

YSS4211: INDIA AS A RISING POWER

AY2017-18 (Semester 2)

Time: Tue 2:30pm-5:30pm | Location: Classroom 15 (EC-01-12)

Instructor: Rohan Mukherjee ([email](#)) | Office: Cendana RC3-01-03C

Office Hours: Tue 9:30am-11:30am

Synopsis

With the world's second largest population, third largest economy, and third largest military, India is a pivotal country in Asia and the world. This course will cover modern India's history, domestic politics, and foreign policy and provide students with a sophisticated understanding of the world's largest democracy and its changing place in global affairs. Each week, we will first develop relevant context from the literature on international relations, and then delve into detailed works on India. Classroom sessions will take the form of seminars—there will be no lectures. Students should be well prepared to discuss the readings in terms of the arguments they make, the evidence they rely on, and their connections with broader theoretical concerns in the study of international relations. Except where noted, all readings are required.

Assignments

Participation (20%): Students are expected to attend and participate in classes regularly.

In-class presentation (30 mins, 20%): Each student will critically analyse a set of readings once in the semester, accompanied by a two-page (single spaced) critique of the readings due by noon on the day of the presentation.

Written peer-review (20%): Each student will provide written feedback on the research proposal of another student, due on April 15.

Final paper (40%): 5000-word research paper due on May 1.

WEEK 1 (Jan 16): HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- [Skim] Paul Kennedy. 1988. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. London: Unwin Hyman, pp. xv-xxv.
- Ramachandra Guha. 2007. *India after Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. London: Macmillan, pp. 1-34, 56-83.
- Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf. 2006 (2nd ed.). *A Concise History of Modern India*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 8 ("Congress Raj"), pp. 231-64.
- Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss. 2000. *Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity, Chapter 6 ("Elite Revolts"), pp. 119-39.
- Sumit Ganguly and Manjeet S. Pardesi. 2009. "Explaining Sixty Years of India's Foreign Policy." *India Review*, 8:1, pp. 4-19.

Recommended

- Sunil Khilnani. 1997. *The Idea of India*. New Delhi: Penguin, Chapter 1 ("Democracy").
- C. Raja Mohan. 2003. *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy*. New Delhi: Viking, Chapter 2 ("Beyond Non-alignment"), pp. 29-56.

- Rajat Sethi and Shubhrastha. 2017. *The Last Battle of Saraighat: The Story of the BJP's Rise in the North-east*. New Delhi: India Viking.

WEEK 2 (Jan 23): STATE, SOCIETY, & ECONOMY

- [Skim] John Brewer. 1989. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783*. London: Unwin Hyman, pp. x-xvii.
- Atul Kohli. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 7 ("India's Fragmented-Multiclass State and Protected Industrialization"), pp. 257-88.
- Vijay Joshi. 2016. *India's Long Road: The Search for Prosperity*. Gurgaon: Penguin Allen Lane, Chapter 2 ("1947-2016") and Chapter 11 ("The State of the State").
- Stephen P. Rosen. 1996. *Societies and Military Power: India and its Armies*. Cornell University Press, Chapter 6 ("India and its Army after Independence"), pp. 197-256.
- Katharine Adeney & Marie Lall. 2005. "Institutional Attempts to Build a "National" Identity in India: Internal and External Dimensions." *India Review*, 4:3-4, pp. 258-281.

Recommended

- Ila Patnaik and Madhavi Pundit. 2016. "Where is India's Growth Headed?" *India Review*, 15:3, pp. 332-358.
- Rahul Mukherji. 2009. "The State, Economic Growth, and Development in India." *India Review*, 8:1, pp. 81-106.
- Adnan Naseemullah. 2016. "The contested capacity of the Indian state." *India Review*, 15:4, pp. 407-432.

WEEK 3 (Jan 30): DOMESTIC POLITICS

- [Skim] Robert D. Putnam. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization*, 42:3, pp. 433-52.
- Vipin Narang and Paul Staniland. 2018. "Democratic Accountability and Foreign Security Policy: Theory and Evidence from India." *Security Studies*, pp. 1-37.
- Nicolas Blarel. 2017. "Inside out? Assessing the domestic determinants of India's external behavior." In Hansel M., Khan R., Levaillant M. (eds.) *Theorizing Indian Foreign Policy*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 203-220.
- Nalini Kant Jha. 2002. *Domestic Imperatives in India's Foreign Policy*. New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, Chapter 5 ("The Bangladesh Crisis"), pp. 145-85.
- Karthika Sasikumar and Gilles Verniers. 2013. "The India-U.S. Nuclear Cooperation Agreement: Explaining the Contentious Indian Debate." *Asian Survey*, 53:4, pp. 679-702.
- Rob Jenkins. 2003. "How Federalism Influences India's Domestic Politics of WTO Engagement (And Is Itself Affected in the Process)." *Asian Survey*, 43:4, pp. 598-621.

Recommended

- Pratap Bhanu Mehta. 2003. *The Burden of Democracy*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Aseema Sinha. 2004. "The Changing Political Economy of Federalism in India: A Historical Institutionalist Approach." *India Review*, 3:1, pp. 25-63.

- Jyotirindra Dasgupta. 2001. "India's federal design and multicultural national construction." In Atul Kohli (ed.), *The Success of India's Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 49-77.

WEEK 4 (Feb 6): LEADERSHIP

- [Skim] Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack. 2001. "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In." *International Security*, 25:4, pp. 107-121, 128-33.
- Srinath Raghavan. 2010. *War and Peace in Modern India*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, Chapter 8 ("China 1961-1962"), pp. 267-310.
- Shashi Tharoor. 1982. *Reasons of State: Political Development and India's Foreign Policy under Indira Gandhi, 1966-1977*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, Chapter 3 ("Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister"), pp. 50-103.
- Jacques E. C. Hymans. 2006. *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 7 ("India's Nuclear U-turn"), pp. 171-203.
- Manjari Chatterjee Miller and Kate Sullivan de Estrada. 2017. "Pragmatism in Indian foreign policy: how ideas constrain Modi." *International Affairs*, 93:1, pp. 27-49.

Recommended

- Andrew B. Kennedy. 2011. *The International Ambitions of Mao and Nehru: National Efficacy Beliefs and the Making of Foreign Policy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Harish Kapur. 2013. *Foreign Policies of India's Prime Ministers*. Atlanta: Lancer, Chapter 7 ("Rajiv Gandhi").
- Sanjaya Baru. 2014. *The Accidental Prime Minister: The Making and Unmaking of Manmohan Singh*. New Delhi: Penguin, Chapter 9 ("The Manmohan Singh Doctrine").

WEEK 5 (Feb 13): STRATEGIC CULTURE

- [Skim] Alastair Iain Johnston. 1995. "Thinking about Strategic Culture." *International Security*, 19:4, pp. 44-64.
- George K. Tanham. 1992. *Indian Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay*. Santa Monica: RAND, pp. 1-22, 50-61, 67-69.
- Kanti Bajpai. 2002. "Indian Strategic Culture." In Michael R. Chambers (ed.), *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances*. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, pp. 250-80.
- Rahul Sagar. 2014. "'Jiski Lathi, Uski Bhains': The Hindu Nationalist View of International Politics." In Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit, and V. Krishnappa (eds.), *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases*. New Delhi: Routledge, pp. 234-57.
- Pratap Bhanu Mehta. 2009. "Still Under Nehru's Shadow? The Absence of Foreign Policy Frameworks in India." *India Review*, 8:3, pp. 209-233.

Recommended

- Deepa M. Ollapally. 2001. "Mixed Motives in India's Search for Nuclear Status." *Asian Survey*, 41:6, pp. 925-42.

- Manjari Chatterjee Miller. 2014. "The Un-Argumentative Indian?: Ideas About the Rise of India and Their Interaction With Domestic Structures." *India Review*, 13:1, pp. 1-14.
- Rajesh M. Basrur. 2001. "Nuclear Weapons and Indian Strategic Culture." *Journal of Peace Research*, 38:2, pp. 181-98.
- Rahul Sagar. 2009. "State of Mind: What kind of Power will India become?" *International Affairs*, 85:4, pp. 801-16.

WEEK 6 (Feb 20): INSTITUTIONS AND POLICYMAKING

- [Skim] Elizabeth N. Saunders. 2015. "War and the Inner Circle: Democratic Elites and the Politics of Using Force." *Security Studies*, 24, pp. 466-84.
- Daniel Markey. 2009. "Developing India's Foreign Policy "Software"." *Asia Policy*, 8, pp. 73-96.
- Tanvi Madan. 2015. "Officialdom: South Block and Beyond." In David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press, pp. 232-44.
- Devesh Kapur. 2009. "Public Opinion and Indian Foreign Policy." *India Review*, 8:3, pp. 286-305.
- Manoj Joshi. 2015. "The Media in the Making of Foreign Policy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*, pp. 259-70.
- Anit Mukherjee. 2016. "Fighting Separately: Jointness and Civil-Military Relations in India." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 40:1-2, pp. 6-34.

Recommended

- Jessica S. Wallack. 2008. India's Parliament as a Representative Institution." *India Review*, 7:2, pp. 91-114.
- Steven I. Wilkinson. 2015. *Army and Nation: The Military and Indian Democracy since Independence*. Harvard University Press, pp. 1-36.
- Shashi Tharoor. 2012. *Pax Indica: India and the World of the 21st Century*. New Delhi: Penguin, Chapter 9 ("Eternal Affairs': The Domestic Underpinnings of Foreign Policy").

RECESS

WEEK 7 (Mar 6): NUCLEAR WEAPONS

- [Skim] Scott D. Sagan. 1996. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons?: Three Models in Search of a Bomb." *International Security*, 21:3, pp. 54-86.
- [Watch] Stimson Center, "Nuclear South Asia: A Guide to India, Pakistan, and the Bomb." Chapter 2 ("Nuclear History"). Enroll [here](#).
- Jayita Sarkar. 2015. "The Making of a Non-Aligned Nuclear Power: India's Proliferation Drift, 1964-8." *The International History Review*, 37:5, pp. 933-50.
- Vipin Narang. 2014. *Nuclear Strategy in the Modern Era: Regional Powers and International Conflict*. Princeton University Press, Chapter 4 ("India"), pp. 94-120.

- Gaurav Kampani. 2014. "New Delhi's Long Nuclear Journey: How Secrecy and Institutional Roadblocks Delayed India's Weaponization." *International Security*, 38:4, pp. 79-114.

Recommended

- Scott Sagan. 2003. "Nuclear Instability in South Asia." In Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis. 2007. *International Politics* (Pearson Education, 8th ed.), pp. 239-49.
- Kenneth N. Waltz. 2003. "Nuclear Stability in South Asia." In Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis. 2007. *International Politics* (Pearson Education, 8th ed.), pp. 250-59.
- Dinshaw Mistry. 2006. "Diplomacy, Domestic Politics, and the U.S.-India Nuclear Agreement." *Asian Survey*, 46:5, pp. 675-98.

WEEK 8 (Mar 13): POLITICAL VIOLENCE

- [Skim] James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *The American Political Science Review*, 97:1, pp. 75-89.
- Paul Staniland. 2014. *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Cornell University Press, Chapter 4 ("Azad and Jihad"), pp. 59-99.
- Bethany Lacina. 2007. "Does Counterinsurgency Theory Apply in Northeast India?" *India Review*, 6:3, pp. 165-180.
- Shivaji Mukherjee. 2017. "Colonial Origins of Maoist Insurgency in India: Historical Institutions and Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, pp. 1-35.
- Ashutosh Varshney. 2002. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Yale University Press, pp. 3-18, 149-67.
- Steven I. Wilkinson. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 5 ("The Electoral Incentives for Hindu-Muslim Violence"), pp. 137-71.

Recommended

- Praveen Swami. 2003. "Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir in theory and practice." *India Review*, 2:3, pp. 55-88.
- Wasbir Hussain. 2007. "Ethno-Nationalism and the Politics of Terror in India's Northeast." *South Asia*, 30:1, pp. 93-110.
- Aditya Dasgupta, Kishore Gawande, and Devesh Kapur. 2017. "(When) Do Anti-Poverty Programs Reduce Violence? India's Rural Employment Guarantee and Maoist Conflict." *International Organization*, 71:3, pp. 605-632.

WEEK 9 (Mar 20): INDIA AS A REGIONAL POWER

- [Skim] Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver. 2003. *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 ("Theories and Histories"), pp. 6-26.
- T. V. Paul. 2006. "Why has the India-Pakistan Rivalry Been so Enduring? Power Asymmetry and an Intractable Conflict." *Security Studies*, 15:4, pp. 600-630.
- Kargil Review Committee. 2000. *From Surprise to Reckoning: The Kargil Review Committee Report*. New Delhi: Sage, [Executive Summary](#).

- Sandra Destradi. 2012. "India and Sri Lanka's Civil War: The Failure of Regional Conflict Management in South Asia." *Asian Survey*, 52:3, pp. 595-616.
- Gary J. Bass. 2016. "Bargaining Away Justice: India, Pakistan, and the International Politics of Impunity for the Bangladesh Genocide." *International Security*, 41:2, pp. 140-87.

Recommended

- Pallavi Raghavan. 2012. "The Finality of Partition: Bilateral Relations between India and Pakistan, 1947-1957." PhD Dissertation, Faculty of History, University of Cambridge.
- Walter C. Ladwig III. 2015. "Indian Military Modernization and Conventional Deterrence in South Asia." *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 38:5, pp. 729-772.
- Avinash Paliwal. 2017. *My Enemy's Enemy: India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal*. London: Hurst.

WEEK 10 (Mar 27): INDIA AS AN ASIAN POWER

- [Skim] Aaron L. Friedberg. 2000. "Will Europe's past be Asia's future?" *Survival*, 42:3, pp. 147-57.
- Priya Chacko. 2014. "The rise of the Indo-Pacific: understanding ideational change and continuity in India's foreign policy." *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 68:4, pp. 433-49.
- Manjeet S. Pardesi. 2015. "Is India a Great Power? Understanding Great Power Status in Contemporary International Relations." *Asian Security*, 11:1, pp. 1-30.
- Tan Tai Yong and See Chak Mun. 2009. "The Evolution of India-ASEAN Relations." *India Review*, 8:1, pp. 20-41.
- David Scott. 2013. "India's Role in the South China Sea: Geopolitics and Geoeconomics in Play." *India Review*, 12:2, pp. 51-65.

Recommended

- Rohan Mukherjee and Anthony Yazaki. 2016. "Introduction." In Rohan Mukherjee and Anthony Yazaki (eds.), *Poised for Partnership: Deepening India-Japan Relations in the Asian Century*. Oxford University Press, pp. 1-31.
- Yoganathan S/O Theva and Rahul Mukherji. 2015. "India-Singapore Bilateral Relations (1965-2012): The Role of Geo-Politics, Ideas, Interests, and Political Will." *India Review*, 14:4, pp. 419-439.
- David Brewster. 2011. "The Relationship between India and Indonesia: An Evolving Security Partnership?" *Asian Survey*, 51:2, pp. 221-44.

WEEK 11 (Apr 3): INDIA AND THE GREAT POWERS

- [Skim] A. F. K. Organski. 1968. *World Politics* (2nd ed). New York: Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 360-76.
- Manjari Chatterjee Miller. 2013. *Wronged by Empire: Post-Imperial Ideology and Foreign Policy in India and China*. Stanford University Press, Chapter 3 ("PII and the Sino-Indian Border Negotiations of 1960"), pp. 55-81.
- Shivshankar Menon. 2016. *Choices: Inside the Making of India's Foreign Policy*. Brookings Institution Press, Chapter 1 ("Pacifying the Border"), pp. 7-33.

- Dennis Kux. 1992. *India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991*. Washington, D. C.: National Defense University Press, Chapter 2 ("Truman: Dealing with Neutralism"), pp. 47-90.
- Rudra C. Chaudhuri. 2014. *Forged in Crisis: India and the United States since 1947*. London: Hurst & Company, Chapter 8, pp. 213-52.

Recommended

- Tanvi Madan. 2012. "With an Eye to the East: The China Factor and the U.S.-India Relationship, 1949-1979." PhD Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, pp. 23-91 ("The Orientation of the Orient (1949-1952)").
- Andrew Small. 2015. *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 9-25 ("A Friendship Forged by War"), 47-65 ("Re-Hyphenating India").
- John W. Garver. 2001. *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century*. University of Washington Press, pp. 368-390 ("Prospects for a Qualitative Change in PRC-ROI Relations").

Sun, Apr 8: Research proposals due by 11:59pm.

WEEK 12 (Apr 10): GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

- [Skim] Elinor Ostrom. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-21.
- David M. Malone. 2011. *Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 11 ("The Evolution of Indian Multilateralism"), pp. 249-74.
- Amrita Narlikar. 2010. "Reforming Institutions, Unreformed India?" In Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (eds.), *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*. Brookings Institution Press, pp. 105-125.
- Lavanya Rajamani. 2009. "India and Climate Change: What India Wants, Needs, and Needs to Do." *India Review*, 8:3, pp. 340-365.
- Devesh Kapur. 2013. "India and International Financial Institutions and Arrangements." In Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, and Bruce Jones (eds.), *Shaping the Emerging World: India and the Multilateral Order*. Brookings Institution Press, pp. 237-60.

Recommended

- Arundhati Ghose. 2007. "Disarmament and India's Nuclear Diplomacy." In Atish Sinha and Madhup Mohta (eds.), *Indian Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities*. New Delhi: Foreign Service Institute, pp. 979-1007.
- Kudrat Virk. 2013. "India and the Responsibility to Protect: A Tale of Ambiguity." *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 5:1, pp. 56-83.

Sun, Apr 15: Individual written feedback on research proposals due by 11:59pm.

WEEK 13 (Apr 17): INDIA AS A LEADING POWER?

- [Skim] G. John Ikenberry. 2011. *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton University Press, Chapter 1 ("Crisis of the Old Order"), pp. 1-32.
- S. Jaishankar. 2015. "India, the United States and China." IISS-Fullerton Lecture ([link](#)).
- Sunil Khilnani et al. 2012. "Nonalignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the Twenty First Century," pp. 7-50.
- Ashley J. Tellis. 2012. "Nonalignment Redux: The Perils of Old Wine in New Skins." Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 32-55.
- Kate Sullivan. 2015. "India's Ambivalent Projection of Self as Global Power: Between Compliance and Resistance." In Kate Sullivan (ed.), *Competing Visions of India in World Politics: India's Rise Beyond the West*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 15-33.
- Rishika Chauhan. 2018. "Sanctions and Emerging Powers: Examining the Indian and Chinese stance." In Teh-Kuang Chang and Angelin Chang (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Asia in World Politics*, pp. 240-249.

Recommended

- Jan Cartwright. 2009. "India's Regional and International Support for Democracy: Rhetoric or Reality?" *Asian Survey*, 49:3, pp. 403-428.
- Rani D. Mullen. 2015. "India's Soft Power." In David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press, pp. 188-201.
- Andreas Fuchs and Krishna Chaitanya Vadlamannati. 2013. "The Needy Donor: An Empirical Analysis of India's Aid Motives." *World Development*, 44, pp. 110-25.

Tue, May 1: Research Papers due by 11:59pm.