



School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Programme

Trimester 2, 2008

INTP370: SPECIAL TOPIC: THE POLITICS OF SOUTH ASIA

Course Organisation

Lecturer:	Dr Priya Chacko
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Lecture Times:	Tuesdays 12-2pm
Venue:	Cotton 403
Office Hours:	will be announced at the first lecture and posted on my office door and Blackboard. You are also welcome to telephone or email me.

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures and posted on the Political Science and International Relations and Philosophy notice boards

Course Aims

This course aims to introduce students to the politics of South Asia, defined as comprising of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal for the purposes of this course. South Asia is one of the most populous, diverse and politically volatile regions in the world. The course is structured into three parts. The first examines the role of religion and culture in the politics of the region, the second focuses on the persistence of civil wars, cross-border conflict and authoritarian politics while the third part looks at issues of international significance. By studying these various topics students will gain a thorough understanding of the major political issues facing South Asia.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course, students passing the paper should:

- Have a good understanding of the historical and contemporary events and issues facing the countries of South Asia
- Have an awareness of the scholarly debates and approaches to the study of the various aspects of South Asian politics

- Have basic skills in studying and writing academic essays on the politics of South Asia (locating information, choosing a topic, critically engaging with the literature, discussing an issue, etc.)

Assessment

1) Two research essays (each worth 30% of your total course mark)

You will find on the Blackboard course resources section a guide to essay writing. The aim of the research essays is to appraise the ability of students to conduct research and formulate an argument in **2,500-3,000 words**.

One of the challenges in this course is learning to formulate your own essay question. This will allow you to develop specialised knowledge on issues of your interest. You should, however, okay the question with the lecturer. For the first essay your question can come from any topic in the weeks before the essay is due. The second essay can be on any topic covered in the course.

To do well in these pieces of assessment you should read widely and well beyond the required readings.

The first essay is due by Friday 15 August

The second essay is due by Friday 3 October

2) Final Exam (worth 40% of your total course mark)

The aim of the examination is to assess the ability of students to integrate and use the knowledge they acquire during the course and their ability to structure ideas in accessible, comprehensive, and coherent essays. There will be a **three hour** closed-book examination at the **end of the trimester**. Students will be required to write answers to several short questions, all of which carry equal marks. **The exam will be held during the exam period, 17 October to 8 November. The exact date and location will be announced nearer the time.**

Mandatory Course Requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit all the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).
- b) Sit the final exam.

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of **5% for the first day late**, and **2% per day** thereafter, up to a **maximum of 8 days**. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

Essential Texts

All the required readings have been placed in a course notes pack, *INTP370 Course book 2008*, is available at Student Notes on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. You can order student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to

enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays) 10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays. Phone: 463 5515 (Kelburn campus)

Useful Resources

Students are strongly encouraged to monitor the South Asian press. For internet access to the Indian press, including popular magazines and a number of newspapers, use the “Samachar” portal: <http://www.samachar.com>. Two good Indian papers are *The Hindu* and *The Indian Express*. Both can be accessed through Samachar. The best Pakistani paper is *Dawn*, at <http://www.dawn.com/>. The Nepali magazine *Himal South Asian* is also available online: <http://www.himalmag.com>. Sri Lanka’s *Sunday Times* is a broadsheet with fairly good and independent commentary but keep in mind that it is owned by the family of the opposition leader.

Specialised South Asian studies journals include:

Contemporary South Asia

South Asia

India Review

Economic and Political Weekly, at <http://www.epw.org.in>

South Asia Research

Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East

Other useful journals include:

Modern Asian Studies

Journal of Asian Studies

Asian Survey

For an overview of South Asian history see Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004)

For those who have no first-hand experience of the region, intelligent travel writing can be a good introduction:

- Edward Luce, *In Spite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India* (New York: Doubleday, 2007)
- Phillip Adams, *A Billion Voices* (Sydney: ABC Books, 1999)
- Pankaj Mishra, *Temptations of the West: How to be modern in India, Pakistan and beyond*, (Basingstoke and Oxford: Picador, 2007)
- Pankaj Mishra, *Butter Chicken in Ludhiana: Travels in Small Town India*, (London: Viking Penguin, 1995)
- Mark Tully, *No full stops in India*, (London: Viking, 1991)
- Christopher Kremmer, *Inhaling the Mahatma* (Pymble, NSW: Harper Collins)

Films can also be a good introduction and the library stocks a number of useful documentaries and fictional films on South Asia

Workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote **16** hours per week to INTP370. This includes 2 hours of lectures per week.

Academic integrity and plagiarism

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times. Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

GENERAL UNIVERSITY STATUTES AND POLICIES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* available in hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general>

- Student and Staff Conduct
- Academic Grievances
- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

Course Schedule

WEEK 1: 8 July	Organisation and Overview
WEEK 2: 15 July	Introduction
	CULTURE, RELIGION AND POLITICS
WEEK 3: 22 July	Secularism and communalism in India
WEEK 4: 29 July	Caste in Indian politics
WEEK 5: 5 August	Political Islam in Pakistan and Bangladesh
	CONFLICT, DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM
WEEK 6: 12 August	Democracy and authoritarianism in Pakistan and Bangladesh
	MID-SEMESTER BREAK: Monday 18 August to Friday 29 August
WEEK 7: 2 September	The Kashmir conflict
WEEK 8: 9 September	Sri Lanka's civil war
WEEK 9: 16 September	Maoism in Nepal and India
	SOUTH ASIA AND THE WORLD
WEEK 10: 23 September	Nuclear proliferation
WEEK 11: 30 September	Poverty and economic growth
WEEK 12: 7 October	South Asia and great power politics

Course Content and Reading List

If you cannot access any of the further readings listed below, please ask the lecturer.

1. Organisation and Overview

2. Introduction

This week we will overview the spatial, ecological, cultural organization of the South Asian region. We will also examine the history of the Subcontinent, explore how this geographical region became the geopolitical entity of South Asia, and identify the common challenges the countries of the regions share and the divergences that set them apart.

Questions to consider

- What were the features of governance in South Asia under British rule?
- How did the British establish a presence in the South Asian Subcontinent and why did British rule come to an end?
- What are the challenges the countries of South Asia share?
- How have the countries of South Asia diverged since becoming modern nation-states in 1947?

Required Readings

- Craig Baxter, Yogendra K. Malik, Charles H. Kennedy, Robert C. Oberst, ' Ch. 1: The governance of South Asia under the British', *Government and Politics in South Asia*, 5th edition, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2002), pp. 5-18
 - Ainslie Embree (1997), 'Statehood in South Asia', *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 51, no. 1 p. 1.
 - William Dalrymple, 'India: The Empire Strikes Back', *Telegraph*, 3 August 2007
 - Mohsin Hamid, 'After 60 years, will Pakistan be reborn?', *New York Times*, 15 August 2007
 - Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, Cambridge, (Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- p. 17 – Map 1: The Indian empire: administrative divisions, 1947
p. 68-9 – Map 2: Political divisions of South Asia, 1972

Further Readings

On South Asia's colonial and precolonial history:

- Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Barbara Daly Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A concise history of India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

PART 1: RELIGION AND POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA

3. Secularism and communalism in India

One of the difficulties we face in studying India is in coming to grips with a nation of great social complexity, with ancient historical roots and turbulent and eventful political

histories – a society in which everything seems to be connected to everything else. Let's begin by plunging into the very heart of the maze by examining the issues surrounding two traumatic moments in recent Indian political history: the Gujarat riots and the destruction of the Babri Masjid in the town of Ayodhya in northern India.

In February, 2002, riots broke out in Gujarat, India which resulted in the deaths of more than 2000 people, mostly Muslims. The rioting mobs were often led by members of the Hindu nationalist organisation, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), who justified the violence as retaliation for the burning of a train carrying VHP activists returning from Ayodhya by a Muslim mob. The activists had travelled to Ayodhya with the aim of defying a Supreme Court order banning the building of Hindu temple on the site where, 10 years earlier, a crowd of more than 300,000 Hindu nationalists tore down the 16th century Babri Masjid (Mosque of Babar), setting off riots that killed

Questions to consider

- South Asia is often portrayed as a region where there are 'deep and ancient' religious divisions – were the incidents described above the result of a centuries-old struggle between two separate and distinct Hindu and Muslim 'nations' or 'civilisations'?
- Is the partition of British India into the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the secular Republic of India in August 1947, relevant to understanding what happened in 1992 and 2002?
- Is there a Hindu/Muslim community? Can one speak of 'Hindu fundamentalism'?
- What explains the emergence of Hindu nationalism as a force in Indian politics?
- What do the terms communalism and secularism mean in an Indian context?

Required Reading

- David Ludden 'Introduction – Ayodhya: A Window on the World' in David Ludden (ed.) *Contesting the Nation*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996)
- Peter Van der Veer, 'Ch. 1: Religious nationalism', *Religious nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1994), pp. 1-24
- Pankaj Mishra, 'Ayodhya: The Modernity of Hinduism', *Temptations of the West: How to be modern in India, Pakistan and beyond*, (Basingstoke and Oxford: Picador, 2007), pp. 107-151

Further Reading

On Partition:

- Sankaran Krishna (2002), 'Methodical Worlds: partition, secularism and communalism in India', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 193-217
- Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, 'Ch. 16: The Partition of India and the Creation of Pakistan', *Modern South Asia*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Sadat Hasan Manto, 'Toba Tek Singh' in *Kingdom's End and other stories*, (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1987) *A classic short story on partition*

On secularism:

- Ashis Nandy "The Politics of Secularism and the Recovery of Religious Tolerance" in Veena Das (ed.) *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990)

- T.N Madan (1987), 'Secularism in its Place' *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 747-759.

Nandy and Madan are two of the original critics of secularism

- Thomas Pantham (1997), 'Indian Secularism and its Critics: Some Reflections', *The Review of Politics*, vol. 59, no. 3, pp. 523-540.
- Anuradha Dingwaney and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (eds), *The Crisis of Secularism in India*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007) ***A comprehensive edited volume on the debate in India***

On communalism and communal violence:

- The magazine Frontline, available online: www.flonnet.com, ran special issues on Ayodhya and Gujarat
- Gyanandra Pandey, *The construction of communalism in colonial north India*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990) ***An important monograph which critically traces the genealogy of the discourse of 'communalism'***
- Sarvapalli Gopal (ed.) *Anatomy of a Confrontation: The Babri Masjid-Ramjanmabhumi Issue* (New Delhi: Viking, 1991)
- Ashutosh Varshney (2001), 'Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond', *World Politics*, vol. 53, pp. 362-98. ***Varshney's research explores the role that civic ties play in containing or preventing communal violence (see also the longer monograph below)***

On Hindu nationalism and identity:

- Ashutosh Varshney, 'Ch. 3: Competing national imaginations', *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002)
- Sumantra Bose, "'Hindu Nationalism" and the Crisis of the Indian State: A theoretical Perspective', in Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal (eds) *Nationalism, Democracy and Development*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)
- Ramesh Thakur, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 33, No. 7, South Asia: Responses to the Ayodhya Crisis. (Jul., 1993), pp. 645-664.
- Romila Thapar (1989), 'Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity' *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 209-231.
- Bhargava, Rajeev (2002) 'Liberal, Secular Democracy and Explanations of Hindu Nationalism', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 72-96.
- Dibyesh Anand (2007), 'Anxious Sexualities: Masculinity, Nationalism and Violence', *British Journal of Politics and International Politics*, vol. 9, pp. 257-269 ***Hindu nationalism is a strongly gendered discourse and Anand and Banerjee (below) focus on this in their articles***
- Banerjee, Sikata (2006) 'Armed Masculinity, Hindu Nationalism and Female Political Participation in India: Heroic Mothers, Chaste Wives and Celibate Warriors'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 62- 83
- Peter van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- T.B. Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- C. Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics; 1925 to the 90s* (New Delhi: Viking, 1996)

4. Caste in Indian Politics

One of the issues behind the popular mobilizations that led to the destruction of the Babri Masjid was the Indian government's caste-based reservation (affirmative action) policies. The government's decision last year to expand its policy of reservation for university places for a social grouping known as Other Backward Classes (OBCs) led to street protests and strikes and brought the issue of caste back to the centre-stage of public discourse in India. Caste has long been seen as synonymous with India, marking its essence and its fundamental difference from Western societies and this week we take a rapid look at this very complex source of stratification in Indian society and politics.

Questions to consider

- What are/were 'castes', 'varnas' and 'jatis'?
- Is caste an unchanged remnant of ancient India?
- Is caste an essence of Indian culture?
- Is the persistence of caste the result of incomplete 'modernisation' and a remnant of 'tradition' or is it a modern institution?
- Can caste be annihilated?
- What are the contemporary political consequences of caste membership?
- What role does caste play in electoral politics in India?

Required Reading

- Debjani Ganguly, 'Ch. 2: The Dark Rock of Indian Tradition: Caste and Orientalism', *Caste, Colonialism and Counter-Modernity: Notes on a postcolonial hermeneutics of caste*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2005)
- Christophe Jaffrelot, 'The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 1. (Feb., 2000), pp. 86-108.
- Susan Bayly, 'Introduction', *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) **(This is not included in the course packet – copies will be handed out by the lecturer)**

Further Reading

- 'We have a few reservations', *Economist*, vol. 379, no. 8479, p. 38
- Edward Luce, 'Ch. 3: Battle of the Righteous: the rise of India's lower castes', *In Spite of the Gods: the strange rise of modern India*, (New York: Doubleday, 2007)
- Christophe Jaffrelot, 'The Impact of Affirmative Action in India: More Political than Socioeconomic', *India Review*, vol. 5, no. 2, April, 2006, pp. 173–189
- Ritty Lukose, 'Re(casting) the secular', *Social Analysis*, Winter 2006, Vol. 50 Issue 3, p38-60
- Gorringer, Hugo, 'You build your house, we'll build ours': The Attractions and Pitfalls of Dalit Identity Politics'. *Social Identities*, Nov2005, Vol. 11 Issue 6, p653-672
- Ashutosh Varshney, 'Is India Becoming More Democratic?' *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 1. (Feb., 2000), pp. 3-25.
- Andre Beteille *The backward classes and the new social order* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981)
- Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: subordination, poverty and the state in modern India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

- Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Low Castes in North Indian Politics*, (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003)
 - Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001)
 - Sudipta Kaviraj (ed.), *Politics in India*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997)
 - Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Caste and Democratic Politics in India*, (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2002)
- Contains some of the 'classic' writings on caste by Louis Dumont, M.K. Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar*
- Subrata Mitra, 'Ch. 3: Caste, democracy and the politics of community formation in India', in Mary Searle-Chatterjee and Ursula Sharma (eds.), *Contextualising Caste: post-Dumontian approaches*, (Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1994)
 - Rajni Kothari, 'Ch 12: Rise of the *dalits* and the renewed debate on caste', in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997)

5. Political Islam in Pakistan and Bangladesh

This week we take a historical and analytical look at an issue which often generates sensationalist headlines in the Western media. After the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and Washington the international media spotlight turned to Pakistan's ties to the Taliban in neighbouring Afghanistan, its support for Islamist militant groups and the seemingly growing influence of political Islam in Pakistani society in general. Claims that Pakistan is now the centre of global terrorism, that it is in danger of becoming a 'failed state' or is on the verge of falling to a Islamist revolution have become commonplace. The assassination of Pakistan's former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, the rise of sectarian violence between Sunni and Shi'a groups, the spate of recent suicide attacks in Pakistan's major cities and the siege of the Red Mosque in Islamabad in July, 2007 have all heightened these concerns. In recent years, similar fears have accompanied stories on political Islam in Bangladesh where suicide bombings have also been a problem and Islamist political parties have an important presence in electoral politics.

Pakistan was established as a homeland for Muslims but not as an Islamic state and Bangladesh was established as a secular republic – why then does political Islam now have such a strong presence in both countries?

Questions to consider

- What role does Islam play in the national identities of Pakistan and Bangladesh?
- What is driving sectarian violence in Pakistan and who are the main protagonists?
- Are Pakistan and Bangladesh in danger of becoming radical Islamist states?
- Has the rise of Hindu nationalism in India aided the rise of Islamism in Pakistan and Bangladesh?
- What explains the success of Islamist political parties in Pakistan and Bangladesh?

Required Reading

- Stephen P. Cohen, 'Ch. 5: Islamic Pakistan', *The Idea of Pakistan*, (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004)

- Vali R. Nasr (2000), 'International Politics, Domestic Imperatives, and Identity Mobilization: Sectarianism in Pakistan, 1979-1998', *Comparative Politics*, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 171-190
- Ali Riaz (2003), 'The Politics and Ideology of Islamism in Bangladesh', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 23, no. 1-2, pp. 301-320.

Further Reading

- Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, (London: Anthem Press, 2002)
Chapters 1, 10, 11 and the epilogue on Musharraf and the Islamists
- Mahmood Mamdani (2002), 'Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism', *American Anthropologist*, vol. 104, no. 3, pp. 766-775.
- A general article on Islam and terrorism**
- S.V.R. Nasr (1995), 'Democracy and Islamic Revivalism', *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 110, no. 2, pp. 261-285
- An examination of Pakistan's Jama'at-I Islami political party**
- Tazeen M. Murshid, 'State, Nation, Identity: The Quest for Legitimacy in Bangladesh', in Amita Shastri and A. Jeyaratnam Wilson (eds.), *The Post-colonial States of South Asia: Democracy, Identity, Development and Security*, (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001)
- Ali Riaz (2005), 'Traditional Institutions as Tools of Political Islam in Bangladesh', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 171-196
- Emajuddin Ahamed and D.R.J.A Nazeen (1990), 'Islam in Bangladesh: Revivalism or Power Politics', *Asian Survey*, vol. 30, no. 8, pp. 795-808
- Ruth Baldwin, 'The Talibanization of Bangladesh', *The Nation*, 27 May 2002, Available online: <http://www.thenation.com/doc/20020527/baldwin20020517>
- Ashok K. Behuria (2007), 'Fighting the Taliban: Pakistan at war with itself', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 61, no. 4, pp. 529-543.

On history:

- Philip Oldenburg (1985), "'A Place Insufficiently Imagined": Language, Belief, and the Pakistan Crisis of 1971', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 711-733

Examines the breakup of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh

- Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, (London: Anthem Press, 2002)
- Ayesha Jalal, '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*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)

An examination of the historiographical discourse on Muslim identity in South Asia.

On sectarianism in Pakistan:

- S.V.R. Nasr (2000), 'The Rise of Sunni Militancy in Pakistan: The Changing Role of Islamism and the Ulama in Society and Politics', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 139-180
- Muhammad Qasim Zaman (1998), 'Sectarianism in Pakistan: The Radicalization of Shi'i and Sunni Identities', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 689-716
- Mohammad Waseem, 'Sectarian conflict in Pakistan', in K.M. de Silva (ed), *Conflict and Violence in South Asia*, (Kandy: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2000)

PART 2: CONFLICT, DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM

6. Democracy and Authoritarianism in Pakistan and Bangladesh

Periodic episodes of military rule seem to be an entrenched feature of politics in Pakistan and Bangladesh. This appears to be in stark contrast to neighboring India where, despite periods of considerable domestic instability and conflict, the military has remained subordinate to the civilian leadership. Although Pakistan has been under military rule for the past eight years, recent parliamentary elections have raised hopes of a transition to democracy. Bangladesh has been under military rule and a state of emergency since January 2007 and while elections have been scheduled for this year, no date has been set. This week we will examine the rise and fall of democracy and authoritarianism in these two countries

Questions to consider

- How has military intervention in politics been justified in Pakistan and Bangladesh?
- What has been the effect on civil society of repeated periods of military rule in Pakistan and Bangladesh?
- What has been the effect on political parties and the political process?
- What are the long-term prospects for democracy in Pakistan and Bangladesh?
- What is the relationship between Islam and the military in Pakistan and Bangladesh?

Required Readings

- Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.), 'Ch. 3: A Fruitless Search for Democracy', *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, (London: Anthem Press, 2002)
- Syed Imtiaz Ahmed (2006), 'Civilian Supremacy in Democracies with 'Fault Lines': The Role of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Defence in Bangladesh', *Democratization*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 282-302.
- Habib, Zafarullah and Muhammad Yeahia Akhtar (2001), 'Military Rule, Civilianisation and Electoral Corruption: Pakistan and Bangladesh in Perspective', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 73-94.

Further Reading

- Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, Cambridge, (Cambridge University Press, 1995)
 - Christophe Jaffrelot (2002), 'India and Pakistan: Interpreting the Divergence of Two Political Trajectories', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 15, Number 2, pp. 252-267
- Takes issue with Jalal's argument (made in the book above) that India and Pakistan are converging in their political structures***
- Irm Haleem (2003), 'Ethnic and sectarian violence and the propensity towards praetorianism in Pakistan', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 24, No 3, pp 463–477
 - Vali Nasr (2004), 'Military Rule, Islamism and Democracy in Pakistan', *The Middle East Journal*, vol.58, no. 2, pp. 195
 - Ishtiaq Hossain (2000), 'Pakistan's October 1999 Military Coup: Its Causes and Consequences', *Asian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 35-58
 - Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, (Washington: Brookings Institution Press)
- Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 8 in particular***

- Samina Ahmad, 'The Fragile Base of Democracy in Pakistan', in Amita Shastri and A. Jeyaratnam Wilson (eds.), *The Post-colonial States of South Asia: Democracy, Identity, Development and Security*, (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001)
- Husain Haqqani (2006), 'History Repeats Itself in Pakistan', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 110-124.
- Sumantra Bose (2004), 'Decolonization and state building in South Asia', *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 95-113.
- Aqil Shah (2002), 'Democracy on Hold', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 67-75
- D. Hugh Evans, 'Bangladesh: An Unsteady Democracy', in Amita Shastri and A. Jeyaratnam Wilson (eds.), *The Post-colonial States of South Asia: Democracy, Identity, Development and Security*, (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001)

7. The Kashmir Conflict

The Kashmir conflict has been a major flashpoint in South Asia for 60 years. India and Pakistan have fought three wars over Kashmir and low intensity conflict between armed insurgents and the Indian army continues to this day. This week we will examine the roots and dynamics of this conflict and assess the prospects of ending the dispute.

Questions to consider

- What are the causes of the dispute over Kashmir?
- What have been the 'human costs' of the conflict?
- Is it possible to conceive a settlement of this decades-old conflict?
- Is Pakistan 'to blame' for the ongoing conflict in Kashmir?
- What prompted the uprising against Indian rule in Kashmir in 1989?
- What role does identity (India's, Pakistan's and Kashmiri) play in the conflict?

Required Reading

- Ashutosh Varshney (1991), 'India, Pakistan and Kashmir: Antinomies of Nationalism', *Asian Survey*, vol. 31, no. 11, pp. 997-1019
- Sumit Ganguly (1996), 'Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay', *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 76-107
- Samina Yasmeen (2003), 'Pakistan's Kashmir Policy: Voices of Moderation', *Contemporary South Asia*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 187-202

Further Reading

- Amitabh Mattoo (2003), 'India's "Potential" Endgame in Kashmir', *India review*, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 14 (3), pp. 14-33.
- Pankaj Mishra, 'Kashmir: The cost of nationalism', *Temptations of the West: How to be modern in India, Pakistan and beyond*, (Basingstoke and Oxford: Picador, 2007), pp. 197-286
- Stephen Philip Cohen (2002), 'India, Pakistan and Kashmir', *Journal of strategic studies*, vol. 25, no. 4, p. 32.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, 'Ch. 5: Living with India', *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, (London: Anthem Press, 2002)
- Kamal Chenoy (2006), 'Contending Nationalisms: Kashmir and the Prospects for Peace', *Harvard International Review*, Fall, pp. 24-26.

- Sumit Ganguly, 'The Flash-Point of South Asia: Kashmir in Indo-Pakistani Relations' in Amita Shastri and A. Jeyaratnam Wilson (eds.), *The Post-colonial States of South Asia: Democracy, Identity, Development and Security*, (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001)
- Navnita Chadha Behera, *Demystifying Kashmir*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2006)
- Jonah Blank, 'Kashmir: Fundamentalism takes root', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 6, pp. 36-53

8. Sri Lanka's Civil War

Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence in early 2008 was warmly welcomed by most Western states. Sri Lanka, however, responded with alarm and quickly condemned the declaration as a violation of the UN Charter and Security Council Resolutions, which enshrine the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its member states. For Sri Lanka, the declaration and its reception has potentially grave consequences for its own territorial integrity since for over two decades Sri Lanka has been grappling with demands for sovereign nationhood from its Tamil minority in north-east of the country. Neither military involvement by India, international mediation or a devastating tsunami has been able to bring the conflict to a halt. This week will focus on exploring the causes, consequences and future of this conflict.

Questions to consider

- How do we explain the rise of Tamil separatism in Sri Lanka?
- What do the central protagonists want and is there a possibility of resolution?
- How is religion implicated in the conflict?
- Have Sri Lanka's institutional and constitutional structures contributed to the rise and persistence of the conflict?
- How has the project of 'nation-building' in Sri Lanka contributed to the conflict?
- To what extent is the conflict a product of the legacies of colonialism?
- What has been the long-term impact of the conflict for Sri Lanka?

Required Readings

- Neil DeVotta (2005), 'From ethnic outbidding to ethnic conflict: the institutional bases for Sri Lanka's separatist war', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 141-159
- Sankaran Krishna, 'Ch. 2: Producing Sri Lanka from Ceylon: J.R. Jayewardene and Sinhala identity', *Postcolonial Insecurities: India, Sri Lanka, and the Question of Nationhood*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)
- Chris Smith, (2007), 'The Eelam endgame?', *International Affairs*, Volume 83, Issue 1, Page 69-86

Further Reading

- Jonathan Spencer (ed.), *Sri Lanka: history and the roots of conflict*, (London: Routledge, 1990)
- John D. Rogers (1994), 'Post-Orientalism and the Interpretation of Premodern and Modern Political Identities: The Case of Sri Lanka', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 53, no. 1, 10-23
- Mark Juergensmeyer (1990), 'What the Bhikku Said: Reflection on the rise of militant religious nationalism', *Religion*, vol. 20, pp. 53-75
- Neil DeVotta (1999), 'Control democracy, institutional decay and the quest for Eelam: Explaining Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka', *Pacific Affairs*, pp. 55-76

- Neloufer de Mel, 'Agent or Victim: The Sri Lankan Woman Militant in the Interregnum', *Women and the Nation's Narrative: Gender and Nationalism in Twentieth Century Sri Lanka*, (New Delhi: Kali for Women), pp. 203-232 **Explores the role of women in the main Tamil militant group, the LTTE**
- Neil DeVotta (2002) , 'Illiberalism and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka', *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 84-98
- Jayadeva Uyangoda (2005), 'Ethnic conflict, the state and the tsunami disaster in Sri Lanka', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 341-352
- Sarah Wayland (2004), 'Ethnonationalist networks and transnational opportunities: the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39, pp. 405-426 **Examines the role of the Tamil diaspora in prolonging the secessionist campaign**

9. Maoism in Nepal and India

This week we examine the role of Maoism in South Asia focussing, in particular, on Nepal's 'People's War' but also taking a rapid glance at the rise of Maoism in India. Nepal was in the grips of a violent Maoist insurgency from 1996 to 2006 when a peace agreement was put in place and the Maoists joined the political process. Nepal is currently in a state of socio-economic and political transformation. Maoism first arose as a force in India in the late 1960s but after a brief period of violent insurgency it was militarily suppressed. In the last few years, however, while India has been experiencing its highest rates of economic growth ever, Maoism, or Naxalism as it is known in India, appears to be making a comeback.

Questions to consider

- What gave rise to the Maoist insurgency in Nepal?
- What gave rise to the Maoist insurgency in India in the 1960s and why has it reappeared?
- Is there any place for Maoists in democratic politics?
- What are the links between the Maoist movements in India and Nepal?
- What are the similarities and differences between the Maoist movements in India and Nepal?

Required Reading

- Pankaj Mishra (2005), 'The "People's War"', *London Review of Books*, vol. 27, no. 12, 23 June.
- Sean DeBlicke (2006), 'Why Mao? Maoist Insurgencies in India and Nepal', *Peace, Conflict and Development*, vol. 9, no. 9, July.
- Saroj Giri (2008), 'Taking the Bait: Maoists and the Democratic Lure in Nepal', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 277-299

Further Reading

- Saubhagya Shah, 'A Himalayan Red Herring? Maoist Revolution in the Shadow of the Legacy Raj', in Michael Hutt (ed.), *Himalayan people's war: Nepal's Maoist rebellion*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 192-224
- Dipak K. Gupta (2007), 'The Naxalites and the Maoist Movement in India: Birth, Demise and Reincarnation', *Democracy and Security*, vol. 3, pp. 157-188
- Ramachandra Guha, 'Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy', *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 11, 2007

- 'Why the king must go' (Interview with Prachanda, the leader of Nepal's Maoists), *New Statesman*, 1 October 2007, p. 18
- Alpa Shah (2006), 'Markets of Protection: The "terrorist" Maoist movement and the state in Jharkhand, India' *Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 26, p. 297
- George J. Kunnath (2006) , 'Becoming a Naxalite in Rural Bihar: Class Struggle and its Contradictions', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 89-123
- Marie Lecomte-Tilouine (2004), 'Regicide and Maoist Revolutionary Warfare in Nepal: Modern incarnations of a warrior kingdom', *Anthropology Today*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 13-19
- Anand Swaroop Verma and Gautam Navlakha, 'People's War in Nepal: Genesis and Development', *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 19, 2007
- Manjushree Thapa. *Forget Kathmandu: an elegy for democracy* (New Delhi; New York, New York: Penguin, Viking, 2005.)

PART 3: SOUTH ASIA AND THE WORLD

10. Poverty, Globalisation and Economic Growth

India's rapid and sustained economic growth since the 1990s has captured the world's attention. However, economic growth brings both the promise of rising living standards as well as harmful consequences such as environmental degradation, inequality, slums, urban sprawl. This week we will look at the many facets of India's economic transformation.

Questions to consider

- What role has neo-liberal globalisation played in India's economic growth?
- How evenly has India's economic growth been spread? Has it helped lower the number of people living under the poverty line?
- What sort of economic reforms have been undertaken since the 1980s and have they been successful?
- Can India become an economic rival to China?
- How sustainable is India's economic growth?

Required Readings

- Ramachandra Guha, 'Ch. 29: Riches', *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, (New Delhi: Picador, 2007)
- Edward Luce, 'Ch.1: Global and Medieval' , *In Spite of the Gods: the strange rise of modern India*, (New York: Doubleday, 2007), pp. 23-62
- William H. Thornton and Songok Han Thornton (2006), 'The Price of Alignment: India in the New Asian Drama', *Journal Developing Societies*, Vol. 22, pp. 401-420

Further Readings

- *The Economist*, 'What's holding India back?', 3 August 2008, Vol. 386, Issue 8570
- Edward Luce, 'Ch.8: New India, Old India and Conclusion', *In Spite of the Gods: the strange rise of modern India*, (New York: Doubleday, 2007)
- Gurcharan Das "The India Model" *Foreign Affairs* (July/August, 2006), pp. 2 -16.
- *The Economist* "Can India Fly?" 1 June, 2006

A collection of articles on the Indian economy

- Sankaran Krishna, 'India, Globalisation and IT', *South Asian Journal*, No. 8, April-June 2005, available online: http://www.southasianmedia.net/magazine/Journal/8_it_development.htm

- Sanjib Baruah, 'India and China: Debating Modernity', *World Policy Journal*, Summer 2006, Vol. 23, No. 2: 62–70.
 - Thomas Blom Hansen "Ch.10: The Ethics of Hindutva and the Spirit of Capitalism" in Thomas Blom Hansen and Christophe Jaffrelot (eds.) *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- On the affinity between Hindu nationalism and neo-liberal economic policies***
- Pankaj Mishra, 'The myth of the new India', *New York Times*, July 6, 2006
 - Pankaj Mishra, 'A new sort of superpower', *New Statesman*, 1/30/2006, Vol. 135 Issue 4777, p. 20-22,
 - *The Economist* magazine has run numerous articles comparing India and China. The 5th of March, 2005 issue contains a collection of articles on India and China.

11. Nuclear Proliferation

In 1998 both India and Pakistan tested nuclear bombs and declared themselves nuclear powers. Given India and Pakistan's nuclear-armed status, and their ongoing dispute over Kashmir former US President Bill Clinton, on his visit to the region in 2000, described South Asia as the 'most dangerous place on earth'. Was this just Presidential hyperbole or is Clinton right? This week we will look at the politics behind the nuclear tests and assess the consequences they have had for South Asia and the international nuclear non-proliferation regime.

Questions to consider

- Why did India and Pakistan choose to test nuclear weapons in 1998?
- Has the presence of nuclear weapons made South Asia more or less stable?
- Has 'deterrence' worked in South Asia?
- What role did nuclear weapons play in the 1999 India-Pakistan war in Kargil?
- What impact has the nuclearisation of South Asia had on efforts to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons globally?

Required Reading

- Sumit Ganguly (1999), 'India's Pathway to Pokhran II: The Prospects and Sources of New Delhi's Nuclear Weapons Program', *International Security*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 148-177
- Scott D. Sagan (2001), 'The Perils of Proliferation in South Asia', *Asian Survey*, vol. 41, no. 6, pp. 1064-1086
- Samina Ahmed (1999), 'Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program: Turning Points and Nuclear Choices' *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 178-204 **(This is not included in the course packet – copies will be handed out by the lecturer)**

Further Reading

- Ashley J. Tellis (2002), 'The Strategic Implications of a Nuclear India', *Orbis*, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 13-45.
 - Jaswant Singh, "Against Nuclear Apartheid." *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 5 (1998): 41-52.
- An article by India's former Foreign Minister justifying India's nuclear tests, partly on account of a discriminatory and hierarchical international system. What do you make of his arguments and his use of the term 'nuclear apartheid'?***

- Shampa Biswas, "'Nuclear Apartheid' as Political Position: Race as a Postcolonial Resource?" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 26, no. 4 (2001): 485-521.

An analysis of Singh's use of 'race' in the article above

- Hasan-Askari Rizvi (2001), "Pakistan's Nuclear Testing," *Asian Survey* vol. 41, no. 6, pp. 943-955
- T. Hoyt (2003). "Politics, proximity and paranoia: the evolution of Kashmir as a nuclear flashpoint". *India review*, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 117.
- Devin T. Hagerty (1995), 'Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia: the 1990 Indo-Pakistani crisis', *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 3, p. 79

Argues that nuclear deterrence worked in 1990 when tensions were heightened between India and Pakistan when the insurgency in Kashmir escalated. Disputes Sagan's argument in the article above

- Lowell Dittmer (2001), 'South Asia's Security Dilemma', *Asian Survey*, vol. 41, no. 6, pp. 897-906
- Samina Ahmed, 'Security Dilemmas of Nuclear-Armed Pakistan', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 5. (Oct., 2000), pp. 781-793.
- Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair, and Jamison Jo Medby. *Limited Conflicts under the Nuclear Umbrella: Indian and Pakistani Lessons from the Kargil Crisis*. (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002). ***This is available online from the RAND website: <http://rand.org>***
- Latha Varadarajan (2004), 'Constructivism, identity and neoliberal (in)security', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 30, pp. 319-341
- Deepa M. Ollapally (2001), 'Mixed Motives in India's Search for Nuclear Status', *Asian Survey*, vol.41, no. 6, pp. 925-942
- Gaurav Kampani, 'From existential to minimum deterrence: Explaining India's decision to test', *The Nonproliferation Review*, Fall, 1998
- N. Ram, *Riding the Nuclear Tiger*, (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 1999)
- George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999)

A book by two Indian critics of India's nuclear program

- Haider K. Nizamani, *The Roots of Rhetoric: Politics of Nuclear Weapons in India and Pakistan*. (New Delhi: India Research Press, 2001).

12. South Asia and Great Power Politics

In 2005, India and the United States signed an agreement on civil nuclear energy cooperation that many saw as ushering in a new era the historically fraught relationship between India and Pakistan and the culmination of a long-held Bush Administration conviction that it would be in the US's interests to help India become a global power. Many, however, see an anti-China subtext to this emerging relationship. China is a country that India has had tense relations with ever since India and China fought a war in 1962 over an ongoing border dispute and due to China's 'special relationship' with Pakistan.

Questions to consider

- Is India's economic rise being accompanied by a concomitant rise as a global political power and if so, what would be the consequences for South Asia and world, in general?
- What is the current relationship between India and China? Is there an emerging India-US-China triangle? Is India likely to accept the role that the United States may imagine for it?

- What sort of 'great power' would India be? Should the world be worried?

Required Readings

- Martin Walker (2006). "India's Path to Greatness ". *The Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 22-30.
- Ashton B. Carter (2006), 'America's New Strategic Partner?', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, Issue 4, pp. 33-44
- Stephen P. Cohen, 'Ch. 8: India as an Asian Power', *India: Emerging Power* (Washington: Brookings Institute, 2001)

Further Readings

- Jing-dong Yuan (2007), 'The Dragon and the Elephant: Chinese-Indian Relations in the 21st Century', *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 131-144
- C. Raja Mohan "India and the Balance of Power" *Foreign Affairs* (July/August, 2006), pp. 17- 32.
- Edward Luce, *In Spite of the Gods* "Ch. 7: A Triangular Dance", *In Spite of the Gods: the strange rise of modern India*, (New York: Doubleday, 2007) ***On the China-US-India triangle***
- Ashley J. Tellis, 'Indo-US Relations Headed for a Grand Transformation?', *YaleGlobal Online*, 14 July 2005
- Strobe Talbott, 'Good Day for India, Bad for Nonproliferation', *YaleGlobal Online*, 21 July, 2005 ***A response by a former Clinton administration official on the recent nuclear deal***
- Christophe Jaffrelot, 'Ch. 4: Pakistan in the Game of the Great Powers', *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, (London: Anthem Press, 2002)
- Sumit Ganguly (2006), "Will Kashmir Stop India's Rise?" *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 4, pp. 45-56.
- Amrita Narlikar, (2006), 'Peculiar chauvinism or strategic calculation? Explaining the negotiating strategy of a rising India', *International Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 1, pp. 59-76
- George Perkovich (2004) "Is India a Major Power?". *The Washington quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 1, p. 129
- Sumit Ganguly (ed.), *India as an Emerging Power*, (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003)
- Harry G. Broadman, 'India and China go to Africa', *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr2008, Vol. 87 Issue 2, p95-109 ***On the competition between India and China for raw materials in Africa***
- See *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2007, for a series of articles on India