

## **COURSE: DEVELOPMENT & POLITICS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN**

GOVT 596.002

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Instructor: Mary Breeding, Ph.D.

Email: [mary.breeding@american.edu](mailto:mary.breeding@american.edu)

Phone: 202-288-2792

Office Hours: Tuesday 6-7:30 PM & by appointment

“India is the world’s most ancient civilization, yet one of its youngest nations. Much of the paradox found everywhere in India is a product of her inextricable antiquity and youth. Stability and dynamism, wisdom and folly, abstention and greed, patience and passion compete without end within the universe that is India. Everything is there, usually in magnified form. No extreme of lavish wealth or wretched poverty, no job or misery, no beauty or horror is too wonderful, or too dreadful for India. Nor is the passage to India ever an easy one for Western minds. Superficial similarities of language and outward appearances only compound confusion. For nothing is ‘obviously true’ of India as a whole” (Stanley Wolpert, 1991).

India—with more than 1 billion residents and 15 national languages—is one of the world’s most complex, diverse and fastest growing nations. This course invites students to traverse the passage to India through the work of leading scholars and thinkers on South Asia. We will examine the politics of India and Pakistan with a special focus four aspects of the “Indian experience:” democracy, ethnic and religious diversity, political economy, and security and foreign policy. Pakistan will be covered as a comparative case to provide students with a unique portrait of the shared histories between the two countries.

On India, our main questions will be as follows: Given its multi-religious, multi-linguistic and generally multicultural social and historical context, how has India defined its national identity? How was India transformed under British rule (1757-1947)? After independence in 1947, how has a liberal political order, defined by political equality, interacted with India's social order, defined by hierarchy? Is the former undermining the latter? How are citizens represented within India’s vast political institutions? What sort of economic transformation has India achieved since independence, and what lies ahead? What are the implications of India going nuclear in 1998, and what lies ahead? The course aims at answering these questions.

Since much of South Asia’s modern political and economic institutions cannot be understood without the context of the past, the course will cover some aspects of India’s history. The readings are of two types: (1) academic, scholarly work, and (2) works of novelists, journalists and political leaders. The aim is to give students not only an academic sense of place, but also a feel for the texture of life in the subcontinent.

**Requirements:** Students will be required to write four papers (about 30 pages in total). The grade will be based on 3 five-page papers, due in the third, seventh, and tenth weeks. In addition, there will be a final paper of 12-15 pages. The instructor will assign the topics of the first three papers one week in advance of the due date. The topic of the fourth, longer paper will be left entirely to the students. Students will, however, be required to submit a one-page proposal, briefly outlining their ideas for the final paper and the sources they have already consulted. The proposal is due in class on March 27. It will be returned with the comments of the instructor on April 24. The final paper topic can be one of your choosing and will count for 40 percent of the grade, and each short paper for 20 percent.

**Grade Breakdown:**

3 Papers each worth 20% of the grade: 60%  
Final paper 25% of grade  
Class participation is 15%

**Books**

**You must buy the required books.** *Those who wish to work further on India may also want to buy the recommended book to build a collection.* Moreover, the recommended books will also be useful for writing the longer final papers. If you don't buy the recommended books, you can access those sections that are assigned for the class in the library reserves. Some readings are also available on Blackboard.

**Required**

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen, *India: Development and Participation*, Oxford, 2002. ISBN#: 0199257493  
Guha, Ramachandra, *India After Gandhi*, Harper Collins, 2007. ISBN#: 0330505548  
Rudolph, Lloyd, and Susanne Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition*, Chicago, 1984 Reprint. ISBN-13: 978-0226731377  
Shaikh, Farzana, *Making Sense of Pakistan*, 2009. ISBN#: 978-0-231-14962-4  
Stein, Burton, *A History of India*, Blackwell, 1998. ISBN#: 0631205462  
Varshney, Ashutosh, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, Yale University Press, 2002. ISBN# 0300100132

**Recommended**

Bhagwati, Jagdish, *India in Transition*, Oxford, ISBN#0198288476  
Chandra, Kanchan, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*, Cambridge, ISBN# [0521814529](#)  
Chatterjee, Partha, *The Politics of the Governed*, Columbia ISBN# 10: [0231130635](#)  
Cohen, Stephen, *India: Emerging Power*, Brookings, ISBN# 0815700067  
Corbridge, Stuart, and John Harriss, *Re-Inventing India*, Polity Press, ISBN#0745620779  
Jayal, Niraja Gopal, *Representing India*, Palgrave ISBN# 10: [1403986126](#)  
Khilnani, Sunil, *The Idea of India*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, ISBN# 0374525919

Kohli, Atul, ed, *The Success of India's Democracy*, Cambridge, ISBN#0521805309  
Noman, Omar, *Pakistan: A Political and Economic History Since 1947*, Kegal Paul International, 1990. ISBN# 0710303890

## READINGS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

**January 17**

**An Overview of History, Religions, Society, and Polity (First 3 meetings)**

1. \*\*Guha, *India After Gandhi*, "Why India Survives," pp. 733-760
2. \*\*Burton Stein, *A History of India*, "Ancient Days". 45-83 (From the "Pre-formation of Indian Civilization until 'Early Hinduism'"). How old is India? What was it society like ancient times?
3. V.S. Naipaul, *A Million Mutinies Now*, 1-9, 513-520. This is an outsider's account. Naipaul's Indian origins in Trinidad have brought him back to India again and again. Written by one of the best writers in English language today and a Nobel Laureate in 2001, *Mutinies* is a thoughtful travelogue. Naipaul's earlier writings on India were bitter. He has now considerably mellowed.
4. Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, "The Riddle of Midnight: India, August 1987", pp. 26-40.
5. For Hinduism: S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*, London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1988, pp. 1-44. A classic interpretation of Hinduism by a leading scholar of Hinduism and India's former President.
6. For Islam: John Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path*, Oxford 1991, Ch 1, 3-33, skim 69-88, read carefully 89-98 & 99-113.

**Recommended:** 1. For a wonderful introduction to the city of Bombay and its politics read Suketu Mehta's book *Maximum City* as well as V.S. Naipaul, *India: A Million Mutinies Now*, pp. 1-135 2. Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Delhi and New York: Oxford, 1985, "The Quest", pp. 49-68. This book is written by an intellectual statesman and India's second most famous man after Mahatma Gandhi. 3. For further thoughts on Hinduism, read the remaining portions of Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu View of Life*. 4. For greater details on Islam, read Chs. 2, 4 and 5 of Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path*.

## 2. BRITISH INDIA

**January 24**

### **A) The End of Mughal Rule and the Rise of the British: Key Features**

1. Burton Stein, *A History of India*, pp. 160-228. An overview of the Mughal Period, and the first half of the British period.
2. Amartya Sen, "India and the West", *The New Republic*, June 7, 1993. On the Western perceptions of Indian history and identity written by an Indian Nobel Laureate in Economics, who also writes on Indian culture.

**Recommended:** 1. Chris Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, Cambridge U Press, 1987, esp. 1-135, and 169-206. An example of how British historians are revising their view of the British rule. 2. For Nehru's view of Mughal rule and the early British period, *The Discovery of India*, 227-244, 257-272, 273-307.

### **First Paper Topic Announced in class**

**January 31**

### **B) The Rise of the National Movement, and Partition of India and Pakistan**

#### *1) An Overview*

1. Burton Stein, *A History*, pp 229-366. An historical account of the last century of British Rule.

**Recommended:** 1. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery*, 356-478. Nehru's view of the late British phase; 2. Bhikhu Parekh, *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform*, Sage 1989, pp. 34-70. 3 Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*. A widely noted account of the impact of British rule on Indian psyche.

#### *2) Explaining Muslim Separatism*

1. Mohammad Mujeeb, "The Partition of India in Retrospect", in Mushirul Hasan, ed., *India's Partition*, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 396-407. A major Muslim intellectual of India recalls partition and reflects on its causes.

**Recommended:** 1. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery*, 524-536. 2) Paul Brass, "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity Among the Muslims of South Asia", and Francis Robinson, "Islam and Muslim Separatism" in Malcolm Yapp and David Taylor, eds, *Political Identity in South Asia*, London: Curzon Press, 1979, pp. 35-111. This is the

famous instrumentalist versus primordialist debate on Muslim separatism. 3) Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman*, Cambridge 1985, introduction and conclusion;

## February 7

### 3) *Role of Mahatma Gandhi in India's Independence and Partition*

1. *Gandhi*, a film by Richard Attenborough. **Date and time to be announced.** The film is 187 minutes long. It is a very good introduction to the readings that follow.
2. Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, Princeton 1988 edition, pp. 105-145.
3. Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi*, Columbia University Press, 1993, Chapters on "Civil Disobedience: the Salt Satyagraha" and "The Calcutta Fast" (pp. 91-167).
4. Ashis Nandy, "The Final Encounter: The Politics of the Assassination of Gandhi", in *At the Edge of Psychology*, Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 70-98.

**Recommended:** 1. Bhikhu Parekh, *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform*, Sage 1989, pp. 71-106. 2. Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi*, especially 63-167. And for Gandhi's influence on Martin Luther King, Dalton, pp. 168-187, and for Gandhi's critics, pp. 63-90; 3. Eric Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth*, introduction and conclusion.

## 3. THE POST-1947 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

### Second paper announced in class

## February 14

### A) Institutions and Norms: Governmental Structure and Party Politics

1. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, "Ideas of India" 115-137; Recommended: "Nehru's India", pp. 137-267" (especially 137-189)
2. Stuart Corbridge and John Harris, *Reinventing India*, pp. 3-19, 20-66
3. Omar Noman, *Pakistan: Political and Economic History Since 1947*, Kegan Paul, 1990, pp. 3-21, 27-48
4. India-Pakistan Relations—Watch India-Pak border exchanges

**Recommended:** 1. Jyotirindra Dasgupta, "India's Federal Design" and Sumit Sarkar, "Indian Democracy: the Historical Inheritance" in Atul Kohli, ed., *The Success of India's Democracy*, pp. 23-46, 49-77. 2. Myron Weiner, *Party Building in a New Nation*, a study of how the Congress functioned in the early years of Indian independence. Read the introduction and conclusion.

**February 21**

**B) De-Institutionalization after Nehru, Yet Democracy Survives**

1. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, "Shaking the Centre," pp. 287-365
2. Weiner, *The Indian Paradox*, 77-98.
3. Ashis Nandy, "Indira Gandhi and the Culture of India Politics", in *At the Edge of Psychology*, pp. 112-130.
4. Ashutosh Varshney, "Why Democracy Survives", *Journal of Democracy*, July 1997.
5. Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph, "Redoing the Constitutional Design", in Atul Kohli, ed, *The Success of India's Democracy*, pp. 127-162.

**Recommended:** 1. Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India*, "Democracy", pp. 15-60; 2) Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Discontent*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 3-34, 184-202, 297-302, 383-404. Kohli deals with the micro-level evidence of institutional decline between the mid-1960s and mid-1980s;

**4. HINDU SOCIAL ORDER AND POLITICS**

**February 28**

**A) Caste and Upward Mobility**

1. M.N. Srinivas, "The Social System of a Mysore Village", in McKim Marriott, ed, *Village India*, Chicago, 1955, pp. 1-35. A classic ethnographic account of the caste system.
2. M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India* University of California Press, 1966, and Orient Longman, Delhi, 1989. pp. 1-10 from "Sanskritization", and pp. 46-63 from "Westernization". **These readings are also available in and edited volume of the essays of M.N. Srinivas, *Collected Essays – M.N. Srinivas*, Oxford University Press, 2002.**
3. Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition*, Part One, pp. 17-102.
4. Chatterjee, Partha *The Politics of the Governed*, Chapter 3

**Recommended:** Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, Chs. 1, 8, and Conclusions, pp. 1-24, 306-341, and 365-382.

**March 6**

**B) Caste, Democratic Politics and Affirmative Action**

1. Myron Weiner, "The Political Consequences of Preferential Policies", in Weiner, *Indian Paradox*, pp. 152-175.
2. Myron Weiner, "The Struggle for Equality: Caste in Indian Politics", in Atul Kohli, ed, *The Success of India's Democracy*, pp. 193-225.
5. Ashutosh Varshney, "Is India Becoming More Democratic?" *Journal of Asian Studies*, February 2000.
6. Niraja Goopl Jayal., *Representing India*, Chapter 1
7. Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*, Chapters 1-2

**Recommended:** 1. *Report of the Mandal Commission*, pp. vii-viii, 52-53, 57-60. 2. For the evolution of caste system from a novelist's perspective, V.S. Naipaul, *A Million Mutinies*, "Little Wars", pp. 207-279; 3. Christophe Jaffrelot, "The Rise of the OBCs in North India", *Journal of Asian Studies*, February 2000.

## **5. POLITICAL ECONOMY**

**Third Paper Topic Announced in Class**

**March 13**

**A) The Agricultural Turnaround: From a "Basket Case" to Food Surplus**

1. Ashutosh Varshney, *Democracy, Development and the Countryside*, pp. 1-9; 28-35 (up to Sections 2.2), 42-47 (Section 2.5); 48-57 (up to Section 3.2), 70-80 (Sections 3.4 and 3.5); 81-82, 88-89 (Section 4.2), 101-112; 113-120; 138-145; 174-190; 191-202.
2. Pakistan Reading TBA

**Recommended:** (i) Montek Ahluwalia, "Rural Poverty, Agricultural Production and Prices: A Reexamination", in John Mellor and G. Desai, eds, *Agricultural Change and Rural Poverty*, Oxford U Press, 1986, pp. 59-75

**B) Industrial Growth and Economic Reforms: Bullock Carts, Software and Space Satellites**

1. Jagdish Bhagwati, *India in Transition*, Clarendon, 1993, pp. 39-69.
2. Myron Weiner, "The Political Economy of Industrial Growth", in *The Indian Paradox*, pp. 133-150.
3. Montek Ahluwalia, "India's Economic Reforms", in Jeffrey Sachs, Ashutosh Varshney, and Nirupam Bajpai, eds, *India in the Era of Economic Reforms*, Oxford U

Press 1999, pp. 26-80.

4. For Pakistan comparisons, Omar Noman, "Economy of Conflict – the consequences for human security in a fragile Muslim society" Paper presented at the Asia Society, New York, 16 October 2001.

**Recommended:** Jeffrey Sachs, Ashutosh Varshney and Nirupam Bajpai, "Preface to the Second Edition" and "Introduction", *India in the Era of Economic Reforms*; For state-level economic reforms, see Montek Ahluwalia, "The Performance of States Since the Reforms", *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 27 2001; Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, pp.143-172.

## **March 20**

### **C) Human Development: Education, Health, and Gender Inequality**

1. Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, *India: Economic Development and Social Opportunity*, pp.1-6, 27-56, 109-139, 140-146 [Section 7.1, and parts of Section 7.2 ("On the Female-Male Ratio" and "Two Misconceptions")], 159-178 (Sections 7.3, 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6), 179-204. –Update pages from 2002 edition

## **6. ETHNIC CONFLICTS**

### **Final Paper Proposal Due in Class**

## **March 27**

### **A) General**

1. Guhu, *India After Gandhi*, "Riots," pp. 624-650
2. T.N. Madan, "Secularism in Its Place", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, November 1987, pp. 747-760.
3. Ashis Nandy, "The Politics of Secularism and the Recovery of Religious Tradition," *Alternatives*, Vol. 13, 1988, pp. 177-194.
4. Corbridge and Harriss, *Reinventing India*, Ch. 8, pp. 173-199.

**Recommended.** 1. Myron Weiner, "India's Minorities: Who Are They? What Do They Want?", *Indian Paradox*, Ch. 2, pp. 39-76; 2. For how India sought to define its identity, see Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India*, 150-195.



**April 3 & April 10**

**B) Hindu-Muslim Relations**

1. V.S Naipaul, *A Million Mutinies*, pp. 351-387. A thoughtful account of the emotional problems of Muslims.
2. Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, start with 55-86, then read 3-18, 113-167, 219-278, 281-300.
3. Pakistan Reading TBA
4. Film: Firaag by Nandita Das (<http://www.firaagthefilm.com/>)

**Recommended:** 1. Romila Thapar, "A Historical Perspective on the Story of Rama", Mushirul Hasan, "Competing Symbols", in S. Gopal, ed, *Anatomy of a Confrontation*, Viking, 1991; 2. Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*, (Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 11-79; 3. For comparative purposes, see the materials on Sinhalese-Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka in Stanley Tambiah, *Buddhism Betrayed*, Chicago, pp. 1-4, 95-128.

## **7. FOREIGN POLICY**

**April 17 & April 24**

**Guest Speaker**

1. Dreze and Sen, *Development and Participation*, "Security and Democracy," pp. 275-305.
2. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, "Pakistan, India and Kashmir: A Historical Review", in Raju Thomas, as above, pp. 93-118.
3. Pakistan Reading TBA

**Final Paper Due**