

India and the World: The Foreign Policy of a Rising Power (IR 506)

Fall 2012

(Draft: subject to minor revisions)

Prof. Manjari Chatterjee Miller

Time: Tu 12:30-3:30pm

Office Hours: TuTh: 11:15am-12:15pm, or by appointment

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Course Description

Since winning independence from Britain in 1947, India has always been a regional power to reckon with. With a huge linguistically, culturally and ethnically diverse population, it has functioned as a vibrant democracy for over five decades. In the last twenty years, it has also become an economic powerhouse and a nuclear weapons state. These factors along with the rise of China and 9/11, have catapulted it into the international limelight. Today it is an acknowledged rising power with international clout. This course examines the complex dynamics of India's rise, focusing on the major elements of its foreign policy and its role in the world. It studies this within the context of Indian politics and history and uses IR theory to understand and analyze its behavior.

NB: This course is only open to juniors, seniors, graduate students. Sophomores may only take the class with the permission of the instructor

Requirements

Students will be graded on in-class presentations on the readings, TWO 10-page analytical/research papers (paper deadlines are indicated in the syllabus) OR ONE 20-page analytical/research paper (due at the end of the semester—check syllabus for date) and contribution to class discussion. The grade distribution is as follows:

Presentations: 30%

Research paper 1: 30%

Research paper 2: 30%

Discussion: 10%

All details about the format and content of both, in-class presentations and the research papers, will be given in class. The options of two 10-page papers or one 20-page paper will also be discussed.

Class Policies

- All class members are expected to maintain high standards of academic honesty and integrity. The College of Arts and Sciences “Academic Conduct Code” provides the standards and procedures: <http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/undergrad-resources/code/>
- Attendance is required. Reasons for non-attendance should be notified to the instructor.
- Cell phones should be turned off in class. Anyone texting or receiving calls in class will be asked to leave.
- Laptops are permitted in class. Surfing the net, however, is not. Anyone caught browsing the net will be asked to leave.
- Extensions will NOT be granted for either paper. Late papers will be docked half a grade for each day it is late (A to A-, A- to B+ etc). Failure to show up for an in-class presentation will result in an automatic F for that presentation.

NB: This class meets on Tuesdays 12:30-3:30pm, with the exception of BU Calendar holidays. The usual format will be 1 to 1.5 hours of presentations and critiques, a short 5-7 minute break, and then the remainder of time devoted to class discussion.

Readings

The main text for this course is:

Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, HarperCollins, 2007.

This is a critically-acclaimed and popular book written by an Indian historian. However, it is not an academic text. The advantage of this is that it is targeted at a lay audience, is a very interesting and satisfying read, and will provide you the background to understanding Indian foreign policy. It also provides scope for scholarly analysis which means that using the other readings assigned to the course, you can apply your own critical thought

to it. The disadvantage is that it can be very detailed. While the course does assign you sections to read, you are encouraged to read it in its entirety.

Other readings are all either available from ereserves and the course website or have URLs in the syllabus for you to link to. The password for ereserves is simply the course name: ir506.

Introduction and organization (09/06)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, 2007, pp. 19-96.

S. Cohen, *India: Emerging Power*, The Brookings Institution, 2001, pp. 7-35.

E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2nd edition, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006, pp. 52-61.

Facing the world I: India as a new nation (09/13)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 137-159, 160-172, 189-232.

R.J. McMahon, Food as a diplomatic weapon: The India wheat loan of 1951, *Pacific Historical Review* 56(3), Aug. 1987, pp. 349-377.

S.M. Walt, "International Relations: One world, many theories," *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1998, pp. 29-46.

J. Legro and A. Moravcsik, "Is anybody still a realist?," *International Security* 24(2), Fall 1999, pp. 5-55.

Nehru's India: Idealism (09/20)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 172-188.

B. Green, The non-aligned movement in perspective, Sheffield Papers in International Studies, No. 10, University of Sheffield, 1992, pp. 1-31.

C.P. Romulo, *The Meaning of Bandung*, University of North Carolina Press, 1956, pp. 1-28.

T. Singh (ed.), *India, peace and security in Asia*, Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi India, 1988, pp. 9-16, 40-50.

R. Jackson, "The weight of ideas in decolonization: normative change in international relations," in J. Goldstein and R. Keohane (ed.), *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change*, Cornell University Press, 1993, pp. 111-138.

Nehru's India: Disillusionment (09/27)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 306-349.

A.B. Kennedy, *Dreams Undeferred: Mao, Nehru and the Strategic Choices of Rising Powers*, unpublished manuscript, Harvard University, 2007, Introduction, pp. 2-12.

J. Brown, *Nehru: A Political Life*. pp. TBD.

J.W. Garver, "China's decision for war with India in 1962," in A.I. Johnston and R. Ross (ed.), *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, Stanford University Press, Palo Alto CA, 2006, pp. 86-130.

D.L. Byman and K.M. Pollack, "Let us now praise great men and women," International Security 25(4), Spring 2001, pp. 107-146.

Institutions of policy (10/04)

P. Brass, *The Politics of India Since Independence*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 45-66.

S. Cohen and S. Dasgupta, *Arming without Aiming: India's Military Modernization*, The Brookings Institution, 2010, pp. 1-28.

J.N. Dixit, *Indian Foreign Service*, Konark publishers, 2005, pp. 251-263.

R. Putnam, "Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games," International Organization 42, 1988, pp. 427-460.

G. Allison, Conceptual models and the Cuban missile crisis, The American Political Science Review 63(3), September 1969, pp. 689-718.

Challenges I: The 2nd Indo-Pakistan War, Kashmir and the "minority issue" (10/11)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 97-114, 233-248, 249-266, 365-377, 384-386, 397-405, 431-433.

S. Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 43-57.

S. Goddard, "Uncommon ground: Indivisible territory and the politics of legitimacy," International Organization 60(1), Winter 2006, pp. 35-68.

S. Huntington, "The clash of civilizations?," Foreign Affairs 72(3), 1993, pp. 22-49.

Indira's India: The 3rd Indo-Pakistan War and suspension of democracy (10/18)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 433-522.

S. Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir*, 1997, pp. 58-91.

M. Finnemore, "Constructing norms of humanitarian intervention," in P. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Columbia University Press, 1996, pp. 153-185.

Flexing regional power: Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan (10/25)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 544-546, 586-588.

V.R. Krishna Iyer, "Tamil tragedy in Sri Lanka and contradictory strategy by India: II," *Economic and Political Weekly* 23(29), July 1988, pp. 1463-1465.

K. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Addison-Wesley, 1979, pp. 102-128.

M.V. Bratersky and S.I. Lunyov, "India at the end of the century: transformation into an Asian regional power," *Asian Survey* 30(10), Oct. 1990, pp. 927-942.

D. Hagerty, "India's regional security doctrine," *Asian Survey* 31(4), April 1991, pp. 351-363.

S. Cohen (ed.), *The Security of South Asia*, University of Illinois Press, 1987, pp. 3-49.

10/31: Research Paper #1 due in my mailbox 152 BSR, by 12pm.

Challenges II: Punjab, Kashmir and terrorism (11/01)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 349-364, 585-586, 613-615, 641-645, 665 (VI)-671

R. Kapur, "'Khalistan': India's Punjab problem," *Third World Quarterly* 9(4), Oct. 1987, pp. 1206-1224.

S. Ganguly, "Conflict and crisis in South and Southwest Asia," in M.E. Brown (ed.), *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, CSIA Studies in International Security, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, 1996, pp. 154-157.

T. Bose, D. Mohan, G. Navlakha and S. Banerjee, "India's 'Kashmir war'," *Economic and Political Weekly* 25(13), March 1990, pp. 650-662.

A. Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*, I.B. Tauris and Co., Ltd., 2nd edition, 2010, pp. 183-196.

A. Ghosh, "India's 9/11? Not exactly," *The New York Times*, December 2, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/03/opinion/03ghosh.html>

B. Chellaney, "Fighting terrorism in Southern Asia: The lessons of history," International Security 26(3), Winter 2001/02, pp. 94-116.

T. Risse-Kappen, *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 3-36.

Post 9/11: The history and transformation of Indo-US relations (11/08)

G. Boquerat, "American and Soviet aid policies towards India 1947-1966: A review," International Studies 29(1), Jan. 1992, pp. 17-40.

A. Tellis, "Evolution of US-Indian ties: Missile defense in an emerging strategic relationship," International Security 30(4), 2006, pp. 113-151.

C. Raja Mohan, "A paradigm shift towards South Asia?," The Washington Quarterly 26(1), Winter 2002-03, pp. 141-155.

S. Ganguly and A. Scobell, "India and the United States: Forging a security partnership?," World Policy Journal 22(2), 2005, pp. 37-43.

G. Mehta, "India and the United States: Democracy east and west," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 294, July 1954, pp. 124-130.

S. Walt, "Alliances in a unipolar world," World Politics 61(1), January 2009, pp. 86-120.

Z. Maoz and B. Russett, "Normative and structural causes of democratic peace," American Political Science Review 87(3), Sep. 1993, pp. 624-638.

Facing the world II: India as a rising power (11/15)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 651-656, 662-665, 672-731.

G. Perkovich, "Is India a major power?," The Washington Quarterly 27(1), Winter 2003-04, pp. 129-144.

R. Basrur, "India: A major power in the making," in T. Volgy *et al* (ed.), *Major Powers and the Quest for Status in International Politics*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2011, pp. 181-202.

P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, Random House, 1987, Introduction.

J. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Public Affairs, 2004, pp. 1-32, 83-98.

Challenges III: The Maoist struggle (11/22)

R. Guha, *India After Gandhi*, pp. 422-427, 604-613, 733-759.

“A spectre haunting India”, The Economist, 17 August 2006, <http://www.economist.com/node/7799247>.

Red Resurgence: A symposium on the Naxal/Maoist challenge to the state. Seminar. March 2010

•A. Nigam, “The rumour of Maoism,” http://www.india-seminar.com/2010/607/607_aditya_nigam.htm

•B. D’Mello, “Spring thunder anew,” http://www.india-seminar.com/2010/607/607_bernard_d%27mello.htm

•M. Kumawat, “Responding to the Maoist challenge,” http://www.india-seminar.com/2010/607/607_mahendra_kumawat.htm

P. Katzenstein, “Coping with terrorism: norms and internal security in Germany and Japan,” in J. Goldstein and R. Keohane (ed.), *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change*, Cornell University Press, 1993, pp. TBD.

Challenges IV: Negotiating with neighbors (11/29)

U. Alam, “Questioning the water wars rationale: A case study of the Indus Waters Treaty,” The Geographical Journal 168(4), Dec. 2002, pp. 341-353.

J. Mingle, “Kashmir’s raging rivers: Can India and Pakistan overcome decades of mistrust to save the Indus Waters Treaty?,” Slate, 4 August 2011, <http://www.slate.com/id/2300825/>

H. Pant, “India and Bangladesh: Will the twain ever meet?,” Asian Survey 47(2), 2007, pp. 231-249.

K. Sridharan, “Regional organisations and conflict management: Comparing ASEAN and SAARC,” Crisis States Working Papers Series No. 2, Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics, London, UK, March 2008. <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/r4d/PDF/Outputs/CrisisStates/wp33.2.pdf>

P. Gourevitch, “The governance problem in international relations,” in D. Lake and R. Powell (ed.), *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, Princeton University Press, 1999, pp. 137-164.

A. Chayes and A.H. Chayes, "On compliance," International Organization 47(2), 1993, pp. 175-205.

India in the news (12/06)

Selection of current news articles about India to be critically analyzed.

12/13: Research Paper #2/20-page Research Paper due, in my mailbox, 152 BSR by 12pm.