INTRODUCTION

South Asia Unbound[1]

Elisabeth Leake and Bérénice Guyot-Réchard

Abstract

Whose international matters, and why? How are geographic regions constructed? What are the channels of engagement between a place, its people, its institutions, and the world? How do we understand the non-West's influence in contemporary global interactions? From humanitarianism and activism to diplomacy and institutional networks, South Asia has been a crucial place for the elaboration of international politics, even before the twentieth century. *South Asia Unbound* gathers an interdisciplinary group of scholars from across the world to investigate South Asian global engagement at the local, regional, national, and supra-national levels, spanning the time before and after independence. Only by understanding its past entanglements with the world can we understand South Asia's increasing global importance today.

Key words: internationalism, decolonization, South Asia, space, scale, non-Western international relations

One month after Pakistan's independence, Lord Mountbatten, the subcontinent's final viceroy who stayed on as independent India's first governor-general, invited Mohammad Ali Jinnah to London to preside over an exhibition showcasing "the Art of India and Pakistan." The *Qaid-e-Azam* asked to change it to "the Art of Hindustan and Pakistan." No single country, he argued, held the rights to the name "India." Jinnah was unsuccessful.[2] Since 1947, "India" has exclusively been used to refer to Pakistan's neighbour – the neighbour that, by inheriting the Raj's treaty rights, obligations and diplomatic infrastructure, claimed the mantle of key successor to the Indian Empire. It was only decades later that an alternative name for the region as a whole, "South Asia," started appearing. Even then, compared to geographic notions such as East Asia or the Middle East, or even the much more recent Indo-Pacific, the term met limited success. While South Asia was intended to replace "India" or "Indian subcontinent" in the post-colonial, post-partition era, the latter two terms nevertheless remain often more immediately recognizable. Not only that, but the very attempt to do away with them ends up, more often than not, underscoring India's long shadow over the region.

These naming issues betray the deep instability of the notion of South Asia, not just as a regional identity marker but as a category of analysis. The concept of "South Asia" gained currency in the 1980s, at a time when Indian political elites championed the Indira Doctrine, a programmatic statement of Delhi's ambition to be South Asia's recognized hegemon, with a duty to preserve peace in the region to the exclusion of any other power.[3] Though couched in a Nehruvian discourse of fraternity and civilizational brotherhood, this was still a power-laden region-building effort, and it pushed India's smaller neighbours to craft new geographies for themselves. Pakistan asserted its links to a wider Islamic world centred on western Asia, while Sri Lanka asserted the primacy of the Indian Ocean as its geographical context and unsuccessfully sought entry into the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Like many geographic notions referring to world regions, talking of South Asia therefore rests on a certain understanding of the international. More than many of these terms, perhaps, it is also shot through with powerful centre-periphery dynamics, including in the construction and dissemination of academic and popular knowledge.

This book seeks to give texture to South Asia as a regional space through an extended, multi-vocal investigation of its interaction with the rest of the world. Individually and collectively, our chapters ask three sets of questions: what shapes has this interaction taken? Who has effected, transmitted, and imagined this engagement between South Asia and the world? And, last but not least, what have these varieties of internationalism done for the notion of who, or what, is South Asia? Implicit in all these questions is the idea that internationalism has been, for a range of reasons, core to the way that South Asia's inhabitants have made sense of their lives and of their worlds. This internationalism has, in turn, decisively shaped the conditions for the development of their identities and societies. In other words, we argue that the very idea of South Asia is the product of such internationalisms – a deeply unstable, multi-faceted region whose geographical contours depend, in part, on who is involved in defining them, and when. The international, in short, makes South Asia come unbound.

This volume seeks to "unbind" South Asian internationalism in several ways. First, it centres South Asia, and South Asians, as key drivers of international exchange. The internationalist imaginaries and endeavours found across the following chapters were not enforced from outside the subcontinent. Rather, they emerged through processes of engagement and entanglement, in which a wide range of South Asian actors took leading roles. As such, *South Asia Unbound* questions Eurocentric understandings and chronologies of international relations, revealing alternative centres of internationalist activity. To do this, this volume unpacks the spatial and temporal moments where the distinction between the international and the national, between the foreign and the domestic, and indeed between South Asia and "the rest of the world," have been blurred.[4] Chapters also

highlight how different "moments of decolonization" (from the transfer of power in British India in 1947 to India's annexation of Goa in 1961) threw open, or conversely closed down, alternative modes of imagining, belonging, action, and geopolitics – modes that often exceeded the limits of the would-be nation-state.

South Asia comes further unbound in these pages in the sense that investigating international contacts and imaginations helps us question the historical and historiographical construction of India as the region's centre of gravity. Like other strands of scholarship, international history and international relations show an overwhelming attention to India at the expense of its neighbours. This is understandable, not least because access to archives in, for example, Pakistan or Myanmar has been comparatively difficult historically. However, it threatens to flatten the history of South Asia, rather than acknowledging some of the ways forms of internationalism both paralleled and diverged in the era of decolonization – a time of vast social and political change, both within the subcontinent and across the world. This book problematizes India's centrality in two ways. First it brings other South Asian states and state-claimants into view, in this instance through chapters focusing on Bhutan, Afghanistan and Pakistan. These chapters offer a simultaneously comparative and connective history of South Asian internationalism, revealing shared historical roots but also an increasingly diverse array of motivations for, attitudes to, and interpretations of international engagement.

Second, *South Asia Unbound* interrogates "India" as a monolith, providing a more textured definition that emphasizes sub-national and trans-regional forms of internationalism. We particularly pay attention to the borderlands between India and the rest of the world, whether Kerala (whose location at the tip of the Indian peninsula should not elide the fact that it was strongly connected, via the ocean, to other places) or, pre-transfer of power, the borderlands between Arakan and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (today deemed, for highly contingent reasons, "Burmese" and "Bangladeshi" territory). Moreover, while many of the actors mentioned in this book might be considered "Indian" in one way or another (be they Ugandan Asians, South Africans of Indian descent, Goans in Dar-es-Salam, or Malabari migrants to Malaya), "India" itself was not necessarily the centre of their lives – neither as a territorial entity, nor as a civilizational homeland, a political project, or a place to live and realize one's aspirations. This book, then, counters narratives that merely use "South Asia" as a stand-in for "India."

Embodied Internationalisms

In an effort to complicate what, or whose, "international" gets remembered or forgotten, we adopt a more capacious definition of internationalism. *South Asia Unbound*

extends its focus beyond ideologies and supra-national institutions to look at internationalism through, and from the vantage point of, its human actors. These count among them statesmen and royals, scholars and intellectuals, refugees, migrants, anti-apartheid and peace activists, teachers-turned-separatist militants, as well as popular singers, writers, and artists. With the exception perhaps of the Islamist intellectual Abu l'-A'la Mawdudi, few of them can be considered usual suspects in historical narratives of South Asian international relations. At best, they are secondary characters in broader histories, like B.S. Moonje who helped shape the development of Hindu Nationalism in the late colonial era, as Stephen Legg shows in his chapter.

By revealing the role Moonje and others had in shaping networks of international activism and imagination within and without South Asia, we contribute to a recent historiographical shift that has seen historians and others move beyond figures like Jawaharlal Nehru, once too readily assumed to be the fount of Indian internationalism and foreign policy. The high level of continuity in foreign policy institutions between late colonial and early independent India (notably through the dominance of ex-ICS officers in the so-called Nehruvian era) has been repeatedly pointed out, not least in a spate of recent biographies that retrace the contributions of individual diplomats like Srinivasa Sastri, Vijaylakshmi Pandit, or Subimal Dutt. The paucity of work on the international history of India's neighbours means that their statesmen and diplomats – like the Sikkimese King Palden Thondup Namgyal and the Bhutanese Prime Minister Jigmie Palden Dorji, discussed by Swati Chawla, who defended their countries from incorporation into India upon the transfer of power in 1947 – have not benefited from such attention.

This book does not centre statesmen, however. By placing them amid other actors, we suggest possibilities for non-state-centred international histories of South Asia. Peopling this story restores an international ecosystem constituted by day-to-day encounters and initiatives by a multiplicity of actors – encounters that were small-scale, ground-level, not always state-led, and often invisible. These actors may not consciously have thought of themselves as internationalists, but their lives made little sense without their engagement with the world "out there," beyond the limits of the nation-state.

South Asian internationalists accordingly did not share a single way of imagining South Asia. Indeed, their diverse understandings of its place in the wider world (and its contributions to it) often competed with one another. Where some saw the subcontinent as a vanguard of the Islamic world, others argued in favour of the Himalayas as a single cultural and political sphere, clearly distinct from the "Indian" one. Some conversely looked east. As Yorim Spoelder shows, the inveterate traveler-networker-scholar Kalidas Nag harked back to the past, arguing that Greater India had, pre-European colonization, provided the civilizational inspiration not just for Angkor and Borobudur's architecture, Javanese theatre, or

most Tai-Burmese scripts: its influence had travelled much further than peninsular Asia, all the way to Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, and it decisively inspired their societies. By expanding French Orientalist notions of India's civilizing influence beyond Southeast Asia and into the vast Pacific Ocean, Nag was arguably envisioning a future where, with colonialism receding from the "sea of islands," India would recover its entire global footprint.[5] This idea still shapes current-day Indian perspectives on the "Indo-Pacific." Meanwhile, as Kalyani Ramnath shows, for people like the estate clerk Antonio Cecil Pereira, born in a family with ties both in Malabar and Malaya, life and belonging were anchored in the circulatory movement around the Bay of Bengal. Space, as such, was less important to Pereira than networks.

Our emphasis, therefore, is on internationalism as a lived, embodied experience. At times an intellectual or cultural (pre-)disposition, it can also be a mode of living or a political choice, and sometimes still the result, often laden with painful consequences, of living at the interstices between empires and nation-states. Sometimes this takes place all at once, sometimes at different points in a person's life. That this internationalism is lived does not mean it is necessarily a chosen experience. One of the principal axes of difference revealed in this volume is between actors for whom crossing or acting across the borders of states and empires, and indeed thinking through them, was a conscious choice, pursued with intent, and those for whom it was not – that is, those who had internationalism imposed on them by the circumstances of their lives. There is a big difference between Kalidas Nag and Antonio Cecil Pereira. The first dedicated his life to disseminating his theories of India's global footprint across intersecting internationalist scholarly circles. The second was forced to reconsider his sense of attachment and belonging by the advent of Indian independence. The situation was even more extreme in the case of the Asian families discussed by Ria Kapoor, expelled from Uganda and rejected by successive governments across the world.

To speak of internationalism as a lived experience brings to the fore the role of emotions and interpersonal relations. Our contributors speak of the constitutive role of friendship and fellowship sentiments for the development of the Sarvodaya Movement's international pacifist networks (Carolien Stolte's chapter), Pakistani intellectuals' ties to Afro-Asian literary circles (Ali Raza's chapter), or the South African activist Phyllis Naidoo's lifelong struggle to fight apartheid across borders (Annie Devenish's chapter). For the popular Afghan singer Aḥmad Ẓāhir, internationalism was an articulation of hope and aspirations, through cultural miscegenation and cross-pollination, as Mejgan Massoumi illustrates. Internationalism, however, could also provoke feelings of disgust, like that B.S. Moonje felt while wandering the streets of 1930s London. Moonje's repulsion solidified his sense of isolation and Indian exceptionalism, and they, in turn, informed his Hindu nationalist ideology.

Family ties, meanwhile, could enable concerted international lobbying. Thondup, Sikkim's king, and Bhutan's Prime Minister Jigmie were first cousins who had been brought up together. This enabled them to mount a concerted campaign in defence of their countries' sovereignty in 1947. Yet the same family ties, along with male-centric understandings of citizenship, could relegate people to a no man's land between countries none too eager to host them, as in the case of Ugandan Asians where British wives were separated from stateless husbands and denied settlement in Britain.

It follows that internationalism might in fact not be sought after. On the contrary, travelling, interacting with people from across the world, were not necessarily markers of internationalism. For Moonje, the very cosmopolitanism of London and his interactions with others during the Round Table Conference provoked strong feelings of rejection. Phyllis Naidoo, meanwhile, spent much of her life actively pushing away her Indian background and had an ambivalent relationship with the cross-oceanic networks and activism other South African Indians had mobilized. Naidoo, most of the time, sought to assert herself as African, and only African. As for Ugandan Asians, their desperate struggle to be recognized as "from one place" in the face of governmental forces determined to relegate them to the interstices of nation-states highlights the oppressive potential of internationalism in some cases, notably when couched in humanitarian terms, as Ugandan Asians were framed as refugees who states accepted out of charity.

Modes of Internationalism

Given the multiplicity of South Asian internationalist actors, their practice of internationalism was correspondingly diverse. South Asian elites certainly asserted themselves in the traditional arenas of international relations. From an early stage, the eighteenth-century rulers of Hyderabad and the Maratha Confederacy formed political and military alliances with the East India Company on an equal footing, as Tanja Bührer shows. This tradition of diplomacy would persist, though in often fraught, unequal or ambiguous ways, through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The negotiation and promulgation of treaties between the rulers of South Asia's princely states and the British Raj formed an important facet of Western colonial expansion, often giving imperialists exceptional influence in these semi-autonomous polities. Yet treaty relations also offered South Asia's princes a unique (though often ultimately unsuccessful) opportunity to renegotiate their place in the world, as the colonial hold weakened. Rulers of princely states such as Hyderabad and Travancore, as well as in Bhopal and Sikkim, pointed to longstanding treaties to assert their independence from colonial India in the talks

that ultimately resulted in the 3 June plan to partition India. In turn, as partition took place, the leaders of newly independent Pakistan and India reacted with hostility to the ambiguity of the princely states' older sovereign arrangements, actively working to subsume these polities into Indian and Pakistani national projects.

Yet while South Asian elites in the era of decolonization often ignored or rejected older practices of international relations within their newly national borders, they actively pursued diplomacy abroad to assert their legitimacy. International organizations and alliance-making were especially prominent. Thus, Jawaharlal Nehru took full advantage of the opportunities offered by the nascent UN General Assembly to express his views on South African treatment of its Indian minority and co-headed the 1955 Afro-Asian conference in Bandung. Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, signed a strategic alliance with the United States in 1954, embedding Pakistan in the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization and Baghdad Pact in return for military and economic aid. Afghanistan's central government, meanwhile, turned to the UN to air its grievances against neighbouring Pakistan, citing tenets of international law to claim the illegality of their shared border, and to demand ethnic Pashtun self-determination. In these instances, international law and inter-state diplomacy were key to establishing South Asian foreign relations.

These modes of South Asian international engagement have been most visible in the existing scholarship, but they are far from unique. South Asian internationalism took place in numerous spheres, both tangible and intangible. Formal and informal networks – political, intellectual, religious, cultural – embedded South Asians in global frameworks and foregrounded South Asia in the international sphere.

The act of traveling, of moving abroad for education, to take part in political gatherings, or to disseminate knowledge offered South Asians opportunities to reflect on the subcontinent's place in the world. Conferences offered a crucial site in which South Asian elites and intellectuals negotiated notions and means of independence in an age of imperial decline, as when B.S. Moonje attended the Round Table Conference.[6] So, too, did educational circuits. Much like Kalidas Nag, well-known Indian intellectuals such as M.N. Roy travelled across interwar Europe and America to promote India's civilizational significance and to reframe the subcontinent's history away from colonial subjection. Meanwhile, thousands of South Asians, often nameless in the archives, studied across Europe, North America, the Middle East, and Asia. Their experiences of international education not only informed their perspectives on matters at home – whether on issues of caste and race, on modes of political and social modernization, or on India, Pakistan, or Afghanistan's place in the world – but also embedded them in a host of transnational movements such pan-Asianism, pan-Islamism, Afro-Asianism, socialism, women's rights, and more.[7]

South Asians thus became involved in an array of transnational organizations, some of which required them to go out into the world, others which rooted

internationalism within the subcontinent. For many political activists, South Asia provided a model for further internationalist mobilization. This could be seen in the way that Indian activists in the World Peace Brigade rooted pacifism in Gandhian thought and action. It was similarly visible in Jamaat-i Islami's arguments that Lahore, not Tehran or Cairo, was the centre of global Islamist thought, thanks to the works of Muslim intellectuals like Mawdudi, as Simon Wolfgang Fuchs argues. In these organizations, which intentionally blurred the boundaries between the national and international, South Asia was prominent for the ideas and movements it represented–anticolonialism and civil disobedience, nonalignment and pacifism, the fusion of religion and politics (Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist)–not just due to the individual South Asians who took part.

Internationalism, then, could manifest through practices that did not require South Asians' own mobility. The emergence of numerous, overlapping, sometimes conflicting public spheres brought South Asians into contact with international influences. The act of writing provided a particularly powerful way for individuals and communities to debate the relationship between local, national, and international developments. Many South Asians used personal correspondence to develop their views on the worlds in which they lived, as well as to lobby comrades across the world to participate in shared social and political projects. This becomes especially clear in the writings of the anti-apartheid activist Phyllis Naidoo, who, through her correspondence, developed her ideas regarding the relationship between her Indian heritage and her belief in political "non-racialism."

The South Asian republic of letters encompassed both the private, intimate spaces of personal correspondence and the public print sphere of newspapers, manifestos, and literary texts. The printing of local newspapers, such as the *Goan Voice* in east Africa, provided powerful fora for members of the South Asian diaspora to reflect on their at-times tenuous links with the subcontinent–in this instance, Lydia Walker argues, for local Goans to debate the meaning of self-determination against the backdrop of the Indian annexation of Goa. Likewise, the printed word offered audiences within South Asia opportunities to draw additional linkages between their daily lives and events across the world.[8] In Pakistan, as Ali Raza reveals, writing and publishing provided a means for members of the Pakistani left to simultaneously criticize growing authoritarianism at home and engage with a global intellectual sphere that celebrated the promises of socialism and the transformative potential of a progressive transnational culture. Yet print media was not the only key technology of internationalism. As Mejgan Massoumi shows, sonic internationalism could be equally potent. Through the extension of Afghanistan's radio programs in the 1960s, local Afghans heard covers of Elvis and the Beatles, embraced a musical culture that fused traditional musical practices with international influences, and imbibed the heady global protest culture of the 1960s.

From the Transimperial to the International

As the contributions to this volume and a growing body of scholarship show, South Asian internationalism did not abruptly begin at the moment of independence for states like India and Pakistan. It had much longer, deeper roots and older chronologies. These were both practical and ideational. Some forms of South Asian diplomacy and leadership had lineages reaching back into the precolonial period, as Bührer and Chawla show; meanwhile, many intellectuals and elites rooted their demands about South Asia's place in the world in the subcontinent's longer history, even if this required radical reinterpretations of its past, as in the Greater India movement. Colonial interactions further informed modes of foreign engagement: some South Asian elites would take advantage of colonial administrative systems and joint endeavours, such as the Round Table Conference, in attempts to reshape not only governance within the subcontinent but the empire's broader systems. Others would actively reject engaging with colonial agents, instead seeking ideological and political allies (pan-Asian, pan-Islamic, communist, pacifist, fascist) across the Pacific, East and Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and North America to create alternative platforms to critique empires.

Moreover, for generations millions of South Asians lived internationalism through their very mobility. Theirs was often an internationalism informed by economic and educational opportunity or personal necessity. It included not only labour migrants who went to work in Britain's other colonies but also, especially in the early twentieth century, hundreds of thousands of South Asians deployed to serve in the two world wars and other imperial conflicts. Employment, war, politics, and diasporic familial ties drove South Asians to position themselves as liminal internationalists, traveling via imperial conduits away from the subcontinent and creating global entanglements through their life choices.

Many of the modes of internationalism described above became especially visible in the early years of the twentieth century, preceding the partition of India and Pakistan. Yet the regional and global shift from a world of empires to a world of nation-states revealed both continuities and fractures within the realm of South Asian internationalism. Many of the same ideas remained: aspirations to conduct foreign relations that subverted an international system reliant on imperial precedents; the need to coordinate local activities across the world to undermine white supremacy in its many forms; the desire to safeguard individual and community rights. But the forms that international mobilization could take often became more constricted.

The same international ordering process in which many South Asian elites actively participated created new barriers for South Asian internationalists. Debates about the nature of state sovereignty, which predated the era of

decolonization, took on new urgency. Imperial powers had exercised many different forms of sovereignty within and across empires, using very different methods and justifications to assert colonial dominance in, for example, colonial India's north-east and north-west frontiers than what they employed in the subcontinent's plains and cities, or in the princely states. The nature and meaning of sovereignty, and the forms that post-independence sovereignty should take, provoked debate among anti-colonial activists in South Asia and elsewhere, leading to debates about federalism, federations, and commonwealth membership, among other alternatives. Nevertheless, newly independent state elites became increasingly intolerant of sovereign ambiguities that threatened to undermine their own rule. The desire of governments in Delhi, Karachi/Islamabad, Kabul, or Yangon to assert their eminence in domestic and foreign affairs revealed the contradictions of decolonization and the need for certain types of sovereignty to eclipse others.

The processes by which India assumed its current political boundaries exemplified these incongruities. Nehru's government rejected the older semi-autonomy of the princely states and any attempts by them to assert their independence from post-independence India, as seen in the decision to send troops to annex the major Princely State of Hyderabad in 1948. Where, in the colonial period, the princely states had been neither fully incorporated nor fully autonomous, correspondingly blurring the boundaries between domestic and foreign policy, in the era of India's decolonization, they were fully domesticized and made internal to independent India. Even more controversially, Nehru's decision to annex Goa in 1961 brought to the fore decolonization's paradoxes: a decolonized state invading a colony. As Goans in the diaspora were quick to point out, a fundamental tension arose. Indian elites disregarded Goan self-determination in the name of ending imperialism in the subcontinent. In turn, potential sovereign alternatives for Goa were subsumed within the Indian nation-state and declared illegitimate. In the process, the types of internationalist activities in which South Asians could engage narrowed further.

These debates about the nature of state sovereignty correspondingly hardened the boundaries between national and international, domestic, and foreign. In its most visible manifestation, the very acts that created visible state boundaries – partitioning and bordering – complicated embodied internationalism and its earlier transimperial fluidity. The drawing and monitoring of state borders became a top-down manifestation of South Asian internationalism. But rather than embracing the ability of people, goods, and ideas to circulate across the world, this form of internationalism derived its potency from the state's ability to regulate who or what forms of transborder circulation were acceptable. By demarcating and policing borders in India's north-east, state officials intentionally sought to disrupt the older mobility of local communities, such as the Rohingyas, forcing them to settle in either India,

Pakistan/Bangladesh, or Burma/Myanmar (and, in turn, become "Indian," "Pakistani/Bangladeshi," or "Burmese"), as Jayita Sarkar shows. Through passport and visa regimes, Indian officials barred or ejected members of transnational organizations, such as the World Peace Brigade's Michael Scott, who were seen as enemies of state interests. Pakistani elites used border controls both along the Durand Line and in the port of Karachi to prohibit the movement of goods into Afghanistan, punishing Afghan elites for their promotion of an independent "Pashtunistan," which would have further complicated South Asia's sovereign arrangements. Both land and maritime borders offered state elites the means to enforce or criminalize certain forms of international activity, even as many citizens found licit and illicit ways to circumvent such state controls.

As previously mobile South Asians increasingly encountered systems of border controls and passport regulation, they consequently confronted potential elisions or ruptures between identity, on one hand, and formal citizenship, on the other. Many South Asians (with the explicit backing of South Asian state governments, especially India) chose to root themselves in their domiciles in Singapore, Malaysia, East and South Africa, or the Persian Gulf, pursuing local citizenship while seeking to maintain cultural and familial links with their homelands. But others were not given this choice, notably those who were refused Ugandan citizenship or from whom it was withdrawn. Expelled, and left rootless, they were neither accepted in India (where most families had roots) nor immediately settled in the older colonial metropole of Great Britain, whose passport many of them held. Internationalism as a lived experience became increasingly visible and involved more explicit choices. States more actively policed citizenship and migration, thus particularly complicating the internationalism of the South Asian diaspora, instead making it increasingly multi-, rather than trans-, national.

Thus, for the South Asians in this volume, the nation(-state) held an often ambiguous, even contradictory place in their internationalism. It did not necessarily inform the global nature of the ideas that drove many South Asian internationalists, which were often far more universalist. But increasingly it shaped the types of actions and activities they could undertake – the arenas of internationalism. In other words, looking at the different forms and agents of South Asian internationalism, what becomes clear is that internationalism was not necessarily nation-state centric, even as the nation-state increasingly became a constricting factor.

Further Unbinding the International

When we first began work on *South Asia Unbound*, we were driven by the twin concerns of "space" and "scale." By centering scale, we sought to question the

geographical and temporal logics undergirding dominant accounts of the region: how do we write about South Asia's international engagement without assuming the primacy of the nation-state, or that its international relations started after independence in the late 1940s? In turn, the following chapters investigate states, institutions, informal and formal networks, communities, and individuals as South Asian agents of global engagement at the local, regional, supra-national – and yes, national – levels. They do so in ways that consider varied temporal horizons, notably those spanning the time before and after political independence in 1947.

The volume simultaneously focuses on space: reflecting on the arenas, places, and interstices at which the "membrane" between South Asia and the world has been constantly enacted, made, and remade. Where does South Asia end and the international begin? How have South Asians shaped sociopolitical, economic, and ideological trajectories of other states and communities across the world? Likewise, what are the key sites of international engagement within South Asia? Contributions to this volume demonstrate that these spaces can be concrete and material – capital cities, embassies, borderlands, oceans, human bodies – as well as conceptual or imagined – in conferences, intellectual exchanges, literary and artistic production, legal arguments, and so on.

As a consequence, *South Asia Unbound* questions "international" as a category. Each of its chapters stretches the term's semantic range to take in the South Asian diaspora, transnational activists, insurgent groups, non-governmental organizations, and minority groups (to name a few) and revisiting the role of traditional actors like political and bureaucratic elites. This represents quite a stark departure from understandings of international relations as primarily a matter of state-to-state interactions and issues of war and peace (how decisions to wage one and seal the other are made). Srinath Raghavan, in his incisive afterword, both commends this pluralism and cautions against unthinkingly expanding international history, lest it dilute research into these issues and turn it into an amorphous field. Raghavan's point is an important one, and points to a wider debate on these questions among international historians that dates back at least to Akira Iriye.[9]

Our intent here is not to settle this debate either one way or another, and for good reason. We see this very tension between diplomatic or strictly "inter*national*" history, on the one hand, and more pluralist understandings of the term, on the other, as deeply productive – all the more so in a South Asian context where *both* approaches remain, as Raghavan stresses, under-researched. Debating this tension can only be beneficial. We therefore hope that the volume will generate historiographical conversations in multiple directions. This volume also offers a purposeful question: Whose international matters, and why? By targeting subaltern, subordinated, and silenced groups for more sustained scholarly attention, we seek to bring into view the lived realities of the "international." Our aim is to encourage the view of the international

from the ground up, and also to reveal the performative effects of international politics upon regional actors at state and sub-state levels, whether legal, economic, cultural, or intellectual. As such, we argue that state-centric international history (to term it inelegantly) stands to benefit from this book's conceptualizations. For, in revisiting the international as *South Asia Unbound* does, we move beyond a simplistic dichotomy of South Asian exceptionalism (that South Asia has its "own" vision of the international) or assumptions of diffusionism that treat South Asia as the passive recipient of Eurocentric understandings of international order.

Last but not least, our exploration of new international histories of South Asia not only integrates the region into wider geographies and scales of analysis but also provides a model for thinking more broadly about the nature of international relations and international histories, particularly as they have emanated from the decolonizing world. Moving between the local, national, regional, and global has always been a practical fact of South Asian history through the sheer mobility of its populations; the same can be said for many of the other communities whom imperialism internationalized. The patterns of transnational, transregional, and global exchange found in the following chapters were replicated by individuals, organizations, communities, and states across many parts of the "Global South," even if some of the more specific concerns discussed in the following chapters derive from subcontinental dynamics. It is only by foregrounding agents and ideas of internationalism from regions like South Asia that we can truly understand the "international" as such a potent, yet problematic, aspiration and arena. *South Asia Unbound* thus presents South Asia as a key region for a versatile approach to the international and for challenging conceptual, temporal, and disciplinary orthodoxies in international history.

South Asia Unbound: An Illustrative Bibliography

This bibliography is regularly updated on the website of NIHSA – the New International Histories of South Asia network: https://www.kcl.ac.uk/nihsa/research/bibliography.

Internationalisms

Bhagavan, Manu, *The Peacemakers: India and the Quest for One World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

Balasubramanian, Aditya, and Srinath Raghavan, "Present at the Creation: India, the Global Economy, and the Bretton Woods Conference," *Journal of World History* 29 (2018), 65–94

Bayly, Martin, "Lineages of Indian International Relations: The Indian Council on World Affairs, the League of Nations, and the Pedagogy of Internationalism," *International History Review* 44 (2022), 819–35

Bose, Neilesh, *South Asian Migrations in Global History: Labor, Law, and Wayward Lives* (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2020)

Crews, Robert D., *Afghan Modern: The History of a Global Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015)

Davies, Andrew, *Geographies of Anticolonialism: Political Networks across and beyond South India, c. 1900-1930* (Oxford: Wiley & Sons, 2019)

Featherstone, David, "Reading Subaltern Studies Politically: Histories from Below, Spatial Relations, and Subalternity," in T. Jazeel and S. Legg (eds.), *Subaltern Geographies* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019)

Featherstone, David, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed Books, 2012)

Goswami, Manu, "Imaginary Futures and Colonial Internationalisms," *American Historical Review* 117 (2012), 14610-85

Green, Nile, "Afghanistan in Asia: Reflections on the Study of Afghan Transnationalism," *Afghanistan* 4 (2021), 50-6

Hauser, Julia, "Internationalism and Nationalism: Indian Protagonists and Their Political Agendas at the 15th World Vegetarian Congress in India (1957)," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 44 (2021), 152–66

Ho, Engseng, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006)

Leake, Elisabeth, "Afghan Internationalism and the Question of Afghanistan's Political Legitimacy," *Afghanistan* 1 (2018), 68–94

Legg, Stephen, "Of Scales, Networks and Assemblages: The League of Nations Apparatus and the Scalar Sovereignty of the Government of India," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34 (2009), 234–25

Legg, Stephen, "Imperial Internationalism: The Round Table Conference and the Making of India in London, 1930-32," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 11 (2020), 32–53

Legg, Stephen, "'Political Atmospherics': The India Round Table Conference's Atmospheric Environments, Bodies and Representations, London 1930-32," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 110 (2020), 774–92

Legg, Stephen, "Political Lives at Sea: Working and Socialising to and from the India Round Table Conference in London, 1930-1932," *Journal of Historical Geography* 68 (2020), 21–32

Lewis, Su Lin, "Asian Socialism and the Forgotten Architects of Post-Colonial Freedom, 1952-1956," *Journal of World History* 30 (2019), 55–88

Louro, Michele *Comrades Against Imperialism: Nehru, India, and Interwar Internationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Ludden, David, "The Centrality of Indo-Persia in Global Asia and Historical Formation of Afghanistan," *Afghanistan* 4 (2021), 57–9

Manjapra, Kris, "From Imperial to International Horizons: A Hermeneutic Study of Bengali Modernism," *Modern Intellectual History* 8 (2011), 327–59

Mazower, Mark, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)

Mukherjee, Sumita, "The All-Asian Women's Conference 1931: Indian Women and Their Leadership of a Pan-Asian Feminist Organisation," *Women's History Review* 26 (2017), 363–81

Olcott, Jocelyn, *International Women's Year: The Greatest Consciousness-Raising Event in History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

O'Malley, Alanna, "India, Apartheid and the New World Order at the UN, 1946-1962," *Journal of World History* 31 (2020), 195–223

Raza, Ali, Franziska Roy and Benjamin Zachariah (eds.), *The Internationalist Moment: South Asia, Worlds, and World Views, 1917-39* (New Delhi: Sage, 2015)

Raza, Ali, *Revolutionary Pasts: Communist Internationalism in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)

Singh, Sinderpal, "From Delhi to Bandung: Nehru, "Indian-ness" and "Pan-Asian-ness," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 34 (2011), 51–64

Stolte, Carolien, and Harald Fischer-Tiné, "Imagining Asia in India: Nationalism and Internationalism (ca. 1905-1940)," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54 (2012), 65–92

Walker, Lydia, "The Political Geography of International Advocacy: Indian and American Cold War Civil Society for Tibet," *The American Historical Review* 127 (2022),1579–605

International Relations & Foreign Policy

Abraham, Itty, *How India Became Territorial: Foreign Policy, Diaspora, Geopolitics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014)

Bhagavan, Manu (ed.), *India and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2019)

Chawla, Swati, "Fashioning a "Buddhist" Himalayan Cartography: Sikkim Darbar and the Cabinet Mission Plan", *India Quarterly* 79 (2023), 1–16

Chacko, Priya, *Indian Foreign Policy: The Politics of Postcolonial Identity from 1947 to 2004* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012)

Craig, Malcolm M. "'Nuclear Sword of the Moslem World'?: The United States, Britain, Pakistan, and the 'Islamic Bomb', 1977-80," *The International History Review* 38 (2016), 1–23

Fischer-Tiné, Harald, and Nico Slate, *The United States and South Asia from the Age of Empire to Decolonization: A History of Entanglements* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2022)

Guyot-Réchard, Bérénice, "Before the Indo Pacific: The Legacy of Indian Ocean Geopolitics During the Cold War," Asia Program Seminars (Wilson Center, 10 December 2019), https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/the-indo-pacific-the-legacy-indian-ocean-geopolitics-during-the-cold-war (accessed 31 January 2023)

Leake, Elisabeth, "The Great Game Anew: US Cold-War Policy and Pakistan's North-West Frontier, 1947-65," *International History Review* 35 (2013), 783–806

McGarr, Paul M., *The Cold War in South Asia: Britain, the United States and the Indian Subcontinent, 1945-1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Nayudu, Swapna Kona, "In the Very Eye of the Storm: India, the UN, and the Lebanon Crisis of 1958," *Cold War History* 18 (2018), 221–37

Paliwal, Avinash, *My Enemy's Enemy: India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal* (London: Hurst, 2017)

Raghavan, Pallavi, *Animosity at Bay: An Alternative History of the India-Pakistan Relationship, 1947-1952* (London: Hurst, 2020)

Raghavan, Pallavi, Martin Bayly, Elisabeth Leake, and Avinash Paliwal, "The Limits of Decolonisation in India's International Thought and Practice: An Introduction," *International History Review* 44 (2022), 812–18

Sarkar, Jayita, "The Making of a Non-Aligned Nuclear Power: India's Proliferation Drift, 1964-8," *International History Review* 37 (2015), 933–50

Sarkar, Jayita, *Ploughshares and Swords: India's Nuclear Program in the Global Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2022)

Stolte, Carolien, "'The Asiatic Hour': New Perspectives on the Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi, 1947," in N. Miskovic, H. Fischer-Tiné and N. Boskovska (eds.) *The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014)

Thakur, Vineet, "An Asian Drama: The Asian Relations Conference, 1947," *The International History Review* 41 (2019), 673–95

Thakur, Vineet, "Liberal, Liminal and Lost: India's First Diplomats and the Narrative of Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45 (2017), 232–58

Thakur, Vineet, *India's First Diplomat: VS Srinivasa Sastri and the Making of Liberal Internationalism* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2021)

Thakur, Vineet, "Travels in Diplomacy: VS Srinivasa Sastri and GS Bajpai in 1921-1922," *The International History Review* 44 (2002), 874-91

Thakur, Vineet, and Alexander E. Davis, "A Communal Affair over International Affairs: The Arrival of IR in Late Colonial India," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 40 (2017), 689–705

Imperialisms, Anti-Imperialisms, & Post-Imperialisms

Ahmed, Faiz, *Afghanistan Rising: Islamic Law and Statecraft between the Ottoman and British Empires* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017)

Ahmed, Manan, *The Loss of Hindustan: The Invention of India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020)

Aydin, Cemil, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2007)

Bannerjee, Sukanya, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010)

Bayly, Martin, *Taming the Imperial Imagination: Colonial Knowledge, International Relations, and the Anglo-Afghan Encounter, 1808-1878* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Biedermann, Zoltan, *(Dis)connected Empires: Imperial Portugal, Sri Lankan Diplomacy, and the Making of a Habsburg Conquest in Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Boittin, Jennifer Anne, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010)

Gandhi, Leela, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005)

Ghosh, Durba, and Dane Kennedy (eds.), *Decentring Empire: Britain, India and the Transcolonial World* (Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2006)

Gopal, Priyamvada, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent* (London: Verso Books, 2019)

Green, Nile, "The Trans-Border Traffic of Afghan Modernism: Afghanistan and the Indian 'Urdusphere'," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53 (2011), 479–508

Hanifi, Shah Mahmoud (ed.), *Mountstuart Elphinstone in South Asia: Pioneer of British Colonial Rule* (London: Hurst, 2019)

Hasan, Mushirul (ed.), *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1981)

Hopkins, Benjamin, *Ruling the Savage Periphery: Frontier Governance and the Making of the Modern State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020)

Khan, Raphaëlle, "Disrupting Empire and Forging IR: The Role of India's Early Think Tanks in the Decolonisation Process, 1936-1950s," *International History Review* 44 (2022), 836–55

Kia, Mana, *Persianate Selves: Memories of Place and Origin before Nationalism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020)

Luarsen, Ole Birk, "Anti-Colonialism, Terrorism and the 'Politics of Friendship': Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and the European Anarchist Movement, 1910-1927," *Anarchist Studies* 27 (2019), 47–62

Legg, Stephen, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007)

Manchanda, Nivi, *Imagining Afghanistan: The History and Politics of Imperial Knowledge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)

Manjapra, Kris, *Age of Entanglement: German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014)

Matera, Marc, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015)

Pinto, Rochelle, "Race and Imperial Loss: Accounts of East Africa in Goa," *South African Historical Journal*, 75 (2007), 82–92

Sinha, Mrinalini, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006)

Sinha, Mrinalini, "Whatever Happened to the Third British Empire? Empire, Nation Redux," in A. Thompson (ed.), *Writing Imperial Histories* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Six, Clemens, "Challenging the Grammar of Difference: Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Global Mobility and Anti-Imperialism around the First World War," *European Review of History* 25 (2018), 431–49

Stolte, Carolien, "'The People's Bandung': Local Anti-Imperialists on an Afro-Asian Stage," *Journal of World History* 30 (2019), 125–56

Decolonization and Postcolonial Statehood

Bangash, Yaqoob Khan, "Betrayal of Trust: Princely States of India and the Transfer of Power," *South Asia Research* 26 (2006), 181–99

Beverley, Eric Lewis, "Rethinking Sovereignty, Colonial Empires, and Nation-States in South Asia and Beyond," special issue of *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 40 (2020)

Carney, Scott, *The Red Market: On the Trail of the World's Organ Brokers, Bone Thieves, Blood Farmers, and Child Traffickers* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2011)

Chari, Sharad, *Fraternal Capital* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004)

Copland, Ian, *The Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire, 1917-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993)

De, Rohit, *A People's Constitution: The Everyday Life of Law in The Indian Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018)

Engerman, David, *The Price of Aid: The Economic Cold War in India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018)

Fejzula, Merve, "The Cosmopolitan Historiography of Twentieth-Century Federalism," *The Historical Journal* 64 (2020), 477–500

Gupta, Pamila, "The Disquieting of History: Portuguese (De)colonisation and Goan Migration in the Indian Ocean," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 44 (2009), 19–47

Guyot-Réchard, Bérénice, "The Indian Ocean after 1945," in P. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Indian Ocean Current: Six Artistic Narratives* (Boston, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, 2020)

Haines, Daniel, *Rivers Divided: Indus Basin Waters in the Making of India and Pakistan* (London: Hurst, 2017)

Immerwahr, Daniel, *Thinking Small: The United States and the Lure of Community Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015)

Kapoor, Ria, "Nehru's Non-Alignment Dilemma: The Tibetan Refugees in India," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 42 (2019), 675–93

Leake, Elisabeth, *Afghan Crucible: The Soviet Invasion and the Making of Modern Afghanistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022)

Leake, Elisabeth, "States, Nations, and Self-Determination: Afghanistan and Decolonization at the United Nations," *Journal of Global History* 17 (2022), 272–91

Nayudu, Swapna Kona (ed.), "Modern Indian Thinkers," special issue, *Global Intellectual History* 2 (2017)

Purushotham, Sunil, *From Raj to Republic: Sovereignty, Violence, and Democracy in India* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2021)

Raghavan, Srinath, *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013)

Ramnath, Kalyani, "Histories of Indian Citizenship in the Age of Decolonisation," *Itinerario* 45 (2021), 152–73

Semyanov, Alexander (ed.), "The Ambiguity of Federalism as a Postimperial Political Vision," special issue of *Ab Imperio* 3 (2018)

Siegel, Benjamin, *Hungry Nation: Food, Famine, and the Making of Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Terretta, Meredith, "Anti-Colonial Lawyering, Postwar Human Rights, and Decolonization across Imperial Boundaries in Africa," *Canadian Journal of History* 52 (2017), 448–78

Walker, Lydia, "Decolonization in the 1960s: On Legitimate and Illegitimate Nationalist Claims-Making," *Past and Present* 242 (2019), 227–64

South Asians Abroad & Intimate Internationalisms

Ahmed, Rehana, and Sumita Mukherjee, *South Asian Resistances in Britain, 1858-1947* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011)

Aiyar, Sana, *Indians in Kenya: The Politics of Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015)

Amrith, Sunil S., *Crossing the Bay of Bengal. The Furies of Nature and the Fortunes of Migrants* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013)

Amrith, Sunil S. "Indians Overseas? Governing Tamil Migration to Malaya 1870-1941," *Past and Present* 208 (2010), 231–61

Fisher, Michael H., Shompa Lahiri and Shinder Thandi, *A South-Asian History of Britain* (Westport, CT: Greenwood World, 2007)

Framke, Maria, "Shopping Ideologies for Independent India? Taraknath Das's Engagement with Italian Fascism and German National Socialism," *Itinerario* 40 (2016), 55–81

Goebel, Michael, "Geopolitics, Transnational Solidarity or Diaspora Nationalism? The Global Career of M.N. Roy, 1915-1930," *European Review of History* 21 (2014), 485–99

Harper, Tim, *Underground Asia: Global Revolutionaries and the Assault on Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021)

Immerwahr, Daniel, "Caste or Colony? Indianizing Race in the United States," *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007), 275–301

Khan, Raphaëlle and Taylor Sherman, "India and Overseas Indians in Ceylon and Burma, 1946-1965: Experiments in Post-imperial Sovereignty," *Modern Asian Studies* 56 (2021), 1153–82

Liebau, Heike, "Networks of Knowledge Production: South Asian Muslims and German Scholars in Berlin (1915-30)," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 40 (2020), 309–21

Loomba, Ania, *Revolutionary Desires: Women, Communism, and Feminism in India* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018)

Manjapra, Kris, *M.N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010)

Markovits, Claude, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Markovits, Claude, *India and the World: A History of Connections, c. 1750-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021)

McGetchin, Douglas T., "Indo-German Contact Through the Lens of Gender: Three Cases of Anti-Imperialist Miscegenation: Dr. Zakir Husain, Virendrenath 'Chatto' Chatto-padhyaya, and S.C. Bose," in Joanne Miyang Cho and Douglas T. McGetchin (eds.), *Gendered Encounters between Germany and Asia* (Switzerland: Springer, 2017)

Namakkal, Jessica, "Decolonizing Marriage and the Family: The Lives and Letters of Ida, Benoy, and Indira Sarkar," *Journal of Women's History* 31 (2019), 124–47

Sen, Satadru, *Benoy Kumar Sarkar: Restoring the Nation to the World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015)

Shehabuddin, Elora, *Sisters in the Mirror: A History of Muslim Women and the Global Politics of Feminism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2021)

Slate, Nico, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012)

Slate, Nico, "'I am a Coloured Woman': Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya in the United States, 1939-41," *Contemporary South Asia* 17 (2009), 7–19

Srinivas, Mytheli, *Reproductive Politics and the Making of Modern India* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2021)

Sriraman, Tarangini, *In Pursuit of Proof: A History of Identification Documents in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Stoler, Ann Laura, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002)

Wardaki, Marjan, "Rediscovering Afghan Fine Arts: The Life of an Afghan Student in Germany, Abdul Ghafur Brechna," *Modern Asian Studies* 55 (2021), 1544-80

Humanitarianisms

Durbach, Nadja, "The Politics of Provisioning: Feeding South Asian Prisoners during the First World War," *War & Society* 37 (2018), 75–90

Fischer-Tiné, Harald, "'Unparalleled Opportunities': The Indian Y.M.C.A.'s Army Work Schemes for Imperial Troops During the Great War (1914-1920)," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 47 (2019), 100–37

Framke, Maria "Political Humanitarianism in the 1930s: Indian Aid for Republican Spain," *European Review of History*, 23 (2016), 63–81

Framke, Maria, "'We Must Send a Gift Worthy of India and the Congress!' War and Political Humanitarianism in Late Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies* 51 (2017), 1969-98

Hyson, Samuel, and Alan Lester, "'British India on Trial': Brighton Military Hospitals and the Politics of Empire in World War I," *Journal of Historical Geography* 38 (2012), 18–34

Kapoor, Ria, *Making Refugees in India* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2022)

Kapoor, Ria, "Removing the International from the Refugee," *Humanity* 12 (2021), 1–19

Marcussen, Eleonor, "Cooperation and Pacifism in a Colonial Context: Service Civil International and Work Camps in Bihar 1934-1937," in *HerStory: Historical Scholarship between South Asia and Europe* (Heidelberg: CrossAsia, 2018)

Nunan, Timothy, *Humanitarian Invasion: Global Development in Cold War Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Ruprecht, Adrian, "The Great Eastern Crisis (1875-1878) as a Global Humanitarian Moment," *Journal of Global History* 16 (2021), 159–84

Simonow, Joanna, "The Great Bengal Famine in Britain: Metropolitan Campaigning for Food Relief and the End of Empire, 1943–44," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48 (2020), 168–97

Borderlands

Bashir, Shahzad, and Robert D. Crews (eds.), *Under the Drones: Modern Lives in the Afghanistan-Pakistan Borderlands* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012)

Chester, Lucy P., *Borders and Conflict in South Asia: The Radcliffe Boundary Commission and the Partition of Punjab* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)

Dubnov, Arie M., and Laura Robson (eds.), *Partitions: A Transnational History of Twentieth-Century Territorial Separatism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019)

Dutta, Anwesha, "Forest Becomes Frontline: Conservation and Counter-insurgency in a Space of Violent Conflict in Assam, Northeast India," *Political Geography* 77 (2020), 1–10

Gardner, Kyle, *The Frontier Complex: Geopolitics and the Making of the India-China Border* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021)

Gohain, Swargajyoti, *Imagined Geographies in the Indo-Tibetan Borderlands: Culture, Politics, Place* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020)

Guyot-Réchard, Bérénice, *Shadow States: India, China and the Himalayas, 1910-1962* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Guyot-Réchard, Bérénice, "Tangled Lands: Burma and India's Unfinished Separation, 1937–1948," *Journal of Asian Studies* 80 (2020), 293–315

Leake, Elisabeth, *The Defiant Border: The Afghan-Pakistan Borderlands in the Era of Decolonization, 1936-65* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Leake, Elisabeth, "Where National and International Meet: Borders and Border Regions in Postcolonial India," *International History Review* 44 (2022), 856–73

Leake, Elisabeth, and Daniel Haines, "Lines of (In)Convenience: Sovereignty and Border-Making in Postcolonial South Asia, 1947-1965," *Journal of Asian Studies* 76 (2017), 963–85

Longkumer, Arkotong, *The Greater India Experiment: Hindutva and the Northeast* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020)

McGranahan, Carole, "Imperial but Not Colonial: Archival Truths, British India, and the Case of the 'Naughty' Tibetans," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 59 (2017), 68–95

Murton, Galen, "Facing the Fence: The Production and Performance of a Himalayan Border in Global Contexts," *Political Geography* 72 (2019)

Omrani, Bijan, "The Durand Line: History and Problems of the Afghan-Pakistan Border," *Asian Affairs* 40 (2009), 177–95

Van Schendel, Willem, *The Bengal Borderland: Beyond State and Nation in South Asia* (London: Anthem, 2004)

Van Schendel, Willem, and Itty Abraham, *Illicit Flows and Criminal Things: States, Borders, and the Other Side of Globalization* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005)

Notes

1 For an extensive list of recent scholarship on South Asian internationalism, much of which touches on themes addressed in this introduction, see the bibliography at the end of the introduction. As such, this introduction keeps footnotes to a minimum.

2 Paris, UNESCO archives, Jinnah Papers no. 50 vol. 5, 358, cited in Rainer Grote and Tilmann Röder (eds.), *Constitutionalism in Islamic Countries: Between Upheaval and Continuity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

3 P. Chacko, *Indian Foreign Policy: The Politics of Postcolonial Identity from 1947 to 2004* (London: Routledge, 2012), chapter 6.

4 For an overview of some European parallels, see Jessica Reinisch, "Introduction: Agents of Internationalism," *Contemporary European History* 25 (2016), 195–205. For broader context, see also Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

5 Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6 (1994), 148–61.

6 On conferencing and internationalism, see Stephen Legg et al. (eds.), *Placing Internationalism: International Conference and the Making of the Modern World* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021).

7 See, for example, Marjan Wardaki, "Rediscovering Afghan Fine Arts: The Life of an Afghan Student in Germany, Abdul Ghafur Brechna," *Modern Asian Studies* 55 (2021), 1544-80.

8 For broader comparisons, see Emma Hunter and Leslie James (ed.), "Colonial Public Spheres and the Worlds of Print," special issue in *Itinerario* 44 (2020).

9 For a taste of this debate on the boundaries of the discipline see Akire Iriye, "Culture and Power: International Relations as Intercultural Relations," *Diplomatic History* 3 (1979), 115–281; David Reynolds, "International History, the Cultural Turn and the Diplomatic Twitch," *Cultural and Social History* 3 (2006), 75–91; Anthony Best, "The "Cultural Turn" and the International History of East Asia: A Response to David Reynolds," *Cultural and Social History* 3 (2006), 482–89; Joe Maiolo, "Systems and Boundaries in International History," *The International History Review* 40 (2016), 1–16.