012 (pp. 91-138, ch. 4; **focus on the underlying story**)

Further reading:

- Low, D. A. “‘Civil martial law’: the Government of India and the civil disobedience movements, 1930-34.” In *Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Struggle 1917-47*, edited by D. A. Low, pp. 165-98 (ch. 5). London: Heinemann, 1977.
- Brown, Judith M. *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Orwell, George. “Reflections on Gandhi” (January 1949).
<https://www.orwellfoundation.com/the-orwell-foundation/orwell/essays-and-other-works/reflections-on-gandhi/>

13. November 12 Anti-Colonialism Resistance I: Soul Force v. Constitutionalism

- Gandhi, M. K. *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1938 [1909].
 - “What is Swaraj?” (pp. 20-21, ch. 4);
 - “How can India become Free?” (pp. 46-48, ch. 14);
 - “Italy and India” (pp. 48-50, ch. 15);
 - “Brute Force” (pp. 50-55, ch. 16); and
 - “Passive Resistance” (pp. 56-63, ch. 17).
- Stephan, Maria J., and Erica Chenoweth. “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict.” *International Security* 33, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 7-44 (**try to understand the general framework; skim the empirics**).

IN CLASS: The Anti-Populism of Jinnah

- Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin (ed.). “Nagpur Congress.” In *The Collected Works of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Vol. I, 1906-1921*. Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1984 (pp. 402-06, ch. 96).

14. November 14 Anti-Colonial Resistance II: The Case for Violence

- The Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. “Manifesto: The Philosophy of the Bomb.” In *Terrorism in India, 1917-1936*, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, pp. 199-208. New Delhi: Deep Publications, 1974 [1937].
- Bose, Subhas Chandra in Bose, Sisir K., and Bose, Sugata, eds. *Chalo Delhi: Writings and Speeches, 43-1945*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007.
 - “To Delhi, to Delhi!” (pp. 45-48)
 - “Why I Left Home and Homeland” (pp. 51-54)

- “Blood and Freedom” (pp. 205-211)
- “Father of Our Nation” (pp. 212-222)
- McLane, John R. “The Hindu Martial Revival and the Chapekar Terrorist Society.” In *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977 (pp. 332-358, ch. 11).

Further reading:

- Laushey, David M. *Bengal Terrorism and the Marxist Left: Aspects of Regional Nationalism in India, 1905-1942*. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1975.
- Heehs, Peter. *Nationalism, Terrorism, Communalism: Essays in Modern Indian History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Sarkar, Sumit. “Early Revolutionary Terrorism.” In *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908*. New Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1973 (pp. 465-92, ch. 9).
- Gordon, Leonard A. “The Congress and Nationalist Uses of Violence: Subhas Bose and Indian Revolutionaries in the Independence Struggle.” In *The Indian National Congress and Indian Society, 1885-1985: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Dominance*, edited by Paul R. Brass and Francis Robinson, pp. 80-141 (ch. 3). Delhi: Chanyaka Publications, 1987.

SUGGESTED TERM PAPER TOPIC: The place of violence in Indian anti-colonialism

IV. INDEPENDENCE

15. November 19 *The Raj Cracks*

- Brown, Judith M. “Gandhi and Civil Resistance in India, 1917-1947: Key Issues.” In *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, edited by Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, pp. 43-57 (ch. 3). New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Wolpert, Stanley A. “The Impact of World War Two (1939-46).” In *A New History of India*. 6th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000 (pp. 329-349, ch. 22).
- Potter, David C. “Manpower Shortage and the End of Colonialism: The Case of the Indian Civil Service.” *Modern Asian Studies* 7, no. 1 (1973): 47-73.
- Slater, Dan, and Erica Simmons. “Informative Regress: Critical Antecedents in Comparative Politics.” *Comparative Politics Studies* 43, no. 7 (July 2010): 886-917 (**try to understand the general framework; skim the empirical examples**).

Further Reading:

- Talbot, Ian. “Deserted Collaborators: The Political Background to the Rise and Fall of the Punjab Unionist Party, 1923-1947.” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 11, no. 1 (October 1982): 73-93.

16. November 21 Imagining Freedom

- Kaviraj, Sudipta. “On the enchantment of the state: Indian thought on the role of the state in the narrative of modernity.” *European Journal of Sociology* 46, no. 2 (2005): 263-296 (**read sections IV and V, pp. 285-294**).
- Parel, Anthony J. (ed.). “Gandhi-Nehru letters.” In *Hind Swaraj and other writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997 (pp. 149-156).
- Jaffrelot, Christophe. “In the Political Arena, against Gandhi.” In *Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability: Fighting the Indian Caste System*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005 (pp. 52-73, ch. 4).
- Jodhka, Surinder S. “Nation and Village: Images of Rural India in Gandhi, Nehru and Ambedkar.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 32 (August 2002): 3343-3353.

IN CLASS: comparing Nehru’s “A Tryst with Destiny” (New Delhi, August 15, 1947) to Jinnah’s presidential address to the Constituent Assembly (Karachi, August 11, 1947).

EXTRA CREDIT OPPORTUNITY

Write a 1,000-word reflection on:

- Mishra, Pankaj. “Exit Wounds: The legacy of Indian partition.” *The New Yorker*, August 13, 2007. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2007/08/13/exit-wounds/>.

Further reading:

- Jayal, Niraja Gopal. “A False Dichotomy? The Unresolved Tension between Universal and Differentiated Citizenship in India.” *Oxford Development Studies* 39, no. 2 (June 2011): 185-204.
- Mantena, Karuna. “On Gandhi’s Critique of the State: Sources, Contexts, Conjunctions.” *Modern Intellectual History* 9, no. 3 (November 2012): 535-63.

17. November 26 Sovereignty and its Discontents I: Separatism and Chauvinism in Pakistan

Content warning – violence.

- Text of the Lahore Resolution (1940)
- Jalal, Ayesha. “Toward the Watershed of 1971.” In *The Struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2014 (pp. 142-176, ch. 5 – **start from the paragraph beginning “The crisis in East Pakistan...” on p. 144**).
- Mehmood, Rabia. “Bigotry against Ahmadis, a constant in Pakistan.” *Al Jazeera*, December 18, 2016. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/12/bigotry-ahmadis-constant-pakistan-161218113353263.html/>.
- Boone, Jon, and Baloch, Kiyya. “Asia Bibi blasphemy case to be heard by Pakistan supreme court.” *The Guardian*, October 11, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/11/asia-bibi-pakistan-blasphemy-law-supreme-court-death-sentence-salmaan-taseer/>.

CLASS SPLIT:

- **A:** Mishra, Pankaj. 2000. "The Birth of a Nation." *The New York Review of Books*, October 5, 2000. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2000/10/05/the-birth-of-a-nation/>.
- **B:** Dalrymple, William. "Kashmir: The Scarred and the Beautiful." *The New York Review of Books*, May 1, 2008. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2008/05/01/kashmir-the-scarred-and-the-beautiful/>.

IN CLASS: Al Jazeera documentary on Baluchistan (part I).

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/aljazeeraworld/2012/01/2012121372863878.html>

18. November 28 Sovereignty and its Discontents II: Communalism, Stratification, and Revisionism in India

Content warning – violence.

- Bayly, Susan. "Caste in the everyday life of independent India," in *Caste, Society, and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 (pp. 306-41, ch. 8).
- Brass, Paul R. "Explaining Communal Violence." In *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003 (pp. 5-16, 24-39, parts of ch. 1).
- Bhatia, Rahul. "The Year of Love Jihad in India." *The New Yorker*, December 31, 2017. <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/2017-in-review/the-year-of-love-jihad-in-india/>.
- Dalrymple, William. "India: The War Over History." *The New York Review of Books*, April 7, 2005. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2005/04/07/india-the-war-over-history/>.

EXTRA CREDIT OPPORTUNITY

Write a 1,000-word reflection on:

- Kesavan, Mukul. "Murderous Majorities." *The New York Review of Books*, Jan 2018. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2018/01/18/rohingya-murderous-majorities/?printpage=true/>.

Further reading:

- Hasan, Mushirul. "Indian Muslims since independence: In search of integration and identity." *Third World Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1988): 818-42.
- Brass, Paul R. "The Punjab crisis and the unity of India." In *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991 (pp. 169-219, ch. 5).
- Varshney, Ashutosh. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Wilkinson, Steven. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Bayly, Susan. "History and the Fundamentalists: India after the Ayodhya Crisis." *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 46, no. 7 (April 1993): 7-26.

- Sarkar, Sumit. “Hindutva and History.” In *Beyond Nationalist Frames: Postmodernism, Hindu Fundamentalism, History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002, pp. 244-262 (ch. 9).

19. December 3 Democracy in South Asia I: India

- Wilkinson, Steven. “Why has democracy persisted in India despite its colonial legacies of ethnic and religious strife, and widespread poverty and illiteracy.” In *Case Studies in Comparative Politics*, edited by David J. Samuels, pp. XX (ch. 6). New York: Pearson, 2012.
- Frankel, Francine R. “Impasse.” In *India’s Political Economy, 1947-1977: The Gradual Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978 (pp. 517-47, part of ch. 12).

Further reading:

- Kohli, Atul, ed. *The Success of India’s Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Oldenburg, Philip. *India, Pakistan, and Democracy: Solving the Puzzle of Divergent Paths*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

20. December 5 Democracy in South Asia II: Pakistan

- Tudor, Maya. “Explaining Democracy’s Origins: Lessons from South Asia.” *Comparative Politics* 45, no. 3 (April 2013): 253-272.

CLASS SPLIT:

- **A:** Jalal, Ayesha. “State formation and political processes in India and Pakistan, 1947 to c. 1971.” In *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995 (pp. 29-65, ch. 2).
- **B:** Saif, Lubna. “Constructing the Post-Colonial State.” In *Authoritarianism and Underdevelopment in Pakistan 1957-1958*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010 (pp. 43-83, ch. 2).

Further reading:

- Shah, Aqil. *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Jalal, Ayesha. *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan’s Political Economy of Defense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Stern, Robert W. “Punjab and Bengal.” In *Democracy and Dictatorship in South Asia: Dominant Classes and Political Outcomes in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh*. London: Praeger, 2001 (pp. 49-73, ch. 3).
- Low, D. A., ed. *The Political Inheritance of Pakistan*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991.
 - “Introduction: Provincial Histories and the History of Pakistan,” by D. A. Low (pp. 1-28, ch. 1);

- “The Punjab and the Retardation of Nationalism,” by Imran Ali (pp. 29-52, ch. 2);
and
- “The Rural Roots of Pakistani Militarism,” by Clive Dewey (pp. 255-83, ch. 11).

SUGGESTED TERM PAPER TOPIC: Explaining the regime-type divergence between India and Pakistan

Term Papers are due by email by 5pm (CST) on December 12, 2018.