

Course Title: Trajectories of Indian Nationalism
Course Teacher: Pralay Kanungo
Department of Political Science, SAI, Heidelberg University,
Summer Semester 2021
Monday: 11am-1pm

Indian nationalism refers to the many underlying discourses and forces which shaped Indian freedom struggle since the mid-nineteenth century, and continues to steer Indian politics after independence as well. Indian nationalism successfully negotiated with sharp diversities and contesting ideologies and united the Indians against British colonial rule. However, the process of negotiation had never been easy in postcolonial India, and the challenges put forward by various ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional identities always daunting. Today, Hindu nationalism firmly controls the state power and attempts to define India as Hindu. In this context, this course will introduce some important Indian thinkers and their texts/writings on Indian nationalism in order to provide a rich and diverse range of ideas, issues and contestations surrounding Indian nationalism.

Course objectives:

The course aims at providing an understanding of the diverse trajectories of Indian nationalism by introducing select thinkers, texts and debates. It will also impart skills which include reading critically, summarizing and presenting an argument coherently.

Calendar and Syllabus

Seminar 1: 12 April 2021

Introduction: Nationalism

This lecture, while introducing Indian nationalism, will first discuss the idea of nationalism, its diverse trajectories and manifestations.

Essential Readings:

Sudipta Kaviraj, 'Nationalism' in Niraja Gopal Jayal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 317-332.

Sathyamurthy, T.V., 'Indian Nationalism and the National Question', *Millennium*, Journal of International Studies, 14, 2, pp. 172-94.

Romila Thapar, A.G. Noorani, Sadanand Menon, *On Nationalism*, New Delhi: Aleph, 2016

Supplementary Readings:

Radhakumud Mookerji, *Nationalism in Hindu Culture*, Biblio Life, 2009.

S. Irfan Habib (ed), *Indian Nationalism: The Essential Writings*, New Delhi: Aleph, 2017.

Seminar 2: 19 April

Indian Renaissance and the Evolution of Indian Nationalism

The focus will be on the formative period of Indian Nationalism under colonial rule when Indian Renaissance began to unfold in the early nineteenth century primarily encompassing socio-religious spheres.

Essential Readings:

Sri Aurobindo, 'The Renaissance in India', in Fred Dallmayer and G.N. Devy (eds), *Between Tradition and Modernity: India's Search for Identity*, London: Sage, 1998, pp. 91-105.

Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Europe Reconsidered: Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Delhi: OUP, 2002 (Introduction).

Supplementary Readings:

Nalini Bhushan and Jay Garfield, *Minds Without Fear: Philosophy in the Indian Renaissance*, OUP, 2017.

Seminar 3: 26 April

Rammohun Roy

The lecture will try to understand why Raja Rammohun Roy is called as the first modern Indian liberal political thinker.

Essential Readings:

Ramchandra Guha, *Makers of Modern India*, Penguin India, 2010: 26-45.

C.A. Bayly, 'Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India, 1800-30' *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, 1 (2007), pp. 25-41

Supplementary Readings:

'Theology of the Hindoos, as taught by Ram Mohun Roy, *The North American and*

Miscellaneous Journal, Vol.6, No. 18, March 1918, pp. 386-93.

Seminar 4: 03 May

Vivekananda and Aurobindo: Primal Strings of Indian Nationalism

Swami Vivekananda and Aurobindo were the foremost thinkers of colonial India who made a deep study of the ancient Vedic-Vedantic texts and tried to explain the reasons of India's subjugation in their own unique ways.

Essential Readings:

B. G. Gokhale, 'Swami Vivekananda and Indian Nationalism', *Journal of the American*

Academy of Religion, Vol.32, 1, 1964:35-42

Karan Singh, *Prophet of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan(1970): 73-91.

Supplementary Readings:

Rini Bhattacharya Mehta, 'The Missionary Sannyasi and Burden of the Colonized: The Reluctant Alliance between Religion and Nation in the Writings of Swami Vivekananda (1863- 1902)', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 28(2): 2008: 310-325.

Peter Heehs (2006) The uses of Sri Aurobindo: mascot, whipping-boy, or what?, *Postcolonial Studies*, 9:2, 151-164

Seminar 5: 10 May

Rabindranath Tagore: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

Rabindranath Tagore conceived the entire humanity as one family categorically rejecting any kind of narrow and belligerent nationalism.

Essential Readings:

Tagore, R.N., *Nationalism*, London: Macmillan 1950.

Saranindranath Tagore, 'Tagore's Conception of Cosmopolitanism: A Reconstruction', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 77, 4, 2008: 1070-84.

Supplementary Readings:

Mohammad A. Quayum, War, Violence and Rabindranath Tagore's Quest for World

Peace', *Transnational Literature*, Vol.9, 2, 2017: 1-14.

Rini Bhattacharya Mehta, 'In the Shadow of the Nations: Dissent as Discourse in Rabindranath Tagore's Political Writings', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol.35, 1, 2012: 172-19

Seminar 6: 17 May

V.D. Savarkar and M.S. Golwalkar: Hindu Nationalism

Religious nationalism constitutes an important variant of Indian nationalism. V.D. Savarkar is the father of Hindu nationalism.

Essential Readings:

V.D. Savarkar, *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu* [1923], New Delhi: Hindu Sahitya Sadan, 2009.

Vinayak Chaturvedi, 'A Revolutionary's Biography: The Case of V D Savarkar', *Postcolonial Studies*, 16:2, 2013: 124-139

Supplementary Readings:

Ashis Nandy, 'A Disowned Father of the Nation in India: Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and the Demonic and the Seductive in Indian Nationalism', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 15.1, 2014: 91-112.

T. Raghavan, Origins and Development of Hindu Mahasabha Ideology: To Call of V.D. Savarkar and Bhai Parmand', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.18, 15, 1983: 595-600

M.S. Golwalkar

This lecture will discuss the second RSS chief M.S. Golwalkar's contribution to the ideology and organization of the RSS, the fountainhead of Hindu Nationalism.

Essential Readings:

Andersen, Walter K, and Sridhar Damle, 'RSS: Ideology, Organisation and Training', in

Christophe Jaffrelot (eds.), *The Sangh Parivar: A Reader*, pp. 23-49.

Arvind Sharma, 'On Hindu, Hindustan, Hinduism and Hindutva', *Numen*, 49-1, 2002: 1-36.

Seminar 7: 31 May

Md. Iqbal, Md. Ali Jinnah and Muslim Nationalism: Two Nations Theory

These lectures will discuss the emergence of the ideology of Muslim nationalism and two-nation theory as propounded by Mohammad Iqbal, and given a political reality by Md. Ali Jinnah.

Essential Readings:

M. Naim (ed), *Iqbal, Jinnah and Pakistan*, Delhi: Jinnah Pub House, 1982: Chapters 2 -3.

Zeenath Kausar, 'Philosophical Critique of Nationalism: Reflections of Iqbal', *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 20, No.2:1-25.

Supplementary Readings:

Shagufta Begum and Aneeqa Batool Awan, 'Individual and Society: A Socio- Philosophical Account of Iqbal's thought', *South Asian Studies A Research Journal of South Asian Studies* Vol. 29, No. 1, January – July 2014, pp. 115-123

Seminar 8: 07 June: Class Presentation

Seminar 9: 14 June: Class Presentation

Seminar 10: 21 June

Gandhian Nationalism: *Hind Swaraj*, Ahimsa (Non-violence) & Satyagraha

This lecture will reflect on Mahatma Gandhi's ideas of Indian Nationalism as expressed in his seminal text *Hind Swaraj* and also discuss the innovative Gandhian technique (Satyagraha) which brought freedom in a non-violent way.

Essential Readings:

M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule)*, The International Printing Press Phoenix, 1910.

Ramchandra Guha, *Gandhi: The Years That Changed the World 1914-1948*, Penguinrandomhouse India, 2018.

Supplementary Readings:

Ajay Skaria, 'Relinquishing Republican Democracy: Gandhi's Ramarajya', *Postcolonial Studies*, 14-2, 2011, pp. 203-229.

Seminar 11: 28 June

Nehruvian Nationalism: Secularism, Democracy and Development

In the formative years of nation-building, the first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru espoused secularism, one of the most contested themes of Indian Nationalism. Besides, he championed democracy and pursued a path of modern development.

Essential Readings:

Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1946. Chap 5 & 8.
Sunil Khilnani, *Biography of Nehru*, Hamish Hamilton, 2000.

Seminar 12: 05 July

B.R. Ambedkar: Nationalism and the Caste Question

B.R. Ambedkar called for the 'annihilation of caste' and transformation of the hierarchical socio-political order by empowering the marginalised through constitutional and political rights.

Essential Readings:

B.R. Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste*, New York, Verso, 2014.

S.M. Gaikwad, 'Ambedkar and Indian Nationalism', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 10, 1998: 515-518

Supplementary Readings:

Naheem Jabbar, 'B R Ambedkar's Challenge to the Puranic Past', *Postcolonial Studies*, 14:1, 2011: 23-43

Seminar 13: 12 July: Class Presentation

Seminar 14: 19 July: Class Presentation

Prior Requirements

This seminar course does not require any prior knowledge of Indian nationalism. Students are required to go through essential readings prescribed for each seminar in order to understand the ideas and arguments with clarity and make presentations in the class. Supplementary readings may enable them develop and reflect critical and nuanced perspectives which will be useful while writing the final term paper.

Organization

The duration of each seminar will be a 90-minutes including questions and discussion. The power-points and essential readings will be uploaded on Moodle.

Evaluation

Evaluation will be on the basis of three criteria:

- Attendance and Participation
- Class Presentations
- Final Term Paper

Note: The deadline for submission of the term paper is September 30, 2021 throughout the institute. The lecturer may only set an earlier deadline