

The United States in South Asia since 1947 (IR 377)

Fall 2017 Mon-Wed-Fri / 1:25-2:15 pm CAS 204B

Professor Jayita Sarkar

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Please get an appointment here: <https://jsarkar.youcanbook.me>

Course Description

This course examines the United States' role in South Asia since the end of the British Empire in 1947. Students will explore U.S. policies in the South Asian subcontinent during various phases of the Cold War, including, U.S. policy vis-à-vis Indian nonalignment and alliance with Pakistan, various interstate wars, nuclear weapons programs of India and Pakistan, the Afghanistan war, and U.S. presence in the region after 9/11. The course is designed around weekly readings. Students are expected to come to class fully prepared with the readings of the week, and engage in active discussions. Each session will begin with an introductory lecture by the professor. This will be followed by a structured discussion involving the students based on critical analysis of the assigned readings. No background in South Asia or Cold War history is necessary to take this course.

Required Readings

- Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2002.
- Kux, Dennis. *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies*. An Adst-Dacor Diplomats and Diplomacy Series. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001.

NB: The above-mentioned textbooks are available at the Barnes and Noble Bookstore in Kenmore Square. Please purchase them by Week 2. In addition to the textbooks, there will be some required weekly readings, made available through Blackboard. Please note that students are not required to come prepared with items mentioned under 'additional readings'.

Assignments and Evaluation

A. Term Paper (40%): Students will write a research paper on any topic relevant to U.S. policy in South Asia during the Cold War or after using primary and secondary sources. This paper is expected to be between 4,000-4,500 words in length including footnotes, and will account for 40% of the total grade. Students will be responsible for submitting a one-page memo outlining the puzzle, research question(s), bibliography comprising of secondary sources, relevant primary sources, methodology, expected findings, and policy relevance during Week 5 of the course. The final research paper is due one week after the last class [by 11 December 2017].

B. Analytical Commentary (30%): Each student will write one analytical commentary on two or more assigned readings of a particular week. Each commentary is expected to be between 1000-1,200 including footnotes. Each student will then present the commentary for 7-10 minutes in class, which will be followed by a 5-minute Q&A. Each commentary with class presentation and Q&A will be worth 30% of the total grade. A sign-up sheet will be circulated during Week 2 for students to choose their readings and corresponding dates of presentations.

C. Simulation Exercise (15%): Students will be divided into separate teams for a simulation exercise on the 1971 war in South Asia. This simulation will be based on primary source documents on three or less pivotal moments prior to and during the conflict. More information will be made available within the first month of the course, and the simulation will be conducted during Week 7.

D. Class Attendance & Participation (15%): Regular attendance in class is mandatory. Attendance and regularly active class participation based on critical analysis of the assigned readings will account for 15% of the total grade.

Learning Outcomes

Using a range of high-quality primary sources from multiple countries, students will learn to evaluate theoretical and empirical claims about the role of the United States in post-1947 South Asia. Students will develop a well-grounded understanding of the U.S. role in South Asia during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. No prior knowledge of the region or U.S. foreign policy is expected. This is an interdisciplinary course, which will immerse students in both Cold War history and contemporary foreign policy and security issues in the region.

Academic Code of Conduct

Plagiarism is a serious offence, and will not be tolerated. The members of this class will follow the "Academic Code of Conduct" of Boston University, accessible here: <https://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>

Grades

Explanation of grades and GPA at Boston University can be found by following this link: <https://www.bu.edu/reg/academics/grades-gpa/>

Classroom Rules

- ✓ Students are expected to be punctual in class. Late arrivals will affect class participation grade.
- ✓ The use of laptops and tablets is to be kept at a bare minimum in class.
- ✓ The use of cellphones is not permissible in class, except for genuine accessibility requirements (documented proof needed).

- ✓ It is important to be respectful, logical and evidence-based in class discussions.
On argumentation, see: <http://www.csun.edu/~hcpas003/argument.html>
On logical fallacies, see: <http://writingcenter.unc.edu/handouts/fallacies/>
- ✓ I will respond to emails within 24 hours of receiving them, except on weekends. So, clarifications related to Monday sessions must be sought during the previous week, and not over the weekend.
- ✓ Grades will be available within 48 hours of the completed assignment. If you are dissatisfied with your grade, please wait 48 hours from receiving your grade, and then come and see me.

Recommended Digitized Primary Sources

- Foreign Relations of the United States volumes (FRUS):
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments>
- CIA Records Search Tool (CREST):
<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document-type/crest>
- Digital National Security Archive (Documents access through ProQuest BU)
<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/publications/dnsa.html>
- Wilson Center Digital Archive:
<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org>
- Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru (Second Series, Vol. 4 onwards):
<http://nehruportal.nic.in/writings?page=1>
- Parallel History Project, ETH Zürich:
<http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/lory1.ethz.ch/collections/index.html>
- Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland (DODIS):
<https://www.dodis.ch/en>

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK 1. Sep. 6, 8— Introduction: U.S. Grand Strategy in Cold War South Asia

- Brands, Hal. *What Good is Grand Strategy? Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014, pp. 1-16.
- Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2002, pp. 99-138
- Kux, Dennis. *Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 51-85.

Additional readings:

Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War : Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 110-157. **Sep. 4: Labor Day Holiday**

PART I: THE EARLY COLD WAR

WEEK 2. Sep. 11, 13, 15— The United States in British Post-Colonial Space

The Professor will circulate a sign-up sheet for analytical commentaries.

- Rotter, Andrew Jon. *Comrades at Odds : The United States and India, 1947-1964*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000, pp. 37-76
- Cullather, Nick. "Hunger and Containment: How India Became "Important" in US Cold War Strategy." *India Review* 6, no. 2 (2007): 59-90.

Additional readings:

McGarr, Paul. *The Cold War in South Asia: Britain, the United States and the Indian Subcontinent, 1945-1965*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 1-88.

Sarkar, Jayita. "Wean them away from French tutelage': Franco-Indian nuclear relations and Anglo-American anxieties during the early Cold War, 1948-1952," *Cold War History* 15, no. 3 (2015): 375-394.

WEEK 3. Sep. 18, 20, 22— Between Red China and Nonaligned India

- Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2002, pp. 139 – 180.
- Kux, Dennis. *Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 86-114.
- McMahon, Robert. "U.S. Policy toward South Asia and Tibet During the Early Cold War." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8, no. 3 (2006): 131-144.

Additional readings:

Lawrence, Mark Atwood. "The Rise and Fall of Non-Alignment." In *The Cold War in the Third World*, edited by Robert McMahon, 139-155. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Chaudhuri, Rudra. "The Making of an 'All Weather Friendship' Pakistan, China and the History of a Border Agreement: 1949–1963." *The International History Review* (2017).

PART II: THE MIDDLE COLD WAR

WEEK 4. Sep. 25, 27, 29— The Kennedy Administration

- Kux, Dennis. *Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 115-146.
- McGarr, Paul. *The Cold War in South Asia: Britain, the United States and the Indian Subcontinent, 1945-1965*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 216-243.
- Discussion on available resources at the JFK Presidential Library, Boston, MA

Additional reading:

Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2002, pp. 81-226.

WEEK 5. Oct. 2, 4, 6— The Johnson Administration: India**One-page memos are due by Oct. 6 before midnight.**

- Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2002, pp. 227-278.
- McGarr, Paul. *The Cold War in South Asia: Britain, the United States and the Indian Subcontinent, 1945-1965*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 270-344.

Additional readings:

Cullather, Nick. *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010, pp. 134-158.

Ahlberg, Kristin L. "Machiavelli with a Heart: The Johnson Administration's Food for Peace Program in India, 1965-66." *Diplomatic History* 31, no. 4 (2009): 665-701.

Sarkar, Jayita. "The Making of a Nonaligned Nuclear Power: India's Proliferation Drift, 1964-1968." *The International History Review* 37, no. 5 (2015): 933-50.

Oct. 9: Columbus Day Holiday [Substituted by Tuesday, Oct. 10]**WEEK 6. Oct. 10, 11, 13— The Johnson Administration: Pakistan**

- Kux, Dennis. *Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 147-177.
- McMahan, Robert J. *The Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India, and Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, pp. 305-336.
- McMahan, Robert. "Ambivalent Partners: The Lyndon Johnson Administration and Its Asian Allies." In *The Foreign Policies of Lyndon Johnson: Beyond Vietnam*, edited by H.W. Brands, 168-86. College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1999."

PART III: THE SUPERPOWER DÉTENTE**WEEK 7. Oct. 16, 18, 20— Genocide, War and Refugee Crisis****Simulation on the 1971 War (involves additional documents)**

- National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 79, "The Tilt: The U.S. and the South Asian Crisis of 1971," Dec. 2002.
<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB79/>

- Bass, Gary Jonathan. *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and A Forgotten Genocide*. First Vintage Books edition, New York: Vintage Books, 2014, pp. 289-345.

Additional readings & resources:

Raghavan, Srinath. *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh*.

Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 80-107; 235-263.

Brinkley, Douglas, and Luke Nichter. *The Nixon Tapes : 1971-1972*. Boston:

Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014, pp. 312-344

NixonTapes.org, run by Texas A&M history professor Luke Nichter:

<http://nixontapes.org/india-pakistan.html>

WEEK 8. Oct. 23, 25, 27— Indian Nuclear Explosion and its Aftermath

- Perkovich, George. *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1999, pp. 161-189.
- Khan, Feroz Hassan. *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013, pp. 95-138.
- Burr, William. "A Scheme of 'Control': The United States and the Origins of the Nuclear Suppliers' Group, 1974–1976." *The International History Review* 36, no. 2 (2014): 252-276.
- Rabinowitz, Or and Jayita Sarkar. "'It Isn't over until the Fuel Cell Sings': A Reassessment of Us and French Pledges of Nuclear Assistance in the 1970s." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, early view, forthcoming, 1-26.

Additional readings:

Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941*

1991. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2002, pp. 279-344.

Kux, Dennis. *Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*.

Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 178-226.

WEEK 9. Oct. 30, Nov. 1, Nov. 3— The Carter Administration

- Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2002, pp. 345-378.
- Kux, Dennis. *Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 227-255.
- Thornton, Thomas Perry. "Between the Stools? U.S. Policy Towards Pakistan During the Carter Administration." *Asian Survey* 22, no. 10 (1982): 959-77.

Additional readings:

Sargent, Daniel J. *A Superpower Transformed : The Remaking of American Foreign Relations in the 1970s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.229-295.

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, no. 5 (2016): 857-79.

PART IV: THE NEW COLD WAR

WEEK 10. Nov. 6, 8, 10— The Soviets in Afghanistan

- Noorani, A.G., "Soviet Ambitions in South Asia," *International Security* 4, no. 3 (Winter 1979-80): 31-59.
- Mastny, Vojtech. "The Soviet Union's Partnership with India." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 12, no. 3 (2010): 50-90.
- Savranskaya, Svetlana ed. *Afghanistan: Lessons from the Last War*. Washington, DC: The National Security Archive, 2001.
<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB57/soviet.html>

Additional reading:

Barfield, Thomas, *Afghanistan: A Political and Cultural History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010, pp. 164-271.

WEEK 11. Nov. 13, 15, 17— The Reagan Administration

- Kux, Dennis. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*. Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2002, pp. 379-424
- Kux, Dennis. *Disenchanted Allies: The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000*. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 256-294.
- Burr, William. *New Documents Spotlight Reagan-Era Tensions over Pakistani Nuclear Program*. Washington, DC: The National Security Archive, 2012.
<http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb377/>

PART V: THE END OF THE COLD WAR

WEEK 12. Nov. 20: The Nuclear Flashpoint of the World?

- Singh, Jaswant. "Against Nuclear Apartheid." *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 5 (Sep.-Oct. 1998): 41-53.
- Talbott, Strobe. "Dealing with the Bomb in South Asia." *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 2 (Mar.-Apr. 1999): 110-123.
- Ghosh, Amitav. *Countdown*. New Delhi: Penguin, 1999, 84 pages.

Additional readings:

Khan, Feroz Hassan. *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013, pp. 269-320.

Perkovich, George. *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1999, pp. 404-443; 469-495. **Nov. 22, 24: Thanksgiving Recess**

WEEK 13. Nov. 27, 29, Dec. — Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia

- Paul S. Kapur. "India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace: Why Nuclear South Asia is not like Cold War Europe" *International Security* 30, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 127-152.
- Ganguly, Sumit, "Nuclear stability in South Asia," *International Security* 33, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 45-70.
- Narang, Vipin. *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era: Regional Powers and International Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 55-120.

Additional readings:

Montgomery, Evan B., and Eric S. Edelman. "Rethinking Stability in South Asia: India, Pakistan, and the Competition for Escalation Dominance." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38, no. 1-2 (2015): 159-182.

Kampani, Gaurav and Bharath Gopalaswamy. "How to Normalize Pakistan's Nuclear Program: Two Key Problems U.S. Negotiators Should Address." *Foreign Affairs* (16 June 2017).

WEEK 14. Dec. 4, 6, 8— Post-9/11 Southern Asia

- Paliwal, Avinash. "India's Taliban Dilemma: To Contain or to Engage?" *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, no. 1-2 (2016): 35-67.
- Tankel, Stephen "Beyond the Double Game: Lessons from Pakistan's Approach to Islamist Militancy." *Journal of Strategic Studies* early view, forthcoming (2016): 1-32.
- Fair, Christine C. and Sumit Ganguly. "An Unworthy Ally: Time for Washington to Cut Pakistan Loose," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 5 (Sep.-Oct. 2015): 160-170.
- Carter, Ashton. "America's New Strategic Partner?" *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 4 (Jul.-Aug. 2006): 33-44.

Additional readings:

Jones, Seth G. *In the Graveyard of Empires: America's War in Afghanistan*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2010, pp. xi-xviii; 86-108; 279-295

Barfield, Thomas, *Afghanistan: A Political and Cultural History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010, pp. 272-336.

Term papers are due by Dec. 11 before midnight. No exceptions.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

1. FACT-CHECKING:

- "Fake or Real? How to Self-Check the News and Get the Facts?," *NPR*, 5 December 2016.
<http://www.npr.org/sections/alltechconsidered/2016/12/05/503581220/fake-or-real-how-to-self-check-the-news-and-get-the-facts>
- "How to Spot Fake News?," *FactCheck.Org*, 18 November 2016.
<http://www.factcheck.org/2016/11/how-to-spot-fake-news/>

2. WRITING AND RESEARCH GUIDES:

- Strunk, William, and E. B. White. *The Elements of Style*. 50th Anniversary ed. New York: Pearson Longman, 2009.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. *The Craft of International History : A Guide to Method*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Van Evera, Stephen. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

3. CITATIONS:

Please only use **Chicago Manual of Style** (16th or the new 17th edition).

See Quick Guide: http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html

- **Citing primary sources:**
 - How to Cite Primary Sources:
<http://libguides.gwu.edu/c.php?g=258673&p=1727875>
 - Using Primary Sources using the Chicago Manual of Style:
<http://www.loc.gov/teachers/usingprimarysources/chicago.html>

Use bibliographic software like Zotero or Endnote for improved efficiency.

4. NON-EXHAUSTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR TERM PAPERS

(IN ADDITION TO THIS SYLLABUS):

- Bose, Sugata, and Ayesha Jalal. *Modern South Asia : History, Culture, Political Economy*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1998.
- Chaudhuri, Rudra. *Forged in Crisis : India and the United States since 1947*. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2014.
- Cohen, Stephen P. *The Idea of Pakistan*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004.
- Cohen, Stephen P. *Shooting for a Century: The India-Pakistan Conundrum*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013.

- Doel, Ronald E. and Kristine C. Harper. "Prometheus Unleashed: Science as a Diplomatic Weapon in the Lyndon B. Johnson Administration." *Osiris* 21 (2006): 66-85.
 - Engerman, David. "South Asia and the Cold War." In *The Cold War in the Third World*, edited by Robert McMahon, 67-84. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
 - Fair, C. Christine. *Fighting to the End : The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
 - Ganguly, Sumit. *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*. New York and Washington, D.C.: Columbia University Press and Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001.
 - Ganguly, Sumit. *Deadly Impasse : Kashmir and Indo-Pakistani Relations at the Dawn of New Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
 - Jian, Chen. "China, the Third World, and the Cold War." In *The Cold War in the Third World*, edited by Robert McMahon, 85-100. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
 - Khilnani, Sunil. *The Idea of India*. 1st Farrar, Straus and Giroux ed. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1998.
 - Miller, Manjari Chatterjee. *Wronged by Empire : Post-Imperial Ideology and Foreign Policy in India and China*. Studies in Asian Security. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2013.
 - Racioppi, Linda. *Soviet Policy Towards South Asia since 1970. Soviet and East European Studies*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
 - Raghavan, Srinath. *War and Peace in Modern India : A Strategic History of the Nehru Years*. Indian Century. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010.
 - Rakove, Robert B. *Kennedy, Johnson and the Nonaligned World*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
 - Rotter, Andrew Jon. *Comrades at Odds: The United States and India, 1947-1964*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.
 - Riedel, Bruce O. *Avoiding Armageddon: America, India, and Pakistan to the Brink and Back*. Brookings Focus Books. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013.
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