

## **SOUTH ASIAN POLITICS (GPOL 6318A)**

Fall 2010

Time: Tuesday 2:00 – 3:50 p.m.

Location: Room 1132, 6 East 16 Street

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Office Hours: Thursday 2:00 – 4:00 p.m.

### **Introduction**

This course examines the politics of modern South Asia, with a focus on India, through a theoretical, comparative and historical approach. We will analyze the legacies of imperial rule and anti-colonial movements on nationalist imaginaries and the formation of post-colonial states; the vicissitudes of state-led and market-oriented strategies of development; and struggles to establish, consolidate and expand democratic regimes, institutions and practices. The course assesses how these processes both transformed, and were shaped by, conflicts along lines of gender, caste, class, region, language and religion, as well as patterns of convergence and difference across the subcontinent.

### **Requirements & Assessment**

There are several course requirements:

1. Participation: The success of the seminar depends on your active and informed participation. Being active means contributing your insights to and asking questions in class; being informed entails carefully reading the set material. Class participation represents 10% of your final grade.
2. Brief written responses (approximately 100-200 words) to be circulated by email *prior to each class* that identifies a question or an issue, based on one or more of the readings for a given week, which you wish to discuss. Your responses are due 24 hours before we meet, i.e. by 2.00 p.m. each Monday. They comprise 10% of your final grade.
3. Short response paper: You must submit one short paper (6-8 pages, double-spaced, twelve-point font). It should engage the readings in some way: evaluating the validity, coherence and strength of the arguments, elaborating a line of thought you find interesting, highlighting an issue that bears on the problem under study but received inadequate attention. The purpose of the paper is to respond critically to the material – please do not write a summary of the readings. Although these assignments are brief, strive to be clear, rigorous and thoughtful. Your short paper counts for 20% of your final grade.

4. **Research paper:** Finally, you must write a research paper (approximately 25 pages, double-spaced, twelve-point font). You are free to choose any topic within the framework of the course. However, you are required to submit a proposal for your paper that states the issue/question you wish to address, indicates how you plan to tackle it and provides a working bibliography. Your proposal is due on October 19. Your final research paper, which is worth 60% of your final grade, will be assessed for its clarity of expression, evidence of research and originality of argument. It is due December 14.

### **Course Material**

There are several books for the course. They are available at Barnes & Noble, 105 Fifth Avenue (corner of 18 Street).

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000)
- Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004)
- Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: a comparative and historical perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [1995])
- Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its army, and the wars within* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
- Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: state formation and collapse in the international system, second edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002)
- Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: the United States and the failure of nation building in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2008)
- Stanley J. Tambiah, *Sri Lanka: ethnic fratricide and the dismantling of democracy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986)

I will put these books on reserve in the Fogelman Library. All other readings will be available in electronic form.

You are encouraged to follow the media in order to keep abreast of the latest political, economic and social developments in the region. Prominent daily newspapers in the United States and Britain that regularly cover South Asia include the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Financial Times* and *Guardian*; see also the *BBC South Asia* website. Leading English-language newspapers in India include *The Indian Express*, *The Hindu*, *Hindustan Times*, *The Telegraph* and *Economic Times*; see also magazines and journals such as *Frontline*, *Tehelka*, *Outlook*, *Seminar* and the venerable *Economic & Political Weekly*. (A convenient website for news in India is Samachar: <http://www.samachar.com/>.) For Pakistan, see *The Daily Times*, *The Nation* and *Dawn*. An important Nepali-based magazine with a broad South Asian perspective is *Himal*. All the preceding newspapers, magazines and journals are available online.

## Schedule & Readings

### Week 1 (August 31): Introduction

#### *The Legacies of Colonialism*

### Week 2 (September 7): Independence/Partition: communities, nation and the state

#### *Required:*

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 3-43.
- Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: history, culture, political economy* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 165-201.
- Nicholas Dirks, "Castes of mind," *Representations* 37 (Winter 1992): 56-78.
- Mushiral Hasan (ed.), "Extracts," in idem, *India's Partition: process, strategy and mobilization* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999 [1993]), pp. 44-80.
- David Gilmartin, "Partition, Pakistan and South Asian history: in search of a narrative," *The Journal of Asian Studies* Volume 57, Number 4, November 1998: 1068-1095.

#### *Suggested further reading:*

- Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: voices from the Partition of India* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1998)
- Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: a derivative discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993 [1986])
- Sudipta Kaviraj, "On state, society and discourse in India," in James Manor (ed.), *Rethinking Third World Politics* (London: Longman, 1991), pp. 72-100.
- Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: colonialism and the making of modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)
- Vinayak Chaturvedi (ed.), *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial* (London: Verso, 2000)
- Paul R. Brass, "Elite groups, symbol manipulation and ethnic identity among the Muslims of South Asia," in his *Ethnicity and Nationalism: theory and comparison* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991), pp. 69-109.

#### *India*

### Week 3 (September 14): Nehru and the 'Congress system': democracy, secularism and planned economic development

#### *Required:*

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 43-67.

- Sunil Khilnani, “Nehru’s judgment,” in Richard Bourke and Raymond Geuss (eds.), *Political Judgement: essays in honour of John Dunn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 254-278.
- Sumit Sarkar, “Indian democracy: the historical inheritance,” in Atul Kohli (ed.), *The Success of India’s Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 23-47.
- Partha Chatterjee, “The national state,” in his *The Nation and its Fragments: colonial and postcolonial histories* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994 [1993]), pp. 200-220.
- Jyotirindra Dasgupta, “India’s federal design and multicultural national construction,” in Atul Kohli (ed.), *The Success of India’s Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 49-78.

*Suggested further reading:*

- Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970)
- Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999)
- Myron Weiner, *Party Building in a New Nation: the Indian National Congress* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1967)
- Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in north India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974)
- Vivek Chibber, *Locked in Place: state-building and late industrialization in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003)

**Week 4 (September 21): The rise of Indira Gandhi: populism, deinstitutionalization and the suspension of democracy**

*Required:*

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 67-119.
- Sudipta Kaviraj, “A critique of the passive revolution,” in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 45-89.
- Ashis Nandy, “Indira Gandhi and the culture of Indian politics,” in his *At the Edge of Psychology: essays in politics and culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 112-131.
- Emma Tarlo, “Paper truths: the Emergency and slum clearance through forgotten files,” in C.J. Fuller and Véronique Bénéï (eds.), *The Everyday State and Society in Modern India* (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2000), pp. 68-91.
- T.V. Sathyamurthy, “Impact of Centre-state relations on Indian politics: an interpretative reckoning, 1947-84,” in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 232-71.

*Suggested further reading:*

- Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Discontent: India’s growing crisis of governability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Atul Kohli (ed.), *India’s Democracy: an analysis of changing state-society relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)

- Francine Frankel, “Compulsion and social change: is authoritarianism the solution to India’s economic development problems?” in Atul Kohli (ed.), *The State and Development in the Third World* (1986), pp. 143-168.
- Pranab Bardhan, *The Political Economy of Development in India* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984)
- Vijay Joshi and I.M.D. Little, *India – Macroeconomics and Political Economy, 1964-1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)
- Jagdish Bhagwati, *India in Transition: freeing the economy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993)

## **Week 5 (September 28): An elite revolt (I): the rise of militant Hindu nationalism**

### *Required:*

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 119-143 and 173-200.
- Rajeev Bhargava, “Giving secularism its due,” in his edited *Secularism and its Critics* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999 [1998]), pp. 486-543.
- Niraja Gopal Jayal, “The secular state,” in her *Democracy and the State: welfare, secularism and development in contemporary India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002 [1999]), pp. 101-151.
- Thomas Blom Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: democracy and Hindu nationalism in modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 154-199.
- Ashutosh Varshney, “Ethnic conflict and civil society: India and beyond,” *World Politics* 53 (April 2001): 262-298.

### *Suggested further reading:*

- Rajeev Bhargava (ed.), *Secularism and its Critics* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999 [1998])
- Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1999 [1996])
- Christophe Jaffrelot and Thomas Blom Hansen (eds.), *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Sanjay Ruparelia, “Rethinking institutional theories of political moderation: the case of Hindu nationalism in India, 1996-2004,” *Comparative Politics*, Volume 38, Number 3, April 2006: 317-337.
- Paul R. Brass, *Theft of an Idol: text and context in the representation of collective violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997)
- Nivedita Menon, “Women and citizenship,” in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *Wages of Freedom: fifty years of the Indian nation-state* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 241-267.

## **Week 6 (October 5): An elite revolt (II): economic liberalization**

### *Required:*

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 143-173.
- Lloyd I. and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, "Iconisation of Chandrababu: sharing sovereignty in India's federal market economy," *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 5, 2001: 1541-1552.
- Arvind Panagariya, "Growth and reforms during the 1980s and 1990s," *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 19, 2004: 2581-2594.
- Atul Kohli, "Politics of economic growth in India, 1980-2005," *Economic and Political Weekly* – Part I: April 1, 2006: 1251-1260; Part II: April 8, 2006: 1361-1370.
- Himanshu, "Recent trends in poverty and inequality: some preliminary results," *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 10, 2007: 497-508.

### *Suggested further reading:*

- C.P. Chandrashekar and Jayati Ghosh, *The Market that Failed: a decade of neoliberal economic reforms in India* (New Delhi: LeftWord Books, 2002)
- Rob Jenkins, *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Jeffrey D. Sachs, Ashutosh Varshney and Nirupam Bajpai (eds.), *India in the Era of Economic Reforms* (New York: OUP, 1999)
- T.N. Srinivasan, *Eight Lectures on Indian Economic Reforms* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- Pranab Bardhan, "The political economy of reform in India," in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Politics and the State in India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), pp. 177-206.
- Montek S. Ahluwalia, "Economic reforms in India since 1991: has gradualism worked?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 16 (3) 2002: 67-88.
- Jan Breman, *The Labouring Poor in India: patterns of exploitation, subordination and exclusion* (New Delhi: OUP, 2003)
- Barbara Harriss-White, *India Working: essays on society and economy* (Cambridge, CUP, 2003)
- Angus Deaton and Jean Dreze, "Poverty and inequality in India: a reexamination," *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 7, 2002: 3729-3748.

## **Week 7 (October 12): The 'second democratic upsurge': caste, class and region**

### *Required:*

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 200-231.
- Yogendra Yadav, "Electoral politics in a time of change: India's third electoral system, 1989-99," *Economic and Political Weekly* (August 21-28, 1999): 2393-2399.

- Rajni Kothari, "Rise of the dalits and the renewed debate on caste," in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *State and Politics in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 439-459.
- Christophe Jaffrelot, "The rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi belt," *Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (1) February 2000: 86-108.
- Zoya Hasan, "Representation and redistribution: the new lower caste politics in north India," Francine R. Frankel, Zoya Hasan, Rajeev Bhargava and Balveer Arora (eds.), *Transforming India: social and political dynamics of democracy* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 146-176.

*Suggested further reading:*

- André Béteille, *Society and Politics in India: essays in comparative perspective* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Marc Galanter, *Law and Society in Modern India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Atul Kohli (ed.), *The Success of India's Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001)
- Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: the rise of the low castes in north Indian politics* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003)
- Pratap Bhanu Mehta, *The Burden of Democracy* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2003)
- D.L. Sheth, "Society," in Philip Oldenburg and Marshall Bouton (eds.), *India Briefing: a transformative fifty years* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), pp. 91-120.
- Ashutosh Varshney, "Is India becoming more democratic?" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (1) February 2000: 3-26.
- E. Sridharan, "The fragmentation of the Indian party system, 1952-1999," in Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Parties and Party Politics in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 475-504.
- Kanchan Chandra, "Ethnic parties and democratic stability," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 2, June 2005: 235-253.

*Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan*

**Week 8 (October 19): The foundations of Pakistan**

\*\*\*Due: Research Paper Outline\*\*\*

*Required:*

- Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: a comparative and historical perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 [1995]), pp. 29-38 and 48-66.
- Hamza Alavi, "The state in post-colonial societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh," *New Left Review* I, 74 (July-August 1972): 59-82.
- Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its army, and the wars within* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 1-249.

*Suggested further reading:*

## **Week 9 (October 26): Crisis, the creation of Bangladesh and the turn to populism**

### *Required:*

- Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, pp. 77-91 and 140-156.
- Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004), pp. 39-84, 97-112, 120-124 and 130-145.
- Philip Oldenburg, "A place insufficiently imagined? language, belief and the Pakistan crisis of 1971," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 44, 4 (August 1985): 711-733.
- Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, pp. 249-358.

### *Suggested further reading:*

- Rehman Sobhan, *The Crisis of External Dependence: the political economy of foreign aid to Bangladesh* (London: Zed Press, 1982)
- Rafiuddin Ahmed (ed.), *Bangladesh: Society, Religion and Politics* (1985)
- Richard Sisson and Leo E. Rose, *War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the creation of Bangladesh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)
- Naila Kabeer, "The quest for national identity: women, Islam and the state in Bangladesh," in Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.), *Women, Islam and the State* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), pp. 115-143.
- Lawrence Ziring, *Bangladesh: from Mujib to Ershad: an interpretive study* (1992)
- Rehman Sobhan, *Bangladesh: problems of governance* (1993)
- Rounaq Jahan (ed.), *Bangladesh: promise and performance* (Dhaka: University Press; and London: Zed Press, 2000)

## **Week 10 (November 2): Sectarianism, regionalism and the rise of political Islam**

### *Required:*

- Jalal, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia*, pp. 100-120 and 183-201.
- Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, pp. 112-124 and 161-231.
- Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, pp. 359-464.
- Vali R. Nasr, "International politics, domestic imperatives, and identity mobilization: sectarianism in Pakistan, 1979-1998," *Comparative Politics* 32 (2) January 2000: 171-190.
- Anita M. Weiss, "Women's position in Pakistan: sociocultural effects of Islamization," *Asian Survey*, 25 (8) August 1985: 863-880.

### *Suggested further reading:*

- Hamza Alavi and John Harriss (eds.), *South Asia* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989)
- Hasan Askari-Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000)
- Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: the secret history of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004)



- Charles H. Kennedy, "Islamization and legal reform in Pakistan, 1979-1989," *Pacific Affairs* 63 (1) Spring 1990: 62-77.
- Saeed Shafqat, "From official Islam to Islamism: the rise of Dawat-ul-Irshad and Lashkar-e-Taiba," in Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.), *Pakistan: nationalism without a nation?* (London: Zed Books, 2002), pp. 131-149.
- Olivier Roy, "The Taliban: a strategic tool for Pakistan," in Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.), *Pakistan: nationalism without a nation?* (London: Zed Books, 2002), pp. 149-161.

### **Week 11 (November 9): The vicissitudes of democracy, 9/11 and the 'war on terror'**

#### *Required:*

- Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, pp. 84-97, 126-130, 145-160 and 231-299.
- Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*, pp. 465-566.
- Aqil Shah, "Pakistan's 'armored' democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 14, 4 (October 2003): 26-40.
- S. Akbar Zaidi, "State, military and social transition: improbable future of democracy in Pakistan," *Economic and Political Weekly* 40, 49 (December 3, 2005): 5173-5181.
- Aqil Shah, "Praetorianism and terrorism," *Journal of Democracy* 19, 4 (October 2008): 16-25.

#### *Suggested further reading:*

- Omar Noman, *Economic and Social Progress in Asia: why Pakistan did not become a tiger* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Soofia Mumtaz, Jean-Luc Racine, Imran Anwar Ali (eds.), *Pakistan: the contours of state and society* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- Larry Diamond, "Is Pakistan the (reverse) wave of the future?" *Journal of Democracy*, 11 (3) July 2000: 91-107.
- Samina Ahmad, "The fragile base of democracy in Pakistan," in Amita Shastri and A. Jayaratnam Wilson (eds.), *The Post-colonial States of South Asia* (Palgrave, 2001).
- Mushirul Hasan, "India and Pakistan: why the difference?" in Mushirul Hasan and Nariaki Nakazato (eds.), *The Unfinished Agenda* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001), pp. 309-343.

### **Week 12 (November 16): The historical fragility of the state in Afghanistan**

#### *Required:*

- Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: state formation and collapse in the international system, second edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002)

#### *Suggested further reading:*

- Louis Dupree, *Afghanistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997 [1973])
- Olivier Roy, *Afghanistan: from holy war to civil war* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995)

- Barnett R. Rubin, *The Search for Peace in Afghanistan: from buffer state to failed state* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)
- Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: militant Islam, oil and fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001 [2000])
- Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: the secret history of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004)

### **Week 13 (November 23): War, occupation and state building**

*Required:*

- Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: the United States and the failure of nation building in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2008)

*Suggested further reading:*

*Sri Lanka & Nepal*

### **Week 14 (November 30): Ethnicity, violence and the grammar of the nation-state**

*Required:*

- Stanley J. Tambiah, *Sri Lanka: ethnic fratricide and the dismantling of democracy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986)
- Amita Shastri, "The material basis for separatism: the Tamil Eelam Movement in Sri Lanka," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49 (1) February 1990: 56-77.
- Neil DeVotta, "Sri Lanka's political decay: analyzing the October 2000 and December 2001 parliamentary elections," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 41, 2 (2003): 115 – 142.
- Radhika Coomaraswamy, "The politics of institutional design: an overview of the case of Sri Lanka," in Sunil Bastian and Robin Luckham (eds.), *Can Democracy Be Designed? The politics of institutional choice in conflict-torn societies* (London: Zed Books, 2003), pp. 145-169.
- Alfred Stepan, Juan Linz and Yogendra Yadav, "How nation state 'grammar' helped construct polar and conflictual identities: Tamils in Sri Lanka," *Crafting State Nations: India and other multinational democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press: 2010).

*Suggested further reading:*

- Jonathan Spencer (ed.), *Sri Lanka: history and the roots of conflict* (New York: Routledge, 1990)
- E. Valentine Daniel, *Charred Lullabies: chapters in an anthropology of violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996)
- Qadri Ismail, "Constituting nation, contesting nationalism: the southern Tamil (woman) and separatist Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka," in Partha Chatterjee

- and Pradeep Jeganathan (eds.), *Subaltern Studies XI: community, gender and violence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 212-283.
- K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka* (Penguin, 2005)

### **Week 15 (December 7): Maoism and the struggle for democracy and development**

#### *Required:*

- John Whelpton, *A History of Nepal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 189-237.
- S. D. Muni, *Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: the challenge and the response* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co., 2003), pp. 1-79 and 82-88.
- Deepak Thapa (ed.), *Understanding the Maoist Movement of Nepal* (Kathmandu: Centre for Social Research and Development, 2003), pp. 181-223.
- Mahendra Lawoti, "Political exclusion and the lack of democratization: cross-national evaluation of Nepali institutions using a majoritarian-consensus framework," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 45, 1 (February 2007): 57-77.
- Richard Bownas, "The Nepalese Maoist movement in comparative perspective: learning from the history of Naxalism in India," *Himalayan Research Bulletin* 23, 1 (2003): 31-37.

#### *Suggested further reading:*

- Deepak Thapa and Bandita Sijapati (ed.), *A Kingdom under Siege: Nepal's Maoist insurgency, 1996 to 2003* (Kathmandu: Himal Books, 2003)
- Kanak Mani Dixit and Shastri Ramachandran (eds.), *State of Nepal* (Kathmandu: Himal, 2002)
- Michael Hutt (ed.), *Himalayan People's War: Nepal's Maoist revolution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004)
- Manjushree Thapa, *Forget Kathmandu: an elegy for democracy* (New Delhi: Viking Penguin, 2005)
- Mahendra Lawoti, *Looking Back, Looking Forward: centralization, multiple conflicts and democratic state building in Nepal* (Policy Studies 43, East West Center Washington, 2007), pp. 1-61.

\*\*\*December 14: Final Research Paper Due\*\*\*