

Hist 854--History and Security: Modern South Asia

Mondays, 7:00PM-9:50PM

Professor David Stone
email: stone@ksu.edu

Office: Eisenhower 221
Phone: 785-532-2978

This course will survey major security-related issues and controversies in recent South Asian history, focusing on India and Pakistan. There is no way to cover the breadth of this field in a single semester. As a result, this course is necessarily selective. Given its place as part of a security studies program, I have chosen to emphasize those historical issues most relevant to contemporary issues of national and international security, including military history, ethnic, national, and religious strife, state- and nation-building, the problems of democratic governance, and nuclear proliferation.

No previous background in South Asian history is assumed. That said, you will be reading in-depth monographs that do require a certain level of background knowledge, and I have included some textbook readings for background. I will discuss this further at the first class meeting.

Class meetings will be discussion-based. As you should expect in a graduate history course, the reading load is heavy and important. Make every effort to keep up with it and not to miss class meetings.

Your grade will be based on class participation and three written assignments. Given the limitations imposed by language and source material, I have chosen to assign three ten-page assignments rather than one longer assignment. The first two papers have assigned topics; you can choose the topic of the final paper in consultation with me. Topics and due dates are specified in the week-by-week listing below. While each of the papers will grow out of readings and discussions in class, I will also expect additional reading beyond that listed on the syllabus. I will discuss this further in class.

Books for purchase are listed below (your best bet is amazon.com or bn.com). Most will also be on two-hour / overnight reserve in Hale Library.

Paul Brass, *The Politics of India since Independence*

Judith Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy*

Ramachandra Guha, *India since Gandhi*

Christophe Jaffrelot, *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*
Robert J. McMahon, *The Cold War on the Periphery*
Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, the Army, and the Wars Within*
Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban*
Andrew M. Roe, *Waging War in Waziristan*
Scott Sagan, ed., *Inside Nuclear South Asia*

In addition, some articles and chapters will be distributed electronically or in a course packet.

COURSE SCHEDULE:

August 22: Introduction to class. Basics of geography, language, and religion; introduction to the Mughal Empire and British colonialism. By start of class, have read Brown, *Modern India*, Chaps. 1-2. If you cannot get Brown in time for class on the 22nd, any textbook's introductory chapters on physical and human geography would be fine.

August 29: The Nationalist Movement in British India. Reading: Brown, *Modern India*, Chaps. 3-5. In addition, read ONE of the following: Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India-Partition-Independence*, Chaps. 1-6; Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman*, Chaps. 1-3; Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* up through 1945.

September 5: NO CLASS. Labor Day.

September 12: The Indian Empire at War. Reading: Roe, *Waging War in Waziristan*; Nawaz, pp. 17-23; EITHER William Slim, *Defeat into Victory*, Chaps. 13-16, OR Louis Allen, *Burma: The Longest War*, Chaps 3-4, OR T. R. Moreman, *The Jungle, the Japanese, and the British Commonwealth Armies at War*, Chaps. 2-4.

September 19: Partition and the Kashmir War. Reading: Brown, *Modern India*; Chap. Chap. 6; Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, Chaps. 2-3; Guha, *India since Gandhi*, Chaps. 1-5. In addition, ONE of the following: Singh, *Jinnah*, Chaps. 7-11; Jalal, *Sole Spokesman*, Chaps. 4-7; Wolpert, *Jinnah*, 1945 on.

September 26: Nehru's India and the Structure of Indian Politics. Reading: Guha, Chaps. 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 17; Brass, Chaps. 1-5.

October 3: New Pakistan. Read M. Waseem, "Constitutionalism in Pakistan: The Changing Patterns of Dyarchy," *Diogenes*, 53:102 (2006); Nawaz, Chap. 4 and 6-8; and ONE of the following: Ayesha Jalal, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defence*; Hasan-Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan, 1947-1986*; Rizvi, *Military, State, and Society in Pakistan*; Veena Kukreja, *Military Intervention in Politics: A Case Study of Pakistan*.

October 10: Indira's India. Reading: Guha, Chaps. 17-25; Chakrabarty and Pandey, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, Chap 6 (on Narayan). Work on paper.

Paper 1: ten pages, due Friday, October 14. What explains the divergent political cultures in Pakistan and India since independence?

October 17: South Asia and the World. Reading: Guha, Chaps. 8, 11; Nawaz, Chap. 5; McMahon, *The Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India, and Pakistan*.

October 24: Three Wars: 1962 Sino-Indian, 1965 Indo-Pakistani, and 1971 Indo-Pakistani. Reading: Guha, Chaps. 15-16; Robert Citino, *Blitzkrieg to Desert Storm*, pp. 187-212 (packet); Nawaz, Chaps. 9-12.

October 31: The Rise of Pakistani Islamism. Reading: F. Shaikh, "Pakistan between Allah and Army," *International Affairs*, 76.2, (Apr 2000), pp. 325-332 and Vali Nasr, "International Politics, Domestic Imperatives, and Identity Mobilization: Sectarianism in Pakistan, 1979-1998," *Comparative Politics*, 32.2 (Jan 2000), pp. 171-190; Nawaz, Chaps. 13-15. SKIM FOR KEY ARGUMENTS EITHER Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* OR Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism*.

November 7: Pakistan, the ISI, and the Taliban and Central Asian Fundamentalism. Reading: Bidanda Chengappa, "Pakistan's Fifth Estate" (packet); Nawaz, Chap. 16; Rashid, *Taliban*.

November 14: The Rise of Hindu Nationalism. Readings: Brass, Chap. 7; Guha, Chap. 27. MOST of you should read C. Jaffrelot, *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader*. In *Hindu Nationalism*, there are some chapters you can skip without much loss. Focus on the Intro, Chaps. 2-3, 6-10, 12 (chapter intro only), 13, 16 (intro only), 18. IF you have particular interest in (or think you might do your paper on) Kashmir (11), language policy (12), affirmative action (14), education (15),

Hindu-Muslim relations in India today (16), or defense policy (17), then you should of course read those individual chapters as well.

Some individuals may wish to read instead Thomas Blom Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*; Bruce Graham, *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics: The Origins and Development of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh*; or Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India*, Chap. 9 through Conclusion.

Paper 2: ten pages, due Friday, November 19. To what degree do the Islamic resurgence in Pakistan and the growth of Hindu nationalism in India spring from similar sources?

November 21: NO CLASS. Thanksgiving

November 28: Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency: Punjab, Nagaland, Sri Lanka.
Reading: Brass, Chap. 6; Guha, Chaps. 13 and 26; P. Ahuja and R. Ganguly, "The Fire Within: Naxalite Insurgency Violence in India," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 18.2 (2007), pp. 249-274; N. Goswami, "India's Counter-Insurgency Experience: The 'Trust and Nurture' Strategy," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 20.1 (2009), pp. 66-86.

December 5: The Kargil War and the Nuclear Balance. Reading: Guha, Chap. 28; Nawaz, Chap. 17; Bruce Riedel, "American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House" (Stone will distribute); Scott Sagan, ed., *Inside Nuclear South Asia*.

Final papers due Friday, December 16. 10 pages in length, topic chosen in consultation with instructor.

COURSE POLICIES:

HONOR SYSTEM (language from Honor System webpage):

Kansas State University has an Honor & Integrity System based on personal integrity which is presumed to be sufficient assurance in academic matters one's work is performed honestly and without unauthorized assistance. Undergraduate and graduate students, by registration, acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Honor & Integrity System. The policies and procedures of the Honor System apply to all full and part-time students enrolled in undergraduate and graduate courses on-campus, off-campus, and via distance learning.

A component vital to the Honor & Integrity System is the inclusion of the Honor Pledge which applies to all assignments, examinations, or other course work undertaken by students. The Honor Pledge is implied, whether or not it is stated: "On my honor, as a student, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this academic work."

The default in this class is that ALL work will be accomplished individually, UNLESS my permission is given in advance of an assignment/quiz/exam/take-home exam/final. If you are in doubt, please ask.

A grade of XF can result from a breach of academic honesty. The F indicates failure in the course; the X indicates the reason is an Honor Pledge violation.

For more information, visit the Honor & Integrity System home web page at:

<http://www.ksu.edu/honor>

Students with Disabilities

Any student with a disability who needs a classroom accommodation, access to technology or other academic assistance in this course should contact Disability Support Services (dss@k-state.edu) and/or the instructor. DSS serves students with a wide range of disabilities including, but not limited to, physical disabilities, sensory impairments, learning disabilities, attention deficit disorder, depression, and anxiety.

Expectations for Classroom Conduct

All student activities in the University, including this course, are governed by the Student Judicial Conduct Code as outlined in the Student Governing Association By Laws, Article VI, Section 3, number 2. Students who engage in behavior that disrupts the learning environment may be asked to leave the class.