DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC ELECTIVE COURSE- 4 (DSE): Environmental History of the Indian Subcontinent

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility	Pre-requisite of
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/	criteria	the course
				Practice		(if any)
Environmental History	4	3	1	0	12 th Pass	NIL
of the Indian						
Subcontinent						

Credit distribution, Eligibility and Pre-requisites of the Course

Learning Objectives

This course aims to introduce the students to the environmental historiography of the Indian subcontinent. The idea is to familiarize the students to the recent interventions in the methodologies, theories, and concepts of doing environmental history. The course has the following broad objectives: To introduce historical studies that explores the long-term trajectories of man-nature interactions and revise the political history-based periodization of the sub- continent's past as self-contained ancient, medieval, and modern periods. The course also introduces inter-disciplinary approaches- cartographic, geological, zoological, ecological knowledge -that helps historians study the crucial role played by ecology in the shaping of past societies. The themes and issues discussed in this course familiarizes the students to the methods of using archaeological, bio and geo-archival sources, artistic depictions andoral history sources to study the past relationship between human and environment. This will also enable students to situate the environmental historiography that revises the colonial notion of depicting pre-colonial India as an unchanging landscape.

Learning outcomes

After completing this course, students should be able to -

- Understand the historical methodologies and concepts to explain theenvironmental contexts of the past social and cultural transformations.
- Develop a historical perspective on the complex relationship between society and nature from prehistory to the present in the context of the Indian subcontinent.
- Discuss how societies developed technologies, sources of energy, and modes of organising lives to adapt to varied ecological landscapes.
- Discuss environmental issues within a socio-cultural framework.

- Examine the social, political and economic contexts of creating inequalities in resource use, with reference to the case studies regarding water rights, forest rights, and the right to have liveable cities.
- Locate solutions to environmental problems within a framework of greater democratisation of resource use.

SYLLABUS OF DSE

Unit 1: Introduction to the Environmental History of the Indian Subcontinent

- 1. Doing Environmental History: Issues and Perspectives, Historiography
- 2. Sources: Archaeological, Bio and Geo-Archives, Arts and Crafts, and OralHistory

Unit 2: Living with Nature

- 1. Environment and Early Urban Societies: Harappan Civilization
- 2. Beliefs, Practices, and Natural Resources

Unit 3: Environment and Livelihood in Medieval Times

- 1. Pastoralism, Animal Husbandry, and Agriculture
- 2. Forests and Tribal Groups

Unit 4: Colonial Capitalism and Natural Resources

- 1. Changing Energy Regimes; Railway and Deforestation, Dams and HydroelectricPower
- 2. Rivers, Canals, and Embankments

Unit 5: Environmental Crisis and the Future

- 1. Factories and Urban Spaces; Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi
- 2. Industrial Agriculture; Biodiversity Loss; Species Extinction

Practical component (if any) - NIL

Essential/recommended readings

Unit 1: This unit provides an overview of environmental historiography of the Indian subcontinent. The first rubric introduces the methods, theoretical concepts, and the major sub-fields of environmental history. The second rubric explores how archeological records, bio-mass, artistic depictions of nature, and oral history sources are integrated into environmental history narratives. **(Teaching time: 9 hrs. approx.)**

- Mann, Michael (2013), "Environmental History and Historiography on South Asia: Context and some Recent Publications," South Asia Chronicle, Vol. 3, pp. 324-357.
- Rangarajan, Mahesh (2015), Nature and Nation: Essay on Environmental History. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, pp. 1-45 [Chapter 1: "Introduction: Issues in the Writing of Environmental History"]

- Rangarajan, Mahesh (2002), "Polity, Ecology and Landscape: Fresh Writing on South Asia's Past," Studies in History, Vol 17, No. 1, pp. 135-48.
- Arnold, David and Ramachandra Guha (1995), "Themes and Issues in the Environmental History of South Asia," In David and Ramachandra Guha, eds, Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-20.

Unit 2: This unit gives a synoptic overview of human interaction with the animals, plants, and natural elements that sustained life. It shows how from the times of gathering, scavenging and hunting to the beginning of agriculture, humans adapted to the environment even as they tried to manipulate it, and maintained harmonywith it and advocated conservation of earthly resources. **(Teaching time: 9 hrs.approx)**

- Mishra, V. N. (2008), "Climate, a Factor in the Rise and Fall of the IndusCivilization: Evidence from Rajasthan and Beyond," In Rangarajan, Mahesh, Environmental Issues in India: A Reader. Delhi: Pearson, pp. 7-16.
- Lal, Makkhan (2008), "Iron Tools, Forest Clearance and Urbanization in the Gangetic Plains," In Mahesh Rangarajan, Environmental Issues in India: A Reader. Delhi: Pearson, pp. 18-32.
- Thapar, Romila (2008), "Forests and Settlements," In Mahesh Rangarajan, Environmental Issues in India: A Reader. Delhi: Pearson, pp. 33-41.
- Gosling, David L. (2001), Religion and Ecology in India and Southeast Asia. London: Routledge.
- Hughes, Donald J. (1998), "Early Ecological Knowledge of India from Alexanderto Aristotle to Aelian," In Richard Grove, Vinita Damodaran, and Satpal Sangwan, Nature and the Orient: The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 70-86.

Unit 3: This unit explores the patterns and processes of the expansion of agrarian landscapes, pastoralism, and forest economies in India up to the eighteenth century. Providing an overview of the dynamics of human-nature interaction during the medieval times will help students to challenge the notions of considering pre- modern environments as a timeless continuum. **(Teaching time: 9 hrs. approx.)**

- Murty, M. L. K, (2012), "Sheep/Goat Pastoral Cultures in the South Decan: The Narrative as a Metaphor," In Rangarajan, Mahesh and K. Sivaramakrishanan, eds (2014), India's Environmental History: A Reader. Ranikhet: PermanentBlack.
- Guha, Sumit (2008), "A Historical Study of the Control of Grass and Fodder Resources in Eighteenth-Century Maharashtra," In Rangarajan, Mahesh, Environmental Issues in India: A Reader, pp. 97-106.
- Singh, Chetan, (1995), "Forests, Pastoralists and Agrarian Society in Mughal India," In David Arnold & Ramachandra Guha, eds., Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 21-48.

 Murali, Atluri (1995), "Whose Trees? Forest Practices and Local Communities in Andhra, 1600-1922," In David Arnold & Ramachandra Guha, eds., Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 86-122.

Unit 4: This unit explores how colonial capitalism as a powerful agent of environmental transformations made fundamental changes to the land use patterns and livelihood resources. The first rubric explores the environmental history of the colonial appropriation of forests as raw material for railways expansion and rivers as dams and other hydraulic infrastructures for industrial production and long-distance transportation. The second rubric elaborates how the colonial appropriation of waterbodies and common lands through the new revenue policies, acts and regulations affected indigenous fishing and other livelihood patterns based on hydraulic resources. **(Teaching time: 9 hrs. approx.)**

- Gadgil, Madhav and Guha, Ramachandra. (1992). "Conquest and control." In Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, eds., This Fissured Land: AnEcological History of India. Delhi: OUP, pp. 113- 145.
- Guha, Ramchandra (1983), "Colonialism, Capitalism and Deforestation," Social Scientist,
- Vol. 11, No.4, pp.61-64.
- Das, Pallavi (2013), "Railway fuel and its impact on the forests in colonialIndia: The case of the Punjab, 1860– 1884", Modern Asian Studies, Vol.47, No.4, pp.1283-1309.
- Morrison, Kathleen D. (2010), "Dharmic Projects, Imperial Reservoirs, and New Temples of India: An Historical Perspective on Dams in India," Conservation and Society, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 182-195.
- Singh, Vipul (2018), Speaking Rivers: Environmental History of a Mid-Ganga Flood Country, 1540-1885. Delhi: Primus Books, pp. 122-158 [Chapter 6: "Decommonization of the River"].
- D'Souza, Rohan, (2012), "Damming the Mahanadi River: The Emergence of Multi-Purpose River Valley Development in India (1943-946)," In MaheshRangarajan & K. Sivaramakrishnan, eds., India's Environmental History: Colonialism, Modernity, and the Nation. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, pp. 550- 583.
- Rao, G. N. (1988), "Canal Irrigation and Agrarian Change in Colonial Andhra: A Study of Godavari District, c. 1850-1890, Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 25-60.
- Hardiman, David (1996), 'Small-dam Systems of the Sahyadris," in David and Ramachandra Guha, eds, Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 185-209.
- Gilmartin, David (1996), "Models of the Hydraulic Environment: Colonial Irrigation, State Power and Community in the Indus Basin, In David Arnold & Ramachandra Guha, eds, Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the

Unit 5: Historical thinking and writing on climate change help to provide a long-term perspective on contemporary social, ecological, economic crisis with the question of socioenvironmental justice as a central concern. By focusing on the specific contextsof Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, the first rubric provides a historical perspective to the contemporary urban problems of air and water pollution, and issues related to access to energy sources as social issues of urbanized environment. The second rubric explains how the issues of biodiversity loss, species extinction, and the industrialization of agricultural production transforms livelihood patterns and cultural landscapes. **(Teaching time: 9 hrs. approx)**

- Awadhendra B. Sharan. In the City, Out of Place: Nuisance, Pollution, and Dwelling in Delhi, c. 1850-2000. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014[Introduction; Chapter 4: Pollution]
- Agarwal, Ravi (2010), "Fight for a Forest," In Seminar, No. 613, pp. 48-52.
- Riding, Tim (2018), "Making of Bombay Island': Land Reclamation and Geographical Conception of Bombay, 1661-1728, Journal of Historical Geography, Vol. 59, pp. 27-39.
- Klein, Ira (1986), "Urban Development and Death: Bombay City, 1870-1914", Modern Asian Studies, Vol.20, No.4, pp.725-754.
- Mann, Michael (2007), "Delhi's Belly: The Management of Water, Sewerage and Excreta in a Changing Urban Environment during the Nineteenth Century, Studies in History, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 1-31.
- Shiva, Vandana (2016), Stolen Harvest: The Hijacking of the Global Food Supply. Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, Chapter 1: "The Hijacking of the Global Food Supply", pp. 5-20.
- Adve, Nagraj (2022), Global Warming in India: Science, Impacts, and Politics. Bhopal: Eklavya Foundation.

Suggested Readings:

- Bhattacharya, Neeladri (1992), 'Colonial State and Agrarian Society,' In Burton Stein, ed. The Making of Agrarin Policy in British India, 1770-1900. Delhi:Oxford University Press.
- Bulliet, Richard. (2005). Hunters, Herders and Hamburgers: The Past and Future of Human-Animal Relationships. New York: Colombia University Press. pp. 205 -224.
- Chakravarti, Ranabir, (1998), "The Creation and Expansion of Settlements and Managements of Hydraulic Resources in Ancient India," In Richard Grove, et al, eds, Nature and the Orient: The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 87-105.
- D'souza, Rohan (2006), Drowned and Dammed: Colonial Capitalism and Flood Control in Eastern India. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Erdosy, George (1998), "Deforestation in Pre and Proto Historic South Asia," InRichard Grove, Vinita Damodaran, and Satpal Sangwan, Nature and the Orient: The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Fisher, Michael H. (2018), An Environmental History of India: From Earliest Times to the Twenty-first Century. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gadgil, Madhav and Ramachandra Guha (2000), The Use and Abuse of Nature.Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Grove, Richard (1997), Ecology, Climate and Empire. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hughes, Donald (2006), What is Environmental History?. Cambridge: Polity Press. Chapter 1: Defining Environmental History: pp. 1-17
- Malamoud, Charles (1998), Village and Forest in Ancient India. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Meadow, R. H. (1981), "Early Animal Domestication in South Asia: A First Report of Faunal Remains from Mehrgarh, Pakistan," In H. Hartel, ed. South Asian Archaeology. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, pp. 143-79.
- Rangarajan, Mahesh (2008), "The Forest and the field in Ancient India," In Rangarajan, Mahesh, Environmental Issues in India: A Reader. Delhi: Pearson, pp. 42-48.
- Rangarajan, Mahesh and K. Sivaramakrishanan, eds (2014), India's Environmental History: A Reader. Ranikhet: Permanent Black [Introduction]
- Rodrigues, Louiza (2019), Development and Deforestation: The Making of Urban Bombay, C. 1800-1880. Delhi: Primus Books.
- Satya, Laxman D. (1997), Cotton and Famine in Berar, 1850-1900, Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
- Thapar, Romila, (2008), "Perceiving the Forest: Early India," In Rangarajan, Mahesh and
- K. Sivaramakrishanan, eds (2014), India's Environmental History: A Reader. Ranikhet: Permanent Black.
- Shiva, Vandana. (1988). "Women in the Food Chain" (Ch.5) in Vandana Shiva, Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India. New Delhi: Kali for Women. pp.96-178.
- Singh, Satyajit K. (1990), "Evaluating Large Dams in India," Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 25, No. 11, pp. 561-574.
- Singh, Vipul (2018), Speaking Rivers: Environmental History of a Mid-Ganga Flood Country, 1540-1885. Delhi: Primus Books.

Note: Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the ExaminationBranch, University of Delhi, from time to time.

DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC ELECTIVE COURSE-1 (DSE): History of South East Asia - II

Credit distribution, Eligibility and Pre-requisites of the Course

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility	Pre-requisite of
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/	criteria	the course
				Practice		(if any)
History of South East Asia – II	4	3	1	0	12 th Pass	Should have studied History of South East Asia – I

Learning Objectives

This paper offers an overview of modern Southeast Asian history to students who could be familiar or unfamiliar with the region. A study of the social, economic, and political transformations in Southeast Asia during the colonial period will enable students to develop a critical and comparative approach, given their in-depth study of South Asian history. In this paper students will learn how to engage with recent historiographical developments, especially on themes of education, gender, race, historical anthropology, and maritime history. The paper offers analysis of impact of colonialism and the process of decolonisation on the region. The student shall analyse the establishment and changing character of the European presence from a commercial enterprise to a colonial state; the transformation of local society and the emergence of anti-colonial movements; and the transformations in the region since the Second World War.

Learning outcomes

Upon the completion of this course the student shall be able to:

- Explain the character and functioning of colonial state and society.
- Analyse the impact of the European presence on maritime and agrarianeconomy of the region.
- Examine the impact of maritime activity of local society and polity and the developments in the economic and architectural history of the region.
- Discern the influences of new forms of knowledge, Euro-centric notions of modernity and how ideas of race defined local religion.
- Illustrate the transformation of the local agrarian and labour economy.
- Interpret the history of popular movements and peasant revolts
- Describe the historiographical trends to study history of Southeast Asia

SYLLABUS OF DSC-3

Unit 1: From Commerce to Colonialism:

- 1. The Dutch and English ascendancy
- 2. Changing Patterns of Maritime Trade: The Straits of Malaka

Unit II: Colonialism in Dutch Indonesia, British Burma: The 19th and 20th centuries

- 1. The Colonial State: Traditional elite, Race and the Legal Order
- 2. Agrarian Transformation: Plantation Economy, Peasant Protests
- 3. Colonial Modernity: Education and religion in the early twentieth century

Unit III: Southeast Asia: Nationalism, Anti-Colonial Movements 1900-1970s

- 1. Burma: From Independence to the Revolutionary Council
- 2. Indonesia: The Revolution, the making of Indonesia, Sukarno

Unit IV: Post War Southeast Asia

- 1. Language and Politics in Modern Southeast Asia: The Malay and the making of modern Malaysia
- 2. The Port and City in Southeast Asia: Singapore

Practical component (if any) - NIL

Essential/recommended readings

Unit-I: The student will be able to demonstrate their understanding of the beginningsof European Colonialism in the region by specifically taking up the case studies of theEnglish and Dutch East India Companies in the 17th and 18th centuries. They will alsodemonstrate an understanding of how ethnic communities like those in the straits of Melaka responded to the changes in trade and politics. **(Teaching time: 6 hrs. approx.)**

- Tarling, Nicholas. (1993). Cambridge History of South East Asia, Volume I & II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Reid, Anthony. (1993). Southeast Asia in Early Modern era: Trade, Power andBelief,
- Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press
- Goor, Jurrien van. (2004). Prelude to Colonialism: The Dutch in Asia, Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren

Unit- II: At the end of this rubric the students will be able to demonstrate an understanding of the nature of the colonial state in Southeast Asia. They will through the case studies of Dutch Indonesia and British Burma learn about the structure and organization of the colonial state and how the agrarian plantation economy altered the political and economic landscape of the region during this period. They will also through a specific case study of Indonesia, show how certain policies of the colonial state and western notions of modernity impacted local society and Islam. **(Teaching time: 15 hrs. approx.)**

- Tarling, Nicholas. (1993). Cambridge History of South East Asia, Volume II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Saha, Jonathan. (2013). Law, Disorder and the State: Corruption in Burma c.1900, New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Keck, Stephen L. (2015). British Burma in the New Century, 1895-1918, London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Vickers, Adrian. (2015). A History of Modern Indonesia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bosma Ulbe and Raben Remco. (2008). Being "Dutch" in the Indies: A historyof creolization and Empire, 1500-1920 (trans. Wendie Shaffer), Singapore: Ohio University Press and National University of Singapore
- Breman, Jan. (1989). Taming the Coolie Beast: Plantation Society and theColonial Order in South East Asia, Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Scott, James. (1976). Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia, New Haven: Yale University Press
- Ann Stoler, 'Plantation, Politics and Protest on Sumatra's East Coast', Journal of Pesant Studies, Vol.13, No.2, 1986
- Pannu, Paula, Production and Transmission of Knowledge in Colonial Malaya, Asian Journal of Social Science, Vol 37, No 3, Special Focus, Beyond Sociology, 2009, pp.427-451
- Laffan, Michael. (2011). The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi past, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Ali, Muhammad. (2016). Islam and Colonialism: Becoming Modern in Indonesia and Malaya, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Unit-III: After completing this rubric, the students will demonstrate a detailed understanding of the nationalist and anti colonial movements in Southeast Asiathrough the case studies of Indonesia, Vietnam and Burma. They will also be expected to demonstrate an understanding of how the nationalist movements and post war politics in the region came to shape these countries in the early decades after independence (in the 1950s and 70s). **(Teaching time: 15 hrs. approx.)**

- Christie, Clive J. (2000). A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism, London: I.B. Tauris
- Tarling, Nicholas. (1993). Cambridge History of South East Asia, Volume II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Tarling, Nicholas. (1998). Nations and States in Southeast Asia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Callahan, Mary P. (2003). Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Myint-U, Thant. (2001). The Making of Modern Burma, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Vickers, Adrian. (2015). A History of Modern Indonesia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Elson, R.E. (2008). The Idea of Indonesia: A History, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- **Unit-IV:** At the end of this rubric the students will be expected to demonstrate an understanding of how the colonialism has impacted the nature of post colonialpolitics. Examining Malaysia and Singapore as case studies, they will show how, decolonization and modern state building have required certain approaches towards remembering the past and projecting the future. **(Teaching time: 9 hrs. approx.)**
 - Harper, T.N. (1999). The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
 - Ali, Muhammad. (2016). Islam and Colonialism: Becoming Modern inIndonesia and Malaya, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
 - Kevin Blackburn and ZongLun Wu. (2019). Decolonising the History Curriculumin Malaysia and Singapore, London: Routledge
 - Ahmad, Abu Talib. (2015) Museums, History and Culture in Malaysia.Singapore: National University of Singapore Press

Suggested Readings:

- Adas, Michael. (1974). Burma Delta: Economic Development and Social Change on the Rice Frontier, 1852-1941, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press
- Bloembergen Marieke. (2006). Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931, (trans. Beverley Jackson) Singapore: Singapore National University Press
- Blusse, Leonard. (1981). 'Batavia, 1619-1740: The Rise and Fall of a Chinese Colonial Town', Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, Vol.12, No.1, Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia, pp.159-178
- Charney, Michael W. (2010). A History of Modern Burma, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Christie, Clive. (2001). Ideology and Revolution in Southeast Asia 1900-1980: Political Ideas of the Anti-Colonial era, London: Curzon
- Day, Tony. (2002). Fluid Iron: State formation in Southeast Asia, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press Honolulu
- Goscha, Christopher. (2016). The Penguin History of Modern Vietnam, London: Penguin
- Gouda, Francis. (2008). Dutch Culture Overseas; Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942, Jakarta: Equinox Publishing
- Keyes, Charles F., E. Jane Keyes and Nancy Donnelly. (1991). ,Reshaping Local Worlds: Formal Education and Cultural Change in Rural Southeast Asia, New Haven: Yale University Press
- Knapman, Gareth. (2016). Race and British Colonialism in South-East Asia, 1770-1870: John Crawford and the Politics of Equality, London: Routledge
- Laffan, Michael Francis. (2003). Islamic Nationhood ad Colonial Indonesia: Theumma below the winds, London: Routledge

- Owen, Norman G. (2014). Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian History, London: Routledge
- Phongpaichit, Pasuk, Chris Baker, Christopher John Baker. (2005). A History of Thailand, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Rachael Loew. (2016). Taming Babel: Language in the Making of Malaysia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Sardesai, D.R. (1997). Southeast Asia: Past and Present, New Delhi: Harper Collins
- Scott, James. (2009). The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia', Yale University Press
- Seekins, Donald M. (2011). State and Society in Modern Rangoon, London: Routledge
- Segawa, Noriyuki. (2019). National Identity, Language and Education in Malaysia: Search for a Middle Ground between Malay Hegemony and Equality, London: Routledge
- Shiraishi, Saya and Takashi Shiraishi (ed.) (1993). The Japanese in Colonial Southeast Asia, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Tarling Nicholas. (2001). Imperialism in Southeast Asia: A Fleeting, Passing Phase,
- London: Routledge
- Tiffin Sarah. (2016). Southeast Asia in Ruins: Empire in the early 19th century, Singapore: National University of Singapore
- Trocki, Carl A. (2006). Singapore: Wealth, Power and the culture of control, London: Routledge
- Tucker, Shelby. (2002). Burma: The Curse of Independence, New Delhi:Penguin

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