

India or Pakistan? Muslim Ideas of the Nation in Twentieth-Century South Asia

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Exploring ideas of religion, minority and secularism that helped to found India and Pakistan, this course traces competing visions of a Muslim future during the formative phase of modern Indian political thought. Taking an intellectual history approach to the years prior to, and shortly after, independence and Partition in 1947, it focuses mainly on the ideas of five leading actor-thinkers: the universalist poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal; the Kashmiri nationalist Sheikh Abdullah; the lawyer-politician Mohammad Ali Jinnah; the Urdu writer and Sunni theologian Abul Kalam Azad; and the nonviolent Pashtun activist Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Students will put the ideas of these five thinkers in dialogue with their equally influential contemporaries; these include the Congress leaders Jawaharlal Nehru and M. K. Gandhi, as well as the father of Hindu nationalism V. D. Savarkar and the Dalit activist B. R. Ambedkar. Elevated to the foremost unit of social organisation by the British colonial state, religion took on a peculiar political meaning as representative government was steadily devolved to Indians over the course of the twentieth century. In short, religion served to name an almost static structural problem between majorities and minorities—both nationally, and in the various regions of this linguistically diverse country. Our set of thinker-politicians, and their interlocutors, confronted this problem in different, creative ways; the implications of which are more than evident in the present-day politics of India and Pakistan. While some thinkers (Muslim, Hindu and Dalit) sought to constitutionalise the division between communities for a peaceful independent future, others associated with secular Indian nationalism tried to offset or even destroy the political importance of religion. By covering these different ways of imagining the nation in late colonial India, this course also introduces students to a range of connected questions or themes: caste; historical inheritance; territoriality; socialism; monarchy; and active nonviolence.

Class 1. Minority and the Problem of Structure: An Introduction

Essential Readings:

Shruti Kapila, 'Global Intellectual History and the Indian Political', in D. M. McMahon and S. Moyn (eds), *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*, (Oxford, 2015), 253-74.

Aamir Mufti, 'Secularism and Minority: Elements of a Critique', *Social Text*, 45/Winter (1995), 75-96.

Sudipta Kaviraj, 'The Imaginary Institution of India', in P. Chatterjee and G. Pandey (eds), *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, Vol. 7, (10 vols, Delhi, 1993), 1-39.

Faisal Devji, *Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea* (London, 2013). Introduction and Chapters 1-3.

Taushif Kara and Amar Sohal, 'Introduction: Creative Minorities', *Global Intellectual History* (2021), 1-7.

Recommended Readings:

C. A. Bayly, *Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India* (Delhi, 2001).

Romila Thapar, 'Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity', *Modern Asian Studies* 23/2 (1989), 209-31.

Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago, 2005).

Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History* (Harvard, 2018).

Gyan Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Delhi, 1990).

Peter Van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Berkeley, 1994).

Class 2. Muhammad Iqbal: Self-hood and Self-rule

Essential Readings:

Primary Sources

Muhammad Iqbal, 'Presidential Address', All-India Muslim League, Allahabad, 29 December 1930, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_iqbal_1930.html

Muhammad Iqbal, 'Islam and Ahmadism', in L. A. Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore, 1995).

Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism* (London, 2010). Chapter on India.

Secondary Sources

Faisal Devji, *Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea* (London, 2013). Chapters 4-6 and Conclusion.

Faisal Devji, 'Secular Islam', *Political Theology*, 19/8 (2018), 704-18.

Javed Majeed, *Muhammad Iqbal: Islam, Aesthetics and Postcolonialism*, (Delhi, 2009).

Recommended Reading:

Primary Sources

Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Stanford, 2012).

Muhammad Iqbal, *Javid-Nama*, A. J. Arberry (trans.), (London, 2011).

Muhammad Iqbal, 'Presidential Address', All-India Muslim Conference, Lahore, 21 March 1932, in L. A. Sherwani, *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal* (Lahore, 1995).

'Two letters from Iqbal to Jinnah', 1937

http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_iqbal_tojinnah_1937.html

Muhammad Iqbal, *Tarana-e Hindi*,

http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00urdu/taranahs/hindi_text.html

Muhammad Iqbal, *Tarana-e Milli*,

http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00urdu/taranahs/milli_text.html

Secondary Sources

Shruti Kapila, *Violent Fraternity: Indian Political Thought in the Global Age*, (Princeton, 2021). Chapter 6 on Iqbal.

Faisal Devji, 'Illiberal Islam', in S. Dube (ed.), *Enchantments of Modernity: Empire, Nation, Globalization* (Delhi, 2009), 234-63.

Iqbal Singh Sevea, *The Political Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal: Islam and Nationalism in Late Colonial India* (Cambridge, 2012).

Naveeda Khan, *Muslim Becoming: Aspiration and Skepticism in Pakistan* (Durham, 2012). Chapter Three on 'Inheriting Iqbal'.

Farzana Shaikh, 'Azad and Iqbal: The Quest for the Islamic "Good"', in M. Hasan (ed.), *Islam and Indian Nationalism: Reflections on Abul Kalam Azad*, (Delhi, 2001), 59-76.

Taushif Kara, 'Provincializing Mecca? (1924-1969)', *Global Intellectual History* (2021), 1-21.

Ali Usman Qasmi, 'Differentiating between Pakistan and Napak-istan: Maulana Abul Ala Maududi's Critique of the Muslim League and Muhammad Ali Jinnah', in A. U. Qasmi and M. E. Robb (eds), *Muslims Against the Muslim League: Critiques of the Idea of Pakistan*, (New York, 2017), 109-141.

Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton, 2000). See for Tagore.

P. K. Datta, 'War and the World: Tagore's Praxis of the Global from the 1890s to the 1920s', in M. K. Palat (eds), *India and the World in the First Half of the Twentieth Century* (London, 2017).

P. K. Datta, 'Co-operation and Co-operatives: The Global Dilemmas of Tagore's Rural Democracy', *Literature Compass*, 12/5 (2015), 184-93.

Michael Collins (2012) 'Rabindranath Tagore and the Politics of Friendship', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 35/1, 118-42.

Michael Collins, *Empire, Nationalism and the Postcolonial World: Rabindranath Tagore's Writings on History, Politics and Society* (London, 2012).

Class 3. Sheikh Abdullah: Federating India, Ruling Kashmir

Essential Readings:

Primary Sources

Sheikh Abdullah, 'Interview for the Supplementary Issue of Shabistan Urdu Digest', 1968, in Nyla Ali Khan (ed.), *Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's Reflections on Kashmir*, (Basingstoke, 2018), 124-74.

Sheikh Abdullah, 'Statement by the Hon'ble Prime Minister', Srinagar, 5 November 1951, in *Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly Debate: Official Report*, Vol. 1, (2 vols, Srinagar, n.d.), 82-111.

Sheikh Abdullah, 'Thoughts on Pakistan', 9 January 1946, *The Tribune*, in B. N. Pandey (ed.), *The Indian Nationalist Movement, 1885-1947: Select Documents*, (London, 1979), 184-5.

Sheikh Abdullah, 'Against Autocracy and Aggression', 1946, in Nyla Ali Khan (ed.), *Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's Reflections on Kashmir*, (Basingstoke, 2018), 199-200.

Jawaharlal Nehru, "Nehru's Press Conference", 10 July 1946, in eds. Nicholas Mansergh and E. W. R. Lumby, *The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. 8, (12 vols, London, 1970-82).

Secondary Sources

Amar Sohal, 'Kashmiri Secularism: Religious Politics in the Age of Democracy', *Global Intellectual History* (2021).

Amar Sohal, 'Pure Kashmir: Nature, Freedom and Counter-nationalism', *Modern Intellectual History* (2021).

Sanjay Seth, 'Nationalism, National Identity and "History": Nehru's Search for India', *Thesis Eleven*, 32 (1992), 37-54.

Recommended Readings:

Primary Sources

Sheikh Abdullah, *The Flames of the Chinar: An Autobiography*(Delhi, 1993).

All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, *New Kashmir* (Delhi, 1948).

Nyla Ali Khan (ed.), *Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's Reflections on Kashmir*, Basingstoke, 2018).

M. K. Teng et. al. (eds), *Kashmir: Constitutional History and Documents* (Delhi, 1977).

Jawaharlal Nehru, The Objectives Resolution, December, 1946,
<https://indiakanon.org/doc/548244/>

Jawaharlal Nehru, 'The Congress and the Muslims', 10 January 1937, in S. Gopal et al. (ed.), *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* Vol. 8, (74 vols, Delhi, 1984-), 119-22.

Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*(1946).

Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*(1934-5).

Secondary Sources

Andrew Whitehead, 'The Rise and Fall of New Kashmir', in C. Zutshi (ed.), *Kashmir: History, Politics, Representation*, (Cambridge, 2018), 70-88.

Ian Copland, "The Abdullah Factor: Kashmiri Muslims and the Crisis of 1947", in ed. Donald Low, *The Political Inheritance of Pakistan*(London, 1991), 218-54.

Chitrlekha Zutshi, *Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir* (London, 2004).

Chitrlekha Zutshi, *Kashmir's Contested Pasts: Narratives, Sacred Geographies, and the Historical Imagination* (Delhi, 2014).

Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*(London, 2004).

Shahla Husain, *Kashmir in the Aftermath of Partition*(Cambridge, 2021).

F. M. Hassnain, *Freedom Struggle in Kashmir*, (Delhi, 1988). See for rare speeches of Sheikh Abdullah.

Sunil Purushotham, 'World History in the Atomic Age: Past, Present and Future in the Political Thought of Jawaharlal Nehru', *Modern Intellectual History*, 14(3), 837-67.

Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (London, 2012).

C. A. Bayly, 'The Ends of Liberalism and the Political Thought of Nehru's India', *Modern Intellectual History*, 12/3 (2015), 605-26.

Sarat Pillai, 'Fragmenting the Nation: Divisible Sovereignty and Travancore's Quest for Federal Independence', *Law and History Review*, 34/3 (2016), 743-82.

Semanti Ghosh, *Different Nationalisms: Bengal, 1905-47* (Delhi, 2017).

Newal Osman, "Dancing with the Enemy: Sikander Hayat Khan, Jinnah, and the vexed question of 'Pakistan' in a Punjabi Unionist context", in eds. A. U. Qasmi and M. E. Robb, *Muslims Against the Muslim League: Critiques of the Idea of Pakistan* (New York, 2017), 311-37.

Ian Talbot, *Khizr Tiwana: the Punjab Unionist Party and the Partition of India* (Oxford, 1996).

Sarah Ansari, 'Muslim Nationalist or Nationalist Muslim?: Allah Bakhsh Soomro and Muslim politics in 1930s and 1940s Sindh' in eds. A. U. Qasmi and M. E. Robb, *Muslims Against the Muslim League: Critiques of the Idea of Pakistan* (New York, 2017), 285-310.

Ayesha Jalal and Anil Seal, 'Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics Between the Wars', *Modern Asian Studies*, 15/3 (1981), 415-54.

Class 4. Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Future of Pakistan

Essential Readings:

Primary Sources

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 'Presidential Address', All-India Muslim League, Lucknow, 1916, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_jinnah_lucknow_1916.html

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 'Presidential Address', All-India Muslim League, Lahore, March 1940, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_jinnah_lahore_1940.html

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 'Presidential Address', Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Karachi, 11 August 1947, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_jinnah_assembly_1947.html

S. M. Burke (ed), *Jinnah: Speeches and Statements, 1947-1948* (Karachi, 2000).

Begum Aizaz Rasool, *From Purdah to Parliament: A Muslim Woman in Indian Politics* (Delhi, 2001).

A. G. Noorani (ed.), *The Muslims of India: A Documentary Record*, (Delhi, 2003). Chapter 1.

Secondary Sources

Faisal Devji, *Muslim Zion : Pakistan as a Political Idea* (London, 2013).

Shruti Kapila, 'Ambedkar's Agonism: Sovereign Violence and Pakistan as Peace', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 39/1 (2019), 184-95.

Shruti Kapila, *Violent Fraternity: Indian Political Thought in the Global Age*, (Princeton, 2021). Chapter 7 on Patel.

Farzana Shaikh, 'Muslims and Political Representation in Colonial India: The Making of Pakistan', *Modern Asian Studies*, 20/3 (1986), 539-57.

Recommended Readings:

Primary Sources

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 'Presidential Address', All-India Muslim League, Lucknow, 1937, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_jinnah_lucknow_1937.html

B. R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or the Partition of India: The Indian Political What's What!* (1941).

M. C. Chagla, *Roses in December: An Autobiography* (1994).

Chaudhry Khaliqzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore, 1961).

K. H. Khurshid, *Memories of Jinnah* (Karachi, 1990).

Secondary Sources

Farzana Shaikh, *Community and Consensus in Islam: Muslim Representation in Colonial India, 1860-1947*, (Cambridge, 1989).

Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Oxford, 1984).

Hugh Owen, 'Negotiating the Lucknow Pact', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 31/3 (1972), 561-87.

Asim Roy, 'The High Politics of India's Partition: The Revisionist Perspective', *Modern Asian Studies*, 24/2 (1990), 385-415.

Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*, (New York, 1985).

Jesús Francisco Cháirez-Garza, "Bound hand and foot and handed over to the caste Hindus": Ambedkar, Untouchability and the Politics of Partition', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 55/1 (2018), 1-28.

Anupama Rao, *The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India* (Berkeley, 2009), 118-60.

Rajmohan Gandhi, *Patel: A Life* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1991).

Vanya Bhargav, 'Letters to Sir Syed: Lajpat Rai's Response to the Muslim Refusal of Minorityhood', *Global Intellectual History* (2021), 1-20.

Vanya Bhargav, 'Lala Lajpat Rai's Ideas on Caste: Conservative or Radical?', *Studies in Indian Politics*, 6/1, 15-26.

Class 5. Abul Kalam Azad: The Inheritance of Hindustan

Essential Readings:

Primary Sources

Abul Kalam Azad, 'Islam and Nationalism', in S. S. Hameed (ed.), *India's Maulana: Abul Kalam Azad*, Vol. 2, (4 vols, Delhi, 1990), pp. 50-7.

Abul Kalam Azad, *Sallies of Mind: English Translation of Ghubar-e-Khatir*, D. R. Goyal (trans.), (Delhi, 2003 [1946]).

Speeches of Maulana Azad, 1947-1958 (Delhi, 1989):

1. 'Aligarh and Indian Nationalism'
2. 'Study of Indian History'
3. 'Indian Art through the Ages'
4. 'Tagore and Indian Education'

Sushma Swaraj, 'Urdu is India's Language Too', (14 December 2015):

1. Minute-Long Video of Hindi/Urdu Speech in Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Indian Parliament):
<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/videos/news/Urdu-is-Indias-language-too-Sushma-Swaraj/videshow/50171469.cms>
2. English Translation in:
<https://www.firstpost.com/world/renewed-dialogue-with-pakistan-marks-beginning-of-peace-sushma-swaraj-tells-parliament-2544752.html>

Secondary Sources

Amar Sohal, 'Ideas of Parity: Muslims, Sikhs and the 1946 Cabinet Mission Plan', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 40/4 (2017), 706-22.

Shruti Kapila, *Violent Fraternity: Indian Political Thought in the Global Age*, (Princeton, 2021). Chapter 3 on Savarkar.

Aamir Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture*, (Princeton, 2007). Chapter 3 on Azad and Nehru.

Aijaz Ahmad, *Lineages of the Present: Ideology and Politics in Contemporary South Asia*, (London, 2000). Chapter 3 on Azad.

Recommended Reading:

Primary Sources

Abul Kalam Azad, 'Presidential Address', Indian National Congress, Ramgarh, 2 March 1940,
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00litlinks/txt_azad_congress_1940.html

Abul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (Delhi, 1988).

Abul Kalam Azad, *Tarjuman Al-Quran*, S. A. Latif (trans.), (3 vols, Hyderabad, 1962).

Humayun Kabir, *The Indian Heritage*, (Bombay, 1955 [1946]).

Syed Mahmud, *Hindu-Muslim Cultural Accord*, (Bombay, 1949).

V. D. Savarkar, *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?*, (Bombay, 1923).

Hindu Nationalism: A Reader, Christophe Jaffrelot (ed), (Princeton, 2007).

Secondary Sources

Farzana Shaikh, 'Azad and Iqbal: The Quest for the Islamic 'Good'', in M. Hasan (ed.), *Islam and Indian Nationalism: Reflections on Abul Kalam Azad*, (Delhi, 2001), 59-76.

Ayesha Jalal, 'Striking a Just Balance: Maulana Azad as a Theorist of Trans-National Jihad', *Modern Intellectual History*, 4/1 (2007), 95-107.

Shaunna Rodrigues, "Abul Kalam Azad and the Right to an Islamic Justification of the Indian Constitution", in A. Roy and M. Becker (eds.), *Dimensions of Constitutional Democracy* (Singapore, 2020).

Sher Ali Tareen, 'Contesting Friendship in Colonial Muslim India', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 38/3 (2015), 419-34.

Amar Sohal (dir.), *Azad and Jinnah: A Political Rivalry in Late Colonial India*. (RAH Foundation Documentary, 2016).

Thomas Blom Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*, (Princeton, 1999). Especially Chapter 2.

Luna Sabastian, 'Women, Violence, Sovereignty: "Rakshasa" Marriage by Capture in Modern Indian Political Thought', *Modern Intellectual History* (2021), 1-26.

Harjot Oberoi, 'From Punjab to "Khalistan": Territoriality and Metacommentary', *Pacific Affairs* 60/1, (1987), 26-41.

Class 6. Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Ethics and Expectations

Essential Readings:

Primary Sources

Mohammad Yunus, *Frontier Speaks*, (Lahore, 1947 [1942]). Especially the forewords by Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Address to Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Karachi, 5 March 1948, reprinted in D. G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a Battle*, (Delhi, 1967), 453-8.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Statement to Court, Lahore, 6 September 1956, reprinted in D. G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith is a Battle*, (Delhi, 1967), 491-504.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *My Life and Struggle: Autobiography of Badshah Khan*, (Delhi, 1969). All including the 'Pakhtunistan Day' Speeches at the end of the book.

Momentous Speeches of Badshah Khan: Khudai Khidmatgar and National Movement, P. S. Ramu (ed.), (Delhi, 1992):

1. Speeches in NWFP, 19-166
2. Speeches in the rest of India, 179-232

Secondary Sources

Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier*, (Delhi, 2000).

Faisal Devji, *The Impossible Indian: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence*(London, 2012).

Recommended Readings:

Primary Sources

Mohammad Yunus, *Letters from Prison*, S.S. Hameed (trans.), (Delhi, 1986).

Mohammad Yunus, *Persons, Passions and Politics*, (Ghaziabad, 1980).

Wali Khan, *Facts are Facts*, (Delhi, 1987).

Abdul Qaiyum, *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*, (Bombay, 1945).

'Meeting between Cabinet Delegation, Wavell, and Khan Sahib', 1 April 1946, in eds. Nicholas Mansergh and E. W. R Lumby, *The Transfer of Power 1942-7*, Vol. 7, (12 vols, London, 1970-82), 71-5.

Secondary Sources

Safoora Arbab, 'Nonviolence, Pukhtunwali and Decolonisation: Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Khudai Khidmatgar Politics of Friendship', in A. U. Qasmi and M. E. Robb (eds), *Muslims Against the Muslim League: Critiques of the Idea of Pakistan* (New York, 2017), 220-54.

Aijaz Ahmad, 'Frontier Gandhi: Reflections on Muslim Nationalism in India', *Social Scientist*, 33/1-2 (2005), 22-39.

S. W. A. Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province, 1937-1947*, (Karachi, 1999).

S. Rittenberg, *Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Pakhtuns: The Independence Movement in India's North-West Frontier Province*, (Durham, 1988).

E. Jansson, *India, Pakistan or Pakhtunistan*, (Uppsala, 1981)

Ajay Skaria, 'Gandhi's Politics: Liberalism and the Question of the Ashram', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101/4 (2002), 955-86.

Ajay Skaria, *Unconditional Equality: Gandhi's Religion of Resistance* (Minneapolis, 2016).

Shruti Kapila, *Violent Fraternity: Indian Political Thought in the Global Age*, (Princeton, 2021). Chapter 4 on Gandhi.

Class 7. The Future of India and Pakistan: Political and Intellectual Inheritances

NB. We will divide up the following readings between different groups at the end of Class 6.

Essential Reading:

Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past*, (trans. Keith Tribe), (New York, 2004), 255-75.

Indian Secularism, Hindutva and the Kashmir Dispute:

Cecile Laborde, 'Minimal Secularism: Lessons for, and from, India', *American Political Science Review* (2020), 1-13.

Rajeev Bhargava, 'What is Secularism For?', in Rajeev Bhargava (ed.), *Secularism and its Critics*, (Delhi, 1998), 486-542.

Shruti Kapila, 'India's constitution isn't saving it from Narendra Modi's assault on rights', <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/india-constitution-democracy-modi-book-review>

Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers* (Durham, 2006).

Christophe Jaffrelot, 'Narendra Modi between Hindutva and Subnationalism: The Gujarati Asmita of a Hindu Hriday Samrat', *India Review*, 15/2, (2016), 196-217.

Christophe Jaffrelot, 'What 'Gujarat Model'?—Growth without Development—and with Socio-Political Polarisation', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 38/4, (2015), 820-38.

Faisal Devji, 'Is a Dalit-Muslim Alliance Possible?', <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/Is-a-Dalit-Muslim-alliance-possible/article14598312.ece>

Haseeb Drabu, 'Listen to the Valley', <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/bjp-kashmir-valley-article-370-special-status-6543059/>

Yoginder Sikand, 'Jihad, Islam and Kashmir: Syed Ali Shah Geelani's Political Project', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45/40 (2010).

Pakistan's Political Theology and the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement:

Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan* (London, 2009). Especially the Epilogue. See also an interview with the author: 'Making Sense of Pakistan: A conversation with Prof. Farzana Shaikh', *The Wire*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gsi09HPiLYM>

Naveeda Khan, *Muslim Becoming: Aspiration and Skepticism in Pakistan* (Durham, 2012). Chapter Three on 'Inheriting Iqbal'.

Faisal Devji, 'How Caste Underpins the Blasphemy Crisis in Pakistan', <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/18/opinion/caste-blasphemy-pakistan.html>

Faisal Devji, 'Changing Places: Religion and Minority in Pakistan', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 43/1, 169-76.

Mohammed Naqvi (dir.), *The Accused: Damned or Devoted?* (BBC Documentary, 2020).

Hurmat Ali Shah, 'Redefining Citizenship in Pakistan', <https://www.himalmag.com/redefining-citizenship-in-pakistan-2020/>

Abubakar Siddique, 'The Pashtuns' Year of Living Dangerously', <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2019/03/08/the-pashtuns-year-of-living-dangerously/>

Jahanzeb Husain, 'PTM's Cause is Pakistan's Cause', <https://medium.com/@jahanzebhusain/ptms-cause-is-pakistan-s-cause-245d3ec8d267>

Xenia Mahsud, 'Silence is not an Option', <https://www.thefridaytimes.com/silence-is-not-an-option/>

Ali Wazir, Tweet from 9 May 2020, <https://twitter.com/aliwazirna50/status/1258982841129619462?lang=en>