

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agamben, G. (2000). Potentiality. In *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*. Stanford University Press.
- Agamben, G. (2005). *The State of Exception*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Ambedkar, B. (1974). 'Annihilation of Caste', 'What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables'. Retrieved from Writings and Speeches of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: <http://drambedkarwritings.gov.in/content/>
- Andrews, C. (1912). *The Renaissance in India, its Missionary Aspect*. Salisbury Square, London: Church Missionary Society.
- Arendt, H. (1959). *The Human Condition: A Study of the Central Dilemmas facing Modern Man*. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- Arendt, H. (1969, February 27). A Special Supplement: Reflections on Violence. *The New York Review*.
- Arendt, H. (1970). On Violence. Harvest Books.
- Asad, T. (1996). Comments on Conversion. In P. V. Veer, *Conversion to Modernity: The Globalization of Christianity* (pp. 263-273). New York, London: Routledge.
- Asad, T. (2003). *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity (Cultural Memory in the Present Series)*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Balibar, E. (2015). *Violence and Civility: On the Limits of Political Philosophy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Balibar, E. (2018). *Secularism and Cosmopolitanism: Critical Hypotheses on Religion and Politics*. Columbia University Press.
- Balibar, E. (2020). From Violence as Anti-Politics to Politics as Anti-Violence. *Critical Times*, 384 - 399.
- Banerjee, P. (2013, October). Time and Knowledge. New Delhi: Indian Council of Social Science Research. doi:10.1093/ACPROF:OSO/9780198082224.003.0002
- Banerjee, P. (2020). *Elementary Aspects of the Political: Histories from the Global South*. Durham: Durham University Press.
- Baxi, U. (2021). Disasters, Catastrophes and Oblivion: A TWAIL Perspective. *Yearbook of International Disaster Law Online*, 72–86.
- Bayly, C. (2007). Rammohan Roy and the advent of constitutional liberalism in India, 1800-30. *Modern Intellectual History*, 4(1), 25-41.
- Bayly, C. (2012). *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bhabha, H. (1996). Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism. In L. a. Garcia Moreno, *Test and Nation: Cross Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*. Columbia: Camden House.
- Bhabha, H. (2004). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge.
- Bhargava, R. (2006). The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism. In T. Srinivasan, *The Future of Secularism* (pp. 20 - 53). Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bhargava, R. (1999). *Secularism and Its Critics: Themes in Politics*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Bhikhu Parekh, U. B. (Ed.). (1995). *Crisis and Change in Contemporary India*. SAGE Publications.
- Bilgrami, A. (1998). Nehruvian Modernity and Its Contradictions. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2168-2172.
- Bilgrami, A. (2003). Gandhi, The Philosopher. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4159 - 4165.
- Bilgrami, A. (2014). *Secularism, Identity, and Enchantment: Convergences: Inventories of the Present*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bilgrami, A. (2018, December). Thinking Radically with Gandhi. *Social Scientist*, 46(11-12), 3-16.
- Bilgrami, A. (1994). Two Concepts of Secularism: Reason, Modernity and Archimedean Ideal.
- Bose, N. K. (1953). *My Days with Gandhi*. Calcutta: Indian Associate Publishing Co., Ltd.
- Brecher, M. (1970). *Nehru: A Political Biography*. Beacon Press.
- Brown, W. (1988). *Manhood and Politics: A Feminist Reading in Political Philosophy*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Brown, W. (2006). Subjects of Tolerance Why We Are Civilized and They Are the Barbarians. In M. S. L. E. Hent D. Vries, *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-secular World*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Carol Breckenridge, A. A. (1993). *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament : Perspectives on South Asia new Cultural Studies*. (P. V. Carol A. Breckenridge, Ed.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Chatterjee, P. (1993). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Chatterjee, P. (1994). Secularism and Toleration. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. 29, No. 28. pp. 1768-1777
- Collett, S. D. (1914). *The Life and Letters of Rammohun Roy* (Second ed.). (H. C. Sarkar, Ed.) Calcutta.
- Crick, B. (2005). *In Defence of Politics*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Das, V. (2006). Boundaries, Violence and the Work of Time. In V. Das, *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. University of California Press.
- Das, V. (2007). *Life and Words: Violence and Descent into the Ordinary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- De, A. (2015). *Social and Educational contributions of Raja Rammohan Roy - A pathfinder*. Retrieved from Shodhganga: <http://hdl.handle.net/10603/163971>
- De, R. (2018). *A People's Constitution: The Everyday Life of Law in the Indian Republic*. Princeton University Press.
- Derrida, J. (1992). Force of Law: The 'Mystical Foundation of Authority'. In M. R. Drucilla Cornell (Ed.), *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice*. Routledge.
- Devji, F. (2011). The Paradox of Nonviolence. *Public Culture*, 269 - 274.
- Devji, F. (2012). *The Impossible Indian: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Devji, F. (2013, November). Communities of Violence. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45(4), 801-803.

- Devji, F. (2013). Speaking of Violence. *Journal of Religion and Violence*, 1(1), 7-20.
- Devji, F. (2021). The Childhood of Politics. *Public Culture*, 221 - 237.
- Dhar, P. N. (1987). Bengal Renaissance: A Study in Social Contradictions. *Social Scientist*, 15(1), 26-45.
- Embree, A. T. (1993). Nehru's Understanding of the Social Function of Religion. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 165-182.
- Gaffney, J. (2020). Political Loneliness: Modern Liberal Subjects in Hiding. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Gadamer, H.-G. (1960). Truth and Method. London, New Delhi: Bloomsbury
- Gandhi, M. (1922). *Speeches and Writings of M.K. Gandhi*. Madras: G.A. Natesan and Co.
- Gandhi, M. (1922). *Speeches and Writings of M.K. Gandhi*. Madras: G.A. Natesan and Co.
- Gandhi, M. (1927). *My Experiments with Truth*. (M. Desai, Trans.)
- Gandhi, M. (1910). *Hind Swaraj*. Natal: The International Printing Press.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Giddens, A. (1992). *Nation-State and Violence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gleick, J. (1987). Chaos: Making a New Science. New York: Viking Penguin Inc.
- Godrej, F. (2019). Secularism in India: A “Gandhian” Approach: Comparative Perspectives on Theory and Practice. In R. T. Bevir, *Multiculturalism in the British Commonwealth*. University of California Press.
- Gopal, S. (1980). Jawaharlal Nehru: An Anthology. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 41(4).

- Guha, R. (2010). *Makers of Modern India*. New Delhi: Viking Penguin.
- Guha, R. (2012). *Patriots and Partisans*. Penguin.
- Gumbrecht, H. U. (2004). *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Gupta, D. (2008, Autumn). The Importance of Being Inconsistent. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 35(2), 1-17. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23006352>
- Gupta, D. (2009, March). Gandhi before Habermas: The Democratic Consequences of Ahimsa. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(10), 27-33.
- Guru, G. (Ed.). (2009). *Humiliation: Claims and Context*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Guru, G. (2011). The Idea of India: Derivative, Desi and Beyond. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(37), 36-42.
- Habermas, J. (1994). *Postmetaphysical Thinking: Philosophical Essays*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. (2002). Religion and Rationality: Essays on Reason, God and Modernity. (E. Mendieta, Ed.) UK: Polity Press.
- Habermas, J. (1993). "The Political": The Rational Meaning of a Questionable. In Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, eds., *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. Columbia University Press.
- Habib, I. (2016). Legacy of the Freedom Struggle: Nehru's Scientific and Cultural Vision. *Social Scientist*, 29-40.
- Hansen, T. B. (1999). *Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. Princeton, Yale: Princeton University Press.

- Hatcher, B. A. (2006). Remembering Rammohan: An Essay on the (Re-)emergence of Modern Hinduism. *History of Religions*, 46(1), 50-80.
- Hent de Vries, L. E. (Ed.). (2006). *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-secular World*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Heredia, R. C. (2009, July). Gandhi's Hinduism and Savarkar's Hindutva. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(29), 62-67.
- Heredia, R. C. (2015). "Secularism in a Pluri-Religious Society", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol L No.14.
- Jaffrelot, C. (1996). *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics (1925 to the 1990s)*, London: C.Hurst and Company.
- Jahanbegloo, R. (2021). *Nonviolent Resistance as a Philosophy of Life*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Jalal, A. (1998). "Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia", in Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal eds., *Nationalism, Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Jal, M. (2015). "Fetishism of Hinduism and Its Secret Thereof: A Retort to the Indian Fascists", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol L No. 15
- Jennings, J. (1999). *Georges Sorel -Reflections on Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jha, S. (2002). Secularism in the Constituent Assembly Debates, 1946 – 1950. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 3175 - 3180.

- Judith Butler, G. C. (2007). *Who Sings a Nation-State? language, Politics and Belonging*. Seagull Books.
- Judith M. Brown, A. P. (2011). *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking Fast and Slow*. Penguin Books Limited.
- Kapila, S. (2013). History of Violence. In F. D. Shruti Kapila (Ed.), *Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavad Gita and Modern India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaviraj, S. (2001). Multiple Modernities. In S. Eisenstadt, *Modernity and Politics in India*. Routledge.
- Kaviraj, S. (2010). *The Imaginary Institution of India: Politics and Ideas*. Columbia University Press.
- Khilnani, S. (1997). *Idea of India*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Khilnani, S. (2022, February 3). Retrieved from Outlook India:
<https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/nehru-faith/218248/>
- Kishwar, M. (1985). Gandhi on Women. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1753- 1758.
- Kopf, D. (1991). A Look at Nehru's "World History" from the Dark Side of Modernity. *Journal of World History*, 47-63.
- Lawler, L. (2016). *From Violence to Speaking Out: Apocalypse and Expression In Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Lloyd I. Rudolph, S. H. (1984). *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*. University of Chicago Press.

- Loomba, A. (2014). The Violence of Gandhi's Non-Violence. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 41(1), 19-37.
- Madan, T. (1995). Religion and Social Change in India. *Asia Journal*, 1-13.
- Madan, T. (2003). The Case of India. *Daedalus: On Secularism and Religion*, 62-66.
- Majumdar, A. (2017). Rammohun Roy and the Debate on Sati. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 78, 627 - 634.
- Majumdar, R. (1972). *On Rammohan Roy*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.
- Mondal, D. (2022, February). Retrieved from The Print: <https://dev1.theprint.in/opinion/the-real-issue-in-karnataka-hijab-row-is-how-secularism-is-defined-wrongly-nehru-to-modi/827533/>
- Mouffe, C. (1993). *The Return of the Political*. Verso.
- Mouffe, C. (2006). Religion, Liberal Democracy, and Citizenship. In L. E. Hent de Vries, *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World* (pp. 318-326). New York: Fordham University Press.
- Myrdal, G. (1960). *Beyond the Welfare State*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Nandy, A. (1995). An Anti-Secularist Manifesto. *India International Centre Quarterly*. Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 35-64. New Delhi: India International Centre.
- Nandy, A. (1997). South Asian Politics: Modernity and the Landscape of Clandestine and Incommunicable Selves. *Macalester International*, 4, 223 - 247 .
- Nandy, A. (2003). *Romance of the State and the Fate of Dissent in the Tropics*. Oxford.
- Nandy, A. (1988). *Science, Hegemony and Violence: A Requiem for Modernity*. United Nations University.

- Nandy, A. (2009). *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. Oxford University Press.
- Nandy, A. (1998). The Politics of Secularism and the Recovery of Religious Tolerance in Rajeev Bhargav, ed., *Secularism and Its Critics*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Narivelil, R. V. (1968). *Nehru and the Secular State of India*. Chicago: Loyolla University.
- Nehru, J. (1949). *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches Volume One*. Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting .
- Nehru, J. (1994). *The Discovery of India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nietzsche, F. (1996). *Human, All too Human: A Book for Free Spirits*. (R. Hollingdale, Trans.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Newburger, E. (2021, November 16). What the COP26 climate conference really accomplished. Retrieved from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/11/16/un-cop26-climate-summit-what-was-accomplished.html>
- Nigam, A. (2009, March). Gandhi – The 'Angel of History': Reading "Hind Swaraj" Today. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(11), 41-47.
- Nigam, A. (2006). *The Insurrection of Little Selves: The Crisis of Secular Nationalism in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Pantham, T. (2004). Understanding Indian Secularism: Learning from its Recent Critics in R. Vora and S. Palshikar eds., *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Parekh, B. (1997). *Gandhi*. Oxford: Past Masters.
- Parekh, B. (2002). *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Harvard University Press.

- Parekh, B. (2017). *Reflections on the Hindu Theory of Tolerance*. *Global-e*, 10(79).
- Parekh, B. (1989). *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse*. London: Sage.
- Parel, A. (Ed.). (1997). *'Hind Swaraj' and Other Writings*. Cambridge University Press.
- Parel, A. (2011). Gandhi and the State. In A. P. Judith M. Brown (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi*. Cambridge University Press.
- Reisebrodt, M. (2010). *The Promise of Salvation: A Theory of Religion*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Roy, R. (1825). *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahiddin: A Gift to Monotheists*. Retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.45303/page/n1/mode/2up>
- Roy, R. (1906). *The English Works of Rammohan Roy*. Allahabad: The Panini Office.
<https://www.indianculture.gov.in/rarebooks/english-works-rama-rammohun-roy>
- Rudolph, L. I. (1984). *Cultural Policy in India*. Delhi: Chanakya Publications.
- Rudolph, L. I. (2006). *Postmodern Gandhi and Other Essays: Gandhi in the World and at Home*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Russell, B. (1935). *Religion and Science*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York, Pantheon: Vintage.
- Sarkar, S. (1999). Indian Nationalism and the Politics of Hindutva (Vols. Modernity, Nation and Democracy in India. In *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*. (T. Hansen, Ed.) Princeton University Press.
- Schmidt, C. (1996). *The Concept of the Political*. trans. George Schwab. Chicago: United States: University of Chicago Press.

- Sen, R. (2019). *Articles of Faith: Religion, Secularism, and the Indian Supreme Court*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Shklar, J. N. (1993). Politics and Friendship. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 207-212.
- Sheth, D. L. (2018). *At Home with Democracy: A Theory of Indian Politics*. (P. R. deSouza, Ed.) Palgrave Macmillan.
- Singh, A. (2014, December). Gandhi and Ambedkar: Irreconcilable Differences. *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 18(3), 413-449.
- Singh, S. K. (2005). Gandhi and Nehru on Religion. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 66(3), 503-514.
- Skaria, A. (2016, June 6). *The Religion of Gandhi: A Conversation About Satyagraha with Ajay Skaria*. Retrieved from The Wire: <https://thewire.in/books/the-religion-of-gandhi-a-conversation-about-satyagraha-with-ajay-skaria>
- Skaria, A. (2016). *Unconditional Equality: Gandhi's Religion of Resistance*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Skaria, A. (2021), *Of Rage, Courage and Democracy*.
<https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/india-news-of-rage-courage-and-democracy/304126>
- Taylor, C. (2007). *A Secular Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Thomas Pantham, K. L. (Ed.). (1986). *Political Thought in Modern India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Tolstoy, L. (2009, April 6). *A Letter to a Hindu: The Subjection of India, Its Cause and Cure*.

Retrieved from The Project Gutenberg EBook:

https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7176/7176-h/7176-h.htm#link2H_4_000

Trilling, L. (1972). *Sincerity and Authenticity*. Massachussetts.

Vajpeyi, A. (2012). *Righteous Republic: The Political Foundations of Modern India*. USA: Harvard University Press.

Varshney, A. (2002). *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Yale University Press.

Varun Uberoi, T. M. (2013). Understanding Multiculturalism: Has Multiculturalism in Britain Retreated? *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 1-11.

Veer, P. V. (1994). *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Veer, P. V. (2001). *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. Princeton University Press.

Veer, P. V. (1996). *Writing Violence (Vol. Making India Hindu)*. (D. Ludden, Ed.) Philadelphia: Oxford University Press.

Vijayan, A. (2021). Conversing With Violence: The Creative Radical Expression Of Gandhi. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Advanced Studies (IJIRAS)*, 35-38.