

**TRANSFORMATIONS:
THE RISE OF INDIA AND CHINA (LPOL 3301)**

Fall 2015
Time: Tuesday and Thursday 1.50–3.30 p.m.
Location: 6 East 16 Street, Room 902

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Introduction

This course examines the origins, transformations and rise of India and China since the mid-twentieth century. The first part explores their distinctive visions of modernity. We analyze the legacies of imperialism vis-à-vis patterns of nationalism, state building, political rule, foreign policy, economic development and social change. The second part of the course explores the transformations of India and China over the last three decades. In particular, we analyze the causes and consequences of uneven capitalist development, greater political contestation, and urbanization, regionalization and globalization. The final part explores the rise of India and China and its ramifications for the balance of power, wealth and equality in the evolving global order.

Requirements & Assessment

The success of the class depends on your active and informed participation. Being active means contributing your insights to and asking questions in class; being informed entails careful reading of the required material for each week before we meet. Classes on Tuesdays will primarily consist of a lecture. Classes on Thursdays will be devoted to discussion. I have listed recommended material for those interested in pursuing certain topics further at the end of each section. Attendance is worth 15% of your final grade.

In addition, you are required to complete the following assignments:

1. To promote discussion, you are required to circulate a short critical appraisal (approximately 100-250 words) of the readings for each week, excluding Weeks 1 and 15. Your responses should be posted on Canvas no later than 1.50 p.m. every Wednesday so that everyone can read the posts before we meet on each Thursday. Your responses should briefly summarize the main issues raised by the authors, highlighting questions, insights and arguments you find interesting, difficult or unconvincing. Your short responses are worth 15% of the final grade.
2. A short paper (5 pages, double-spaced, 12-point font) on a topic from the first part of the course, *The Foundations of Modernity in India and China*. I will distribute questions and guidelines for the paper in class. Your short paper, which is due on October 20, is worth 20% of your final grade.

3. A final take-home exam (10 pages, double-spaced, 12-point font), distributed on December 10, which seeks to evaluate your understanding of the entire course. The exam, worth 50% of your final grade, will be due on December 17.

All three sets of assignments will be assessed for your comprehension of the material, clarity of writing and presentation of argument.

Course Material

There are two required texts to be purchased for the course. They will be available at Barnes & Noble, 33 East 17th Street (between Broadway and Park Avenue South). The books are filed on the 4th floor, alphabetically by author.

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2000)
- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: from revolution through reform* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003)

All other assigned readings will be available electronically on Canvas.

University Policies and Resources

Please note the following policies, resources and procedures of the university:

Disabilities

In keeping with the University's policy of providing equal access for students with disabilities, any student with a disability who may need academic accommodations should contact the Office of Student Disability Services. Students requesting any accommodations should contact the Office directly: 79 5th Avenue, 5th floor. You may also access more information at <http://www.newschool.edu/student-services/disability/>.

Incompletes

A grade of Incomplete ("I") indicates that your instructor has granted you an extension to complete outstanding work for a course. The grade of Incomplete will not be assigned automatically. It will only be assigned at the request of the student by the last day of class. Incomplete grades cannot be granted for students who are graduating seniors.

If circumstances require you to request a grade of Incomplete—and the instructor approves your request—the terms of the Incomplete should be agreed upon in writing, using the "Request for a Grade of Incomplete" form

(http://www.newschool.edu/forms/registrar_incomplete_grade.pdf). This ensures that both the student and the instructor understand the exact nature of the required work, the manner in which it is to be submitted, and the date by which it must be submitted.

Your instructor will determine the deadline for submission of outstanding work. Students with a grade of Incomplete who do not complete their work by the agreed-upon deadline will receive a grade of Withdrawal/Failure ("WF"). Students who complete outstanding work according to the terms of the Incomplete will receive a letter grade. (The "I" will be converted to a letter grade after your instructor submits a Change of Grade form on your behalf.)

Libraries

The New School Library offers frequent research workshops for students, the day, time, and location of which are posted to the Library webpage (<http://library.newschool.edu/events/>) each semester. The library also provides one-on-one support for students who in conducting research for a paper or project require additional assistance. Students can contact the library about scheduling a one-on-one appointment with a reference librarian at the following link: <http://library.newschool.edu/reference/request.php>.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is the use of another person's words or ideas in any academic work. (This could be using books, journals, internet postings, or other students' papers.) For further information on avoiding plagiarism through proper acknowledgements, including expectations for paraphrasing source material and forms of citation in research and writing, students should consult the *MLA. Style Manual and Guide to Scholarly Publishing* (second edition), Chapter 6, on documentation. The Bachelor's Program provides useful online resources to inform students of correct forms of research and writing. To access these resources, go to <http://www.newschool.edu/ba/> and click on the link "Resources for Current Students."

The New School Writing Center also provides online resources about avoiding plagiarism. (See <http://www.newschool.edu/admin/writingcenter/index.html>.)

Please note that students must receive prior permission from instructors to submit the same or substantially overlapping material for two different assignments. Submission of the same work for two assignments without prior permission is plagiarism.

Writing Center

Students are highly encouraged to take advantage of the university writing center, located at 65 5th Avenue, room 105. To make an appointment, you can e-mail the writing center at writingcenter@newschool.edu or call (212) 229-5121. For further information, please visit the Writing Center web site: www.newschool.edu/admin/writingcenter/.

I The Foundations of Modernity in India and China

Week 1 (September 1 & 3): Introduction

Week 2 (September 8 & 10): Pre-independent India and pre-revolutionary China

Required:

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 3-39.
- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: from revolution through reform* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), pp. 1-56.

Recommended:

- Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: a derivative discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993 [1986])
- Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: history, culture, political economy* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: colonialism and the making of modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)
- Immanuel Chung-Yueh Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China, 6th edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Jonathan Spence, *In Search of Modern China, 2nd edition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999)
- Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and after: a history of the People's Republic, 3rd edition* (New York: The Free Press, 1999)

Fiction, reportage and film:

- Salman Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, a novel (New York: Random House, 1981)
- *Gandhi*, a film directed by Richard Attenborough (1982)
- *The Last Emperor*, a film by Bernardo Bertolucci (1987)
- *The Real Story of Ah-Q and Other Tales of China: the complete Suggested fiction of Lu Xun*, translated and introduced by Julia Lovell (New York: Penguin Classics, 2010)

Week 3 (September 15 & 17): The Nehruvian era

Required:

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 43-66.
- Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999), pp. 15-42.
- Ramachandra Guha, "The conquest of nature," in his *India after Gandhi: the history of the world's largest democracy* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), pp. 209-232.

Recommended:

- Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970)
- 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.
- Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development: political power and industrialization in the global periphery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Fiction, reportage and film:

- *Nehru*, a film directed by Shyam Benegal and Yuri Aldokhin (1984)
- Vikram Seth, *A Suitable Boy*, a novel (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994)

Week 4 (September 22 & 24): The Maoist era

Required:

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: from revolution through reform* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), pp. 59-122 and 290-295.
- Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: transitions and growth* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 55-85.
- Pankaj Mishra, "Staying power: Mao and the Maoists," *New Yorker* (20 December 2010), available at <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/12/20/staying-power-3>

Recommended:

- Stuart Schram, *The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Chalmers Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962)
- Carl Riskin, *China's Political Economy: the quest for development since 1949* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)

Fiction, reportage and film:

- Edgar Snow, *Red Star over China* (New York: Random House, 1938)
- *The Blue Kite*, a film directed by Tian Zhuangzhuang (1993)

Week 5 (September 29 and October 1): India under Indira

Required:

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 67-118.
- Ashis Nandy, "Indira Gandhi and the culture of Indian politics," in idem, *At the Edge of Psychology: essays in politics and culture* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 112-131.

- Ramachandra Guha, "Autumn of the matriarch," in his *India after Gandhi: the history of the world's largest democracy* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), pp. 491-518.

Recommended:

- Pranab Bardhan, *The Political Economy of Development in India* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984)
- Atul Kohli (ed.), *India's Democracy: an analysis of changing state-society relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)
- Emma Tarlo, *Unsettling Memories: narratives of the Emergency in Delhi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003)

Fiction, reportage and film:

- Rohinton Mistry, *A Fine Balance*, a novel (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995)
- *Hirak Rajar Deshe* (Kingdom of Diamonds), a film by Satyajit Ray (1980)

Week 6 (October 6 & 8): China under Deng

Required:

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: from revolution through reform* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), pp. 123-148, 245-268 and 279-288.
- Andrew J. Nathan, "The Tiananmen papers," *Foreign Affairs*, 80, 1 (January/February 2001): 2-49.
- Andrew Nathan, "The partial reformer," *The New Republic* (22 February 2012), available at <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/books-and-arts/magazine/100983/deng-xiaoping-mao-china-revolution-communism>

Recommended:

- Elizabeth J. Perry and Mark Selden (eds), *Chinese Society: change, conflict and resistance* (New York: Routledge, 2010)
- Joseph Fewsmith, *The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013)
- Ezra F. Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013)

Fiction, reportage and film:

- Gao Xingjian, *Soul Mountain*, a novel translated by Mabel Lee (New York: Harper Perennial, 2001)
- *The World*, a film directed by Jia Zhangke (2004)

II The Transformations of India and China

Week 7 (October 13 & 15): Political contestation and social change in India since the 1980s

Required:

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 200-231.
- Niraja Gopal Jayal, "The rise of civil society," in Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds), *The State of India's Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 143-160.
- Rob Jenkins, "Civil society versus corruption," in Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds), *The State of India's Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 161-175.

Recommended:

- 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)
- 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)

Fiction, reportage and film:

- Arundhati Roy, *The God of Small Things*, a novel (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998)
- *Aftershocks: A Rough Guide to Democracy*, a documentary directed by Rakesh Sharma (2002)

Week 8 (October 20 & 22): Political contestation and social change in China since the 1980s

Required:

- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: from revolution through reform* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), pp. 148-167, 295-305 and 315-321.
- Minxin Pei, *China's Trapped Transition: the limits of developmental autocracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 45-95.
- George J. Gilboy and Benjamin L. Read, "Political and social reform in China: alive and walking," *Washington Quarterly*, 31, 3 (2008): 143-164.
- "China's Charter 08," translated by Perry Link, *The New York Review of Books* (15 January 2009), available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/jan/15/chinas-charter-08/>

Recommended:

- Elizabeth J. Perry, “Chinese conceptions of ‘rights’: from Mencius to Mao—and now,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 6, 1 (March 2008): 37-50.
- Peter Hays Gries and Stanley Rosen (eds.), *Chinese Politics: state, society and market* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010)
- You-tien Hsing and Ching Kwan Lee (eds), *Reclaiming Chinese Society: the new social activism* (New York: Routledge, 2010)

Fiction, reportage, film:

- *The Story of Qiu Ju*, a film directed by Zhang Yimou (1992)
- Ma Jian, *Beijing Coma: a novel* (New York: Picador, 2009)

Week 9 (October 27 & 29): Capitalism with Indian characteristics

Required:

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 143-173.
- Atul Kohli, *Poverty amid Plenty in the New India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 97-143.
- John Harriss, “How far have India’s economic reforms been guided by ‘compassion and justice’?” in Sanjay Ruparelia, Sanjay Reddy, John Harriss and Stuart Corbridge (eds), *Understanding India’s New Political Economy: a great transformation?* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 127-140.

Recommended:

- Rob Jenkins, *Democratic Politics and Economic Reform in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Arvind Panagariya, *India: the emerging giant* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010)
- Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen, *An Uncertain Glory: India and its contradictions* (New Delhi: Allen Lane, 2013)

Fiction, reportage and film:

- Arvind Adiga, *The White Tiger*, a novel (New York: The Free Press, 2008)
- *Slumdog Millionaire*, a film directed by Danny Boyle (2008)

Week 10 (November 3 & 5): Capitalism with Chinese characteristics

Required:

- Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing: lineages of the twenty-first century* (New York: Verso, 2007), pp. 351-378.
- Minxin Pei, *China’s Trapped Transition: the limits of developmental autocracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 167-205.
- Wang Shaoguang, “The great transformation: the double movement in China,” *boundary*, 35, 2 (Summer 2008): 15-47.

Recommended:

- Justin Yifu Lin, Fang Cai and Zhou Li, *The China Miracle: development strategy and economic reform* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1996)
- Kelley Tsai, *Capitalism without Democracy: the private sector in contemporary China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007)
- Yasheng Huang, *Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics: entrepreneurship and the state* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Week 11 (November 10 & 12): Nationalist imaginaries in India and China

Required:

- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: liberalization, Hindu nationalism and popular democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 111-143.
- Joseph Fewsmith, *China since Tiananmen: from Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. TBD.
- Jonathan Holslag, *China + India: prospects for peace* (New York: Columbia University press, 2010), pp. 32-64.

Recommended:

- Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1999)
- Peter Hays Gries, *China's New Nationalism: pride, politics and diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)
- Barry Naughton and Dali Yang (eds.), *Holding China Together: diversity and national integration in the post-Deng era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Fiction, reportage and film:

- *Kundun*, a film directed by Martin Scorsese (1997)
- Peter Hessler, *Oracle Bones: a journey through time in China* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006)

III Shaping the Emerging Global Order

Week 12 (November 17 & 19): The wealth and poverty of nations

Required:

- Pranab Bardhan, "Crouching tiger, lumbering elephant? the rise of India and China in comparative economic perspective," *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, XIII, 1 (Fall/Winter 2006): 49-62.
- Zhang Yunling and Rajiv Kumar, "International economic system: China's perspective, India's perspective," in Ashley J. Tellis and Sean Mirsky (eds), *Crux*

of Asia: China, India and the Emerging Global Order (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013), pp. 63-82.

- Deepak Nayyar, “China, India, Brazil and South Africa in the world economy: engines of growth?” UNU-WIDER Discussion Paper No. 2008/05, 28 pp.

Recommended:

- Edward Friedman and Bruce Gilley (eds), *Asia's Giants: comparing India and China* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005)
- Pranab Bardhan, *Awakening Giants, Feet of Clay: assessing the economic rise of India and China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010)
- Amiya Kumar Bagchi and Anthony P. D’Costa (eds), *Transformation and Development: the political economy of transition in India and China* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012)

*****November 24 & 26—Thanksgiving—No Classes*****

Week 13 (December 1 & 3): Grand strategy

Required:

- Achin Vanaik, “Indian foreign policy since the end of the Cold War: domestic determinants,” in Sanjay Ruparelia, Sanjay Reddy, John Harriss and Stuart Corbridge (eds), *Understanding India's New Political Economy: a great transformation?* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 221-236.
- Wang Jisi and C. Raja Mohan, “Changing global order: China’s perspective, India’s perspective,” in Ashley J. Tellis and Sean Mirsky (eds), *Crux of Asia: China, India and the Emerging Global Order* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013), pp. 45-62.
- David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: a partial power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-12 and 307-317.

Recommended:

- Baldev Raj Nayar and T.V. Paul, *India in the World Order: searching for major-power status* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- C. Raja Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: the shaping of India's new foreign policy* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003)
- Francine R. Frankel and Harry Harding (eds), *The India-China Relationship: what the United States needs to know* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004)

Week 14 (December 8 & 10): Securing the future

Required:

- Zha Daojiong and Sunjoy Joshi, “The search for energy security: China’s perspective, India’s perspective,” in Ashley J. Tellis and Sean Mirsky (eds), *Crux of Asia: China, India and the Emerging Global Order* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013), pp.209-234.
- Fang Rong, “Understanding developing country stances on the post-2012 climate change negotiations: comparative analysis of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa,” *Energy Policy*, 38, 8 (August 2010): 4582–4591.
- Manoranjan Mohanty, “China and India: competing hegemonies or civilizational forces of Swaraj and Jiefang?” *China Report*, 46, 2 (2010): 103-111.

Recommended:

- Aseem Shrivastava and Ashis Kothari, *Churning the Earth: the making of global India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2014)
- Elizabeth C. Economy and Michael Levi, *By All Means Necessary: how China’s resource quest is changing the world* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Prasenjit Duara, *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian traditions and a sustainable future* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Week 15 (December 15 & 17): Conclusion