The course is designed to provide an introduction to politics in India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. These countries are home to more than 1.4 billion people and together they account for almost 20 percent of the world's population. Four decades of dynamic change and social turbulence has seen India and Pakistan emerge as nuclear powers. Although the countries share centuries of common history and they emerged from a common independence movement, their post-colonial developments have been strikingly different.

In this class, we will compare the similarities and differences of India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. In particular, we will explore three important issues:

• What are the dynamics of social and political change in these rapidly evolving societies as they create their own modern nations and states?
• Why India has been able to consolidate its democracy while Pakistan and Afghanistan have suffered through long periods of authoritarian rule?
• What are the causes of modern religious fundamentalism and can democracy moderate religious militancy?

In exploring these issues, we will explore theoretical approaches that political scientists have taken towards state formation, democratization, and the development of religious fundamentalism. We will develop our capacity for critical analysis. In particular, we will consider how to apply the insights of political science to our cases. We will also learn to evaluate these theories in light of the experience of our cases and then develop new insights that advance the broader understandings promoted by political science.

This course is in the subfield of comparative politics. This subfield is distinguished from other subfields in political science (AP, IR, and PT) by that fact that its name invokes its method. Another objective of this course is to begin to understand how to most fruitfully engage in comparative thinking and analysis.

The course requires no previous study of politics in India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan but it does require a willingness to read extensively in the field. It will be difficult for students to do well in the class if they do not complete the relevant, assigned readings before each class.

The course utilizes active learning techniques which require student participation in class discussion including student submission of discussion questions, engagement in class discussions, student presentation, and peer review evaluations. Students will also form teams and make reports on topics that they select.

Student Evaluation

Students will be evaluated in four ways:

1. Class participation will count for **15 percent** of the final grade. Student participation will have two components: a) Your verbal contributions to class discussion, including the questions that you raise -- a good question is worth a good answer -- and your overall contributions to our discussions and 2) Students will submit a) a brief (five-six sentence maximum) response to one study question for each reading assignment as well as one question of their own on the reading assignments by no later than 12:00 Noon each class day. The instructors will review and evaluate your questions. They will select the best questions to discuss in each class.
2. Students will form teams of six students. The teams will select a thematic topic that they would like to investigate. Examples of topics might include: religious fundamentalism, anti-Americanism, nation-building, democratization, Kashmir, economic development, social violence, the NGO sector, environmental politics, educational policy, women’s politics, etc. The teams will study these topics in at least two countries by dividing into at least two squads of three students apiece.
   
a. Each squad will submit a presentation on their chosen topic in their selected country. This presentation will count for 10 percent of their grade. The presentations will be due on November 10.
   b. The squads will recombine into their teams to make a class presentation that compares their findings. These presentations will note the causes of similarities and differences in outcomes for each country. They will also attempt to apply and critique the relevant political science literature. The presentations must be submitted no later than the beginning of class on November 22. They will be discussed by other students in the class at our class symposium on December 3. The final presentations will count for 15 percent of the students’ grades. Students’ discussion of other team’s presentation will count for 5 percent of their grade.

3. A take-home, open book midterm essay examination will count for 20 percent of your grade. Essay topics will be distributed at the end of class on October 11. They will be due no later than the beginning of class on October 20.

4. A take-home final essay examination will count for 35 percent of their final grade. Final essay topics will be passed out at the end of class on December 1. All exams and research papers should be turned in to Gibson 462 no later than 12:00 Noon December 13.

Policy for late papers: All papers must be turned in at the deadlines. Late papers will NOT be accepted. The only exceptions are students who have legitimate medical or family excuses.

Textbook Information
Books available for purchase are also on reserve at Clemons library. Articles not included in these books are available via the UVa Collab course site. The following books are available for purchase at Newcomb Hall Bookstore:


Assignments

1. **August 23** Introduction
   No assignment

PART I Theory

2. **August 25** Social Change and the Modern State
   **Resources:** Charles Tilly, “Cities and States in World History,” in Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European*
Discussion Questions:

1. Discuss the process of “imagining” national communities making certain to note what forms of identity preceded them.

2. In contrast to Marx, Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph contend that caste has contributed to India’s democratization. Define vertical, horizontal, and differential mobilization, each with a single sentence. Then consider how caste, according to the Rudolph’s has supported India’s democratization.

3. In contrast to the Rudolphs -- who see traditional social organization like the caste system as supporting democratization -- Paul Staniland contends that existing social organization can strengthen insurgencies. Explain how.

3. August 30  Theories of Democratization


Discussion Questions:

1. List at least two external and two internal factors that promote democratization. Explain how they do so.

2. How does variation in a country’s level of inequality affect democratization?

3. Does democracy result from “demands from below” or from elite concessions?

4. What are the two main components of Tilly’s sociological explanation for why democracy is secured and how do they contrast with Acemoglu and Robinson’s narrower political perspective?

4. September 1  Approaches to Religious Fundamentalism and Political Islam


Discussion Questions:

1. Define Religious fundamentalism. Consider whether the concept is capable of including Hindu fundamentalism and political Islam.

2. Discuss the most important ways that religious fundamentalism and political Islam are shaped by modernity.

3. Discuss the relationship between religious fundamentalism and political Islam on the one hand, and secularism on the other.

PART II INDIA

5. September 6  Gandhi, Partition, and the Making of Modern South Asia

See Film “Gandhi”. This film can be accessed from the following URL: http://digitalcampus.swank.com/uva296909/SDC/Watch.aspx?v=1c1d045041e949218f1ae559df1ad2a4. Read: Salman Rushdie, “Gandhi” Time April 13, 1998.

1. The film “Gandhi” is an account of Gandhi as a great political leader. Explain why Gandhi was a great leader, discussing what factors made Gandhi a great leader.

2. “Gandhi” can be understood as being a portrayal of India’s independence movement. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of this portrayal.

6. September 8 How did India Consolidate Its Democracy?

Discussion Questions:
1. Briefly describe the key developments in political mobilization in India since Independence.
2. Varshney writes, “It was not the British legacy per se, but rather the strategic interactions that took place between British authorities and national movement leaders that laid the foundation of democracy.” Briefly explain.
3. Briefly discuss the areas where India’s democracy is stronger and in the areas has it deteriorated.

7. September 13 India’s Government Institutions
Ashutosh Varshney, “How has Indian Federalism Done?” Studies in Indian Politics 1:1 (June 2013) pp. 43-63.

Discussion Questions:
1. Compare the powers of the Prime Minister with the powers of the president.
2. Describe the powers of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.
3. Explain how India’s federalism has contributed to its national unity.

8. September 15 The Paradox of Caste: Declining Social Relevance and Rising Political Salience

Discussion Questions:
1. Discuss at least three ways in which the importance of caste has declined and at least one way in which the importance of caste has remained important.
2. In India the poor now have higher rates of participation than the wealthy. Explain what motivates the poor to vote even though the Indian state is not very responsive to their demands.

8. September 20 Religion, Hindu Nationalism, and Indian Democracy


Discussion Questions:
1. Describe the objective and organization of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the sangh parivar.
2. Explain the “political logic” of the 2002 Gujarat violence.
3. Discuss the causes and consequences of the 2002 violence in Gujarat.

9. September 22 The Political Economy of India’s Accelerated Growth
Corbridge et al. “When and Why Did India Take Off?” pp. 23-46; and “How Did a ‘Weak’ State Promote Audacious Reform?” pp 121-139.


Discussion Questions:
1. Discuss the two answers to the question “When and why did India take off?” First, briefly explain the “failure thesis” that Bhagwati, Panagariya, Lall et al. articulate, then briefly explain the “institutional/politics” thesis of Rodrik, Subramanian, and Kohli.
2. List at least four factors that have enabled India’s “weak” state to successfully implement audacious economic reforms.

10. September 27 India’s Silent Drama: The Politics of ‘Inclusive Growth’


Discussion Questions:
1. Explain the difference between “good inequalities” and “bad inequalities”
2. Explain what is meant by “growth elasticity of poverty” and give three reasons why this ratio for India has been disappointing.

11. September 29 Clientelism, Corruption, and the State


Discussion Questions:
1. Define what is meant by “inclusive growth” and then describe two measures that the Indian government has taken to help achieve it.

2. Dreze and Sen write, “Particular to India, is the combination of insistence … on having a large public sector combined with a fairly comprehensive neglect of accountability in operating this large sector. Select one sector where the government has taken on responsibility but lacks proper accountability. Suggest how improved accountability can be achieved.

3. Despite the pervasiveness of corruption in India, list at least three reasons for optimism that corruption will decline in India. Then give your assessment as to whether corruption in India over the next ten years will increase or decline.

October 4 Fall Break Enjoy!

12. October 6 Urbanization and Environmental Sustainability in India

Discussion questions:
   1. How does India’s “structural transformation” affect the importance of its cities, and what are the biggest challenges that urbanization poses?
   2. Why have India’s efforts to clean up the Ganga failed?
   3. Discuss the biggest problems that will have to be overcome in order to reverse the degradation of the Yamuna River in the Delhi area?

October 11 The End of an Era? 2014 General Elections and the Future of Indian Politics


Discussion Questions:
   1. Vaishnav describes the 2014 elections as “a historic event on multiple fronts.” List the three most important new developments occurring in the elections and the three most important historical continuities in the elections.
   2. Discuss the ways in which the economy affected the 2014 elections.

* Essay topics will be passed out at the end of class. Your essay will be due at the beginning of class on October 20.

PART III PAKISTAN
14. October 13  The Irony of Pakistan: How a secular leader founded a state based on religion
Discussion questions:
1. Jalal writes (p. 51) “It was mainly religion as identity, not the dream of an Islamic theocracy, which had spurred the All India Muslim League to demands the creation of Pakistan in March 1940.” Explain what she means by the distinction between religion as identity and the dream of an Islamic theocracy and elaborate how we know that it was religious identity and not the dream of theocracy that motivated the establishment of Pakistan as a separate country.
2. Explain how the nature of the independence movement shaped the nature of Pakistan after independence.

15. October 18  Pakistan’s Changing Constitutional Structure and Party System
Discussion Questions:
1. During its almost 70 year history, Pakistan has had five constitutions and thirteen different “constitutional phases”. Explain the reasons for this constitutional instability.
2. Select any two of Pakistan’s main political parties and describe their objectives as well as their strengths and weaknesses.

16. October 20  War and Political Development in Pakistan
1. What does Paul mean by “hyper-realpolitik assumptions”?
2. What is Pakistan’s “geostrategic curse”? How has it affected Pakistan’s development?
3. Explain the distinction between strong and weak states.

17. October 25  What is a Garrison State and How Did Pakistan Become One?
Discussion Questions:
1. List the characteristics of a garrison state.
2. List at least four reasons for why Pakistan became a garrison state
3. Explain what is meant by “strategic depth” and discuss its role in Pakistan’s strategy.
4. Explain how the United States contributed to Pakistan’s “geostrategic curse.”
18. October 27 The Development of Political Islam in Pakistan

**Resources:**

**Discussion Questions:**
1. Explain why Pakistan’s emphasis on its Islamic identity failed to serve as an adequate basis for a unified and stable state.
2. Describe Zia-ul-Haq’s Islamicization policies. What impact did they have on Pakistan’s political development?
3. Paul writes, “The use – and misuse – of religion by the state and its military has not only weakened Pakistan, it has undermined its potential to emerge as a strong, tolerant, and democratic state.” Explain why.

19. November 1 Comparing Pakistan

**Resources:**

**Discussion Questions:**
1. Discuss the similarities and differences of development in Turkey and Pakistan. Explain why Turkey’s development was more successful.
2. Though South Korea and Taiwan had a strong focus on national security and a garrison state, they succeeded in promoting rapid economic development and democratizing. Explain why?
3. Discuss the similarities and differences in the economic and political development in Pakistan Bangladesh.

20. November 3 The Problematic Future of Pakistan

**Resources:**

**Discussion Questions:**
1. Paul contends that Pakistan’s Warrior state is engaged in a “protection racket” but that this has produced an “insecurity dilemma.” Explain what these terms and describe how Pakistan’s protection racket creates an insecurity dilemma.

2. Why did “war-making” result in successful “state-building” in some European states but not in Pakistan?

3. What does Paul mean when he writes that Pakistan pursues strategies of “double games”? How does this affect Pakistan’s security and development?

4. Explain the role of dominant political parties in affecting whether a country develops a democratic or authoritarian regime.

PART IV AFGHANISTAN

21. November 8 People and Places of Afghanistan
   Barfield, pp. 1-65.
   Discussion Questions:
   1. Barfield demonstrates that throughout Afghanistan’s history, its people have multiple identities or we might say that their identity occurs at different social levels. List the different levels at which identities occur and explain which level is the most important.
   2. Briefly explain Ibn Khaldun’s distinction between “desert civilization” and “sedentary civilization”. Elaborate how it applies to Afghanistan.

22. November 10 Afghanistan’s Descent into Chaos
   *** Squad Presentations are due at the beginning of class.
   Barfield, pp. 164-69, 195-270.
   Discussion Questions:
   1. Explain what Barfield means by the “‘Wizard of Oz’ strategy”. Briefly discuss how rulers’ decisions about whether or not to follow it shaped the course of Afghanistan’s history. Give at least one example of a ruler that followed the strategy and one who did not to illustrate your points.
   2. Explain why did the Musahiban rulers follow a strategy of “gradual social change accompanied by economic development.”
   3. Describe the impact of foreign investment in Afghanistan’s political development during the 20th century.
   4. Barfield writes (p. 236) “The Islamist parties played an insignificant role inside Afghanistan before 1980.” Briefly explain why they were not important before 1980 and why they became important afterwards.

23. November 15 State Breaking and State Making in Afghanistan
   Barfield, pp. 272-336.
   Discussion Questions:
   1. To what extent do the previous patterns of state rebuilding during the 21st century parallel those of state-making during the previous century?
   2. Describe Hamid Karzai’s approach to governance. Explain how it affected efforts to build a modern Afghan state.
3. Describe the evolution of the United States’ strategy in Afghanistan

24. November 17 The Origins and Development of Afghan Insurgency


**Discussion Questions:**
- Staniland writes p. 138: “War created new pressures and opportunities that were responded to in different ways by different groups. Change occurred through pathways that derived from origins, while the enduring power of initial social coalitions and their institutional consequences made continuity possible. Social resources provided crucial advantages for some groups and marginalized others. Use this statement to explain the evolution of two insurgent groups.

25. November 22 The Possibilities and Limits of State-Building in Afghanistan

*** Team Presentations Due at the beginning of class


Karl W. Eikenberry, “The Other Side of the COIN,” Foreign Affairs 92:5 (September 2013), pp. 59-74;

Stephen Biddle, “Ending the War in Afghanistan: How to Avoid Failure on the Installment Plan,” Foreign Affairs (September 2013)


**Discussion Questions:**
- Describe two ways in which Afghanistan social organization affected American state-building efforts.
- Name the two biggest mistakes that you feel the United States made in its Afghan strategy.

November 24 Thanksgiving Break Enjoy!

26. November 29 Afghanistan’s Contemporary Scene


**Discussion Questions:**
- Describe the nature of the “political settlement” that Rubin and Gagnon contend needs to be preserved and broadened
- How do the Taliban’s view of the future Afghan state differ from American views.

27. December 1 Symposium on Comparative Projects Discussion


Discussion Question:
1. Drawing from the Seawright and Gerring article, explain why your cases do not qualify for two types of cross-case methods and then explain why your case qualified as one of the types of case methods.

*** Essay topics for the final will be passed out at the end of class. All exams and research papers should be turned in to Gibson 462 no later than 12:00 Noon Friday, December 13.


Discussion Questions:
1. Staniland contends “there are many ways of forging stability without creating a counterinsurgent Leviathan.” Explain what he means and discuss the implications for U.S. policy in Afghanistan.