Politics of South Asia

Political Science 211
Wellesley College
Fall 2008

 Instructor: Christopher Candland
 Office phone: 2197
 Office: PNE 249

Classroom: PNE 139
Class hours: Tue and Fri 9:50 - 11:00
Office hours: Mon and Thu 3:30 - 5:30

Description

The course is focused on democratization and development in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bhutan (listed here in order of the size of their population). (Afghanistan and the Maldives, the other countries of the South Asian region, may be the subject of your final paper.) The course begins by considering colonial experiences, nationalist struggles, and the official histories constructed by the governments of India and Pakistan. Next, we move to contemporary political systems and economic changes in the region. We conclude with an exploration of governmental and non-governmental strategies to promote human development.

This course complements International Relations of South Asia (POL3 223), which focuses on relations between South Asia states. Although Politics of South Asia (POL2 211) is not a prerequisite, it is recommended that you take this course before International Relations of South Asia (POL3 233).

Course Goal

The goal of the course is to gain understanding of the origins and viability of the present political and economic institutions and development patterns in South Asia.

Format

This is not a lecture course. The course combines lectures, discussion, and simulation. I will present core concepts, major theories, and case studies. But I encourage students to raise questions or make comments at any time. These questions and comments often lead to discussion. If you prefer uninterrupted lectures, this course might not appeal to you.
We will have seven roundtable discussions in which you will play the part of a person who had significant ideas and influence on a historical or contemporary issue related to South Asian politics. I will distribute, before each roundtable discussion, a list of sources for each character, similar to the one below.

Requirements

This course requires a high level of student engagement. Students must read assignments, provide brief responses to the reading before class, and participate in class discussions. Students might be called upon to answer questions about the reading in class. Additional reading might be assigned.

To prepare for each class in which there is new reading, you are required to submit to the course conference, the day prior to class, brief answers to the study questions. You may also post questions or comments of your own about the reading or issues discussed therein. These responses will not be graded, but they are required and will be use to organize lectures and discussions.

Graded, assignments include (1) informed participation in each of the 7 roundtable discussions; (2) an examination, covering material from the first 10 weeks of the course; and (3) a 4,000 word final paper, on a question of your choice.

The references and web sites below will provide valuable source material for roundtable discussion preparations. A study guide will be distributed in advance of the examination. The final paper will be based on your proposal – a short description of the project, identifying the question that your paper will address, and the method and sources it will use. This proposal must be approved before you complete your paper and returned with your paper.

Core Reading

Our course textbook is:


The book is available in the bookstore and on reserve in the Student Center. All other reading is on electronic-reserve or will be distributed.

Important Dates

Mid-term examination Thursday, November 20, in class
Final paper proposal Wednesday, December 10, 4:00 pm
Your final paper is on a topic and question of your choice. However, I must approve your topic and question. A one-page proposal of your final paper will enable me to help you to focus and design your paper. Proposals are not graded, but you will benefit if you submit a proposal by December 10.

Final paper: Friday, December 19, by 4:00 pm

Grades and Deadlines

Informed participation in each roundtable discussion is worth 5% of the final grade. The lowest score will be dropped. Thus, roundtable discussions will constitute 30% of the final grade. The mid-term examination is worth 35% of the final grade. The final paper is worth 35% of the final grade. Grades on late work will fall by 1% each day after the deadline. An ‘A’ final grade requires 96% or more. An ‘A-’ requires 91%. A ‘B+’ requires 86%. A ‘B’ requires 81%. A ‘B-’ requires 76%. A ‘C+’ requires 71%. A ‘C’ requires 66%. And ‘C-’ requires 61%. A final grade of fewer than 61% results in a failing grade.

Students with Disabilities

I encourage students eligible for disability-related accommodations to inform James Wice, Director of Disability Services (x2434), and me, within the first two weeks of the semester.
Class Schedule

Thursday, September 4
Course Overview

1. Formation of Modern South Asian States and Political Regimes

Monday, September 8
Colonial Policies

Macaulay, “Minutes on Indian Education” (Woodrow 1862 (1835)): 170-184
Marx, “British Rule in India” and “The Future Results of British Rule in India” (Marx and Engels 1972 (Marx 1853): 35-41, 81-87)
Tagore, “On Nationalism” (Tagore 1917: xx)

Study Questions: What were Macaulay's views on native education? What does Marx mean in the last sentence of his “The Future Results of British Rule in India”? What does Tagore mean when he writes that: “nationalism is the greatest evil unto itself”?

Thursday, September 11
Creation of India

Nehru, “The Quest,” “Nationalism versus Imperialism” (partial), and “India’s Dynamic Capacity” (partial) (Nehru 1946: 49-68, 356-380, and 499-509)

Study Questions: How does Maddison characterize the stages and social origins of Indian nationalism and the Movement for Pakistan? How does Nehru conceive of Indian nationalism? In what sense could it be argued that the British created India?

Monday, September 15
Roundtable Discussion 1: Creation of India

Mohandas Gandhi, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Karl Marx, and Motilal Nehru discuss the impact of British rule in India.
Thursday, September 18

**Creation of Pakistan**


Wolpert, “Karachi and Bombay Revisited (1943-44)” (Wolpert 1984: 221-236)

Jalal, “The Demand for Pakistan” and “Constructing the State” (Jalal 1990: 9-24 and 49-135)

Study questions: Why was Pakistan created? What circumstances made it difficult for Pakistan to transition from colony to a democracy?

Monday, September 22

**Roundtable Discussion 2: Creation of Pakistan**

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Vinayak Damodav Rao Savarkar discuss (in 1946) whether Pakistan should be created as a homeland for South Asian Muslims. [For reference material, see “Roundtable on Partition” below.]

Thursday, September 25

**Official Histories**

Nayyar and Salim “Introduction” (Nayyar and Salim 2003: 1-7)


Kumar, “Introduction,” “Children and the Past” and “Glory and Grief” (Kumar 2001: 1-28 and 195-222)

Study questions: What are the advantages of an official history for government? Why do the governed tend to accept such histories as the complete truth? Do people, not only governments, need official histories?

Monday, September 29

**Ceylon: The “Model Colony”**


Malik et al, “Political Culture and Heritage,” “Government Structure,” “Political
Parties and Interest Groups,” and “Conflict Mediation” (Malik et al 2008: 307-347)

Study questions: What was implied in the reference to Ceylon as a “model colony”? Why and when did that model begin to break down?

Thursday, October 2  
**Roundtable Discussion 3: Ceylon: The “Model Colony”**

Four major Sri Lankan political parties discuss the status of the plantation Tamils (after Independence in 1948). Should their citizenship and voting rights be annulled? Should they be “repatriated” to India?

Monday, October 6  
**Creation of Bangladesh**

Jahan, “The Disintegration of Pakistan and the Birth of Bangladesh” (Jahan 1972: 185-204)  
Nicholas and Oldenburg, “Introduction,” “The Agony of the Birth of Bangladesh,” “Geo-Political Background,” and “Language and Culture of Bangladesh” (Nicholas and Oldenburg 1972: 1-16)  
Sisson and Rose, “Pakistan, 25 March-October 1971” (Sisson and Rose 1990: 154-176)  

Study questions: Why did Yahya Khan refuse to open the National Assembly?

Thursday, October 9  
**Roundtable Discussion 4: Creation of Bangladesh**

Pakistan Peoples Party leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Awami League leader Mujibur Rehman, and Martial Law Administrator Yahya Khan discuss terms (on February 15, 1971) for the opening of the Pakistani National Assembly.

Monday, October 13  
**Fall Break**
Thursday, October 16
**No Class**

2. Democracy and Democratization

Monday, October 20
**Guest Lecturer: Ramchandra Guha**

“Indian Democracy: Failing or Flourishing?”

Thursday, October 23
**Indian Democracy**

Malik et al, “Political Culture and Heritage,” “Political Institutions, Governmental Processes, and Changing Politics,” and “Political Parties and Political Leaders” (Malik et al 2008: 13-119)
Drèze and Sen, “The Practice of Democracy” (Drèze and Sen 2002: 345-379)

Study questions: How do you define democracy? How democratic is India in light of your definition?

Monday, October 27
**Roundtable Discussion 5: Indian Democracy**

Leadership of four largest (in terms of votes cast in 2006 general elections) Indian political parties – the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Indian National Congress, the Communist Party of India–Marxist, and Bahujan Samaj Party – discuss the greatest challenge to Indian democracy and how it must be met.

Thursday, October 30
**Democratization in Pakistan**

Siddiqa, “The Cost of Milbus” and “Milbus and the Future of Pakistan” (Siddiqa 2007: 219-252)

Study question: What, in your view, is the greatest challenge to Pakistan’s democratization and how can it be overcome?
Monday, November 3

**Democratization in Nepal**


Study question: What, in your view, is the greatest challenge to Nepal’s democratization and how can it be overcome?

Thursday, November 6

**Roundtable Discussion 6: Democratization in Nepal**

Nepali political leaders – Baburam Bhattarai, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) member of the Constituent Assembly; Pushka Kamal Dahal, (aka Prachenda) Chairperson, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist); Bir Bikram Shah Dev Gyanendra, former King of Nepal; Girija Prasad Koirala, President Nepali Congress; Paras Shah, former Crown Prince of Nepal; and Hisila Yami (aka Parvati ) Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) member of the Constituent Assembly – discuss why a secular republic, rather than a constitutional monarchy, was necessary for Nepal’s transition to democracy.

Monday, November 10

**Democratization in Bhutan**

Wangchuk, “The Middle Path to Democracy in the Kingdom of Bhutan” (Wangchuk 2004: 836-855)
Hutt, “Monarchy and Democracy: Can They Coexist?” (Hutton 2005: 120-124)

Study question: Why, in your opinion, did the Fourth King of Bhutan change Bhutan from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy?

Thursday, November 13

**Roundtable Discussion 7: Democratization in Bhutan**

Bhutan’s political leaders – Lam Dorji, former Chief of Army; Jigme Thinley, leader
of the ruling Druk Phuensum Tshogpa and Prime Minister of Bhutan; Tshering Tobjey, leader of the opposition Peoples’ Democratic Party; Jigme Singye Wangchuck, Fourth King of Bhutan; Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck, the Fifth King of Bhutan; a farmer; a student; and a monk – discuss whether a constitutional democracy was necessary for Bhutan.

Monday, November 17
Review Class

Thursday, November 20
In-Class Examination

Monday November 24
No Class

Thursday, November 27
Thanksgiving Break

3. Political Economy of Development

Monday, December 1
Human Development in South Asia

Altaf, “Pakistan Picaresque” (Altaf 2007: 1-5)

Study questions: What is development? What is the relationship between wealth and development?

Thursday, December 4
Politics of Economic Reform in South Asia

Drèze and Sen, “Well Beyond Liberalisation” (Drèze and Sen 2002: 306-346)
Candland, “The Political Element in Economic Reform” (Candland in Cook and Posusney 2002)
Study questions: How does democracy hinder development? How does democracy promote development?

Monday, December 8

**Gender, Microcredit, and Women's Empowerment**


Rose, "SEWA: Women in Movement" (Rose 1992: 15-35)


Fernando, “Nongovernmental Organizations, Micro-Credit, and Empowerment of Women” (Fernando and Heston 1997: 150-177)

Study question: Under what conditions can micro-credit empower women?

**Note:** A one-page description of your research paper is due by 4:00 pm on Wednesday, December 10. It is not graded, but it is required. Please refer to the attached guides on strategy, style, and citations.

**Note:** Your final paper is due in the Political Science Department, Pendleton East 249, by 4:00 pm on Friday, December 19. Please hand your paper to the Department Academic Administrative Assistant, Cynthia Northgraves.
References

Included here are full references to course reading as well as to other works that may be useful for final papers and roundtable discussions.


Haq, Khadija ul, et al, Human Development in South Asia 2005, Mahbub ul Haq

Hardgrave, Robert, and Stanley Kochanek, “Indian Politics on the Internet: A
Resource Guide,” Education about Asia, 4:2, (Fall 1999), 40-43.


Hutchins, Frank, Democratizing Monarch: A Memoir of Nepal’s King Birenda,

Hutt, Michael, “Monarchy and Democracy: Can They Coexist?” Asian Survey,

Jahan, Rounaq, Pakistan: Failure in National Integration, New York: Columbia
University Press, 1972.


Khan, Mohammad Ashgar, ed., Islam, Politics, and the State, London: Zed Books,
1985.

Kohli, Atul, ed., India’s Democracy: An Analysis of Changing State-Society

Koirala, Girija Prasad, Simple Convictions: My Struggle for Peace and Democracy,

Kumar, Krishan, Prejudice and Pride: School Histories of the Freedom Struggle in

Maddison, Angus, Class Structure and Economic Growth in India and Pakistan,

Malik, Iftikar Haider, State and Civil Society in Pakistan, New York: St. Martin’s

Malik, Yogendra, Charles Kennedy, Ashok Kapur, Mahendra Lawoti, Syedur
Rahman, Government and Politics in South Asia, Boulder: Westview, (sixth

Marty, Martin, and Scott Appleby, Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking
Politics, Economies, and Militance, Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
1993.

Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engels, On Colonialism: Articles from the New York

Mumtaz, Khawar, and Farida Shaheen, Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward

Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza, The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama’at-I

Nayyar, A. H., and Ahmad Salim, The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula
and Textbooks in Pakistan: Urdu, English, Social Studies, and Civics,


**Videos**

The following are in our library. I encourage you to view some of these.

1. Religious Violence

*Shattered Pearl* (25 min)
accounts of the personal tragedies caused by the civil war in Sri Lanka

*At the End of a Gun: Women and War* (24 min)
impact of Sri Lanka's 20 year ethnic conflict on women

*Father, Son and Holy War* (120 min, in two volumes)
manhood, male insecurities, and anti-Muslim violence

*War and Peace* (146 min, in two volumes)
documents India-Pakistan religious militarism and India-Pakistan peace activism

*Poverty, Politics, and Religion: The Plight of India’s Poor* (32 min)
political agendas behind militant Hindu revivalist violence against India’s Christian minority

2. Nationalism

*The Road to Independence* (16 min)
from the first War of Indian Independence in 1857 to the division of the Subcontinent in 1947

*A Division of Hearts* (57 min)
participants in partition violence explain what they thought they were doing

*Partition of Pakistan: Legacy of Blood* (53 min)
examines the role of Pakistan’s founder, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, in the partition of Pakistan

3. Partition

*Train to Pakistan* (90 min)
Partition violence convinces villagers to see themselves as Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs.
4. Post-Partition Politics

Eqbal Ahmad and the Partitioning of India (52 min)
Ahmad investigates politico-religious ideals leading to the partition of India.

India After Independence (21 min)
India’s political history from Partition to the assassination of Indira Gandhi

The Birth of Pakistan (20 min)
Pakistan’s political history from partition to the election of Benazir Bhutto

5. Women and Patriarchy in South Asia

Islam and Feminism (26 min)
religion and law affecting women in Pakistan’s Punjab

Shackled Women: Abuses of a Patriarchal World (40 min)
abuses of women’s rights by male establishments and female collaboration

Women in the Struggle Against Poverty: A Case Study (30 min)
the growing movement of Bangladeshi women who run profitable cottage industries

Bangladesh: Educating the Millions (30 min)
government efforts to make schools more accessible, particularly to girls

Jama Masjid Street Journal (20 min)
Mira Nair’s first film, a tour around the Jama Masjid area in Old Delhi

6. Community Development Organizations

Jagriti (25 min)
an NGO-established school’s experience with bureaucracy and politicians

The SEWA Movement (28 min)
SEWA’s leadership describes the organization’s membership, mission, and accomplishments

The Women’s Bank of Bangladesh (47 min)
philosophy, development, and function of the micro-credit Grameen Bank

The Story of Nanuben Vithalbahi and The SEWA Bank (9 min)
personal account of a clothes vendor and her support from the SEWA bank
Journals and Newsmagazines

Please browse through South Asian newspapers, magazines, and periodicals. The Clapp Library maintains an impressive collection of serials related to South Asia, including:

Asia Survey – a monthly journal of contemporary affairs covering all of Asia

Contemporary South Asia – an accessible academic survey of current affairs

Economic and Political Weekly – India’s leading scholarly journal of political economy

Far Eastern Economic Review – a newsmagazine covering all of Asia

The Herald – Pakistan’s leading weekly newsmagazine

The Hindu – a weekly summary edition of one of India’s leading newspapers

India Today – one of India’s leading weekly newsmagazine

The Indian Economic and Social History Review – an academic journal

The Journal of Asian Studies – the journal of the Association for Asian Studies

South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies – the journal of the U.K. South Asian Studies Association
Web Resources

There are many web sites covering issues related to South Asian politics. You are encouraged to consult the following sites.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/
British Broadcasting Service South Asia

http://www.carnegieendowment.org/npp/country/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1000095
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, South Asia Resources pages

http://www.sacw.net/
South Asia Citizen's Web, a collection of reports from various non-governmental organizations

http://www.wellesley.edu/Activities/homepage/wasac/
the web page of the Wellesley Association for South Asian Cultures

http://news.indiamart.com/ -
articles from several of India's leading newspapers

http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/pakistan.htm
articles from Pakistan's online newspapers

http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/banglade.htm
links to the leading newspapers of Bangladesh

http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/srilanka.htm
links to the leading newspapers of Sri Lanka

http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/Organizations/healthnet/SAAsia/ejournals/ejournalsframe.html -
Re/productions, an on-line journal on reproductive health and gender in South Asia
Sources for Roundtable on Creation of Pakistan

Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, “President Address of M. A. Jinnah,” [to the 28th session of the All India Muslim League, Madras, 14 April 1941], in Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents, volume 2, 1924-1947, Karachi, National Publishing House, 1969,

Syed Abu’l -A’la Maududi


Jawaharlal Nehru

Jawaharlal Nehru, “The Quest,” “Nationalism versus Imperialism” (partial), and “India’s Dynamic Capacity” (partial), and “India: Partition or Strong National State or Centre of Supra-National State?,” The Discovery of India, New Delhi: Oxford, 1989, (1946), 49-68, 356-380, 499-509, 524-536.

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar

Strategy for Your Final Paper

Please use this five-staged approach to plan and write your final paper.

1. Articulate a question.

The most crucial and most difficult task in designing a good paper is posing a productive question. Take some time to figure out what is most puzzling or most unsatisfying about what you have read and learned in the study of the politics of South Asia. It is not useful to pose a question the answer to which is presentation of information alone. A fruitful question is often posed as a puzzle; and a successful paper presents a new way of looking at or resolving that puzzle.

2. Explain briefly why that question is important to study of the politics of South Asia.

In the face of the literature, or in the face of common sense, briefly explain why the question or puzzle demands an answer.

3. Defend briefly a strategy for addressing that question.

Different questions demand different methodological approaches. A single case study can answer some questions. Others require explicit comparative analysis. Some questions require interpretive approaches; others statistical analysis. (For discussion of methodological approaches, see Charles Ragin, The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies.)

Explain briefly what your approach can deliver. (e.g., "Comparing Kerala's policies and performance in reducing fertility rates to those of China allows for an assessment as to whether nongovernmental public action is required for effective family planning.")

4. Apply that strategy.

Most of your paper should be devoted to analysis. Having done the difficult work of framing the paper with a question and devising a strategy for addressing that question, the analytical steps should be clear.

5. Draw conclusions.

In your conclusion, state forcefully what you established. Avoid the temptations to make policy recommendations, to speculate on the future, or to introduce some last minute variable that explains everything.
Writing Suggestions for Your Final Paper

Focus. A narrower argument is usually more defensible and more interesting. Be succinct. It's not merely a virtue; it's a requirement. (The text of your final paper – not including footnotes and bibliography – must be fewer than 4,000 words.) Write long rough drafts. As you prepare your final draft, eliminate nonessential material. Papers may be shorter than the word limit. Many excellent papers are. At the end of the paper, give a word count (e.g., 3,802 words).

In your introduction, state your question and your approach and state your argument. Use topic sentences. The contribution of each paragraph should be clear from its first sentence. Avoid lists, worn-out metaphors, and contractions. Give phrases and the acronym for these phrases in parentheses (e.g., non-governmental organizations (NGOs)) before using an acronym alone. Capitalize acronyms. But do not capitalize common nouns.

Avoid first person claims. A sentence such as "I believe that a theory of group violence requires attention to gender" leads the reader to divide attention between the authority of the writer and the truth of the claim being advanced. ("Hmm...? That's an interesting claim. But I wonder how she came to believe that.") Stating a claim directly usually gives it more credibility. (e.g., "A theory of group violence requires attention to gender.")

Distinguish between countries, states, political regimes, governments, and nations and be clear about the concept to which you refer. Do not use country names as substitutes for states, political regimes, governments, or nations. The claim that "India has used preferential policies to combat caste discrimination" may refer to the administrative apparatus (i.e., the state), to the particular system of recruitment into that apparatus (i.e., the political regime), or to a government (i.e., the people who manage the state). Do not conflate nations and states. A nation is conceived as a community that believes it is united by a collective identity, perhaps by citizenship, culture, ethnicity, history, language, religion, territory, or some mixture of these. A "nation-state," wherein the borders of national identity and state authority coincide perfectly, is a compelling notion and often used to legitimate government, but is very rare, arguably non-existent. Keep in mind that states, countries, and regimes, being inanimate, are not actors. Thus, the notion of a non-state actor is an unnecessary redundancy. All actors, including governments, are non-state.

Use one of the citation formats described below.

Double-space; do not use one and one half-space formatting. Paginate. Check your grammar; edit thoroughly; proof read carefully.
Citation and Bibliography Formats

Ideas, and the words that are used to express them, are authored. However independent they might appear on the printed page, ideas and words exist because of someone’s effort. To represent another's ideas or words as yours, even if paraphrased rather than quoted, is a form of theft, known as plagiarism. Carefully citing all sources of ideas and words in your writing protects you from the charge of plagiarism. If you are found to have plagiarized, you will fail this course and might face more serious sanctions from the College. Carefully citing all sources of ideas and words in your writing also impresses your reader with the research and authority that you bring to your subject.

Use one of the following citation formats in your papers. At the conclusion of a sentence that reflects or reports someone else’s opinion or information, use either an in-text citation or a footnote.

(1.) An in-text citation gives the author’s last name, year of publication, and page, in parentheses. (Last Name of Author(s) year: page). Then, in an attached bibliography, each source is given like this:

Last Name, First name, year, Title of Book, Place of Publication: Publisher.
Last Name, First name, month year, "article title," Title of Periodical, (Volume: Number).
Last Name, First name, year, "chapter title," in Title of Edited Book, First and Last Name of Editor, ed., Place of Publication: Publisher.

For example:

Kerala’s performance in economic and human development owes much to its religious diversity and its tradition of matrilineal property inheritance. (Drèze and Sen 1995: 200)

Then, in your bibliography, give the full citation, like this:


Following the in-text citation format, articles in periodicals or chapters in books should be listed in your bibliography like so:


(2) A footnote refers your reader to a complete citation at the bottom of the page. The footnote format is:

First name Last Name, Title of Book, Place of Publication: Publisher, Year, Page(s).
First name Last Name, "article title," Title of Journal, (Volume: Number), Month Year, Page(s).
First name Last Name, "chapter title," in Title of Edited Book, First and Last Name of Editor, ed., Place of Publication: Publisher, Year, Page(s).

For example:

Pakistan’s early development strategy intentionally promoted economic inequality as a technique for rapid economic growth.¹ At the bottom of the page, appears the footnote.


Articles in periodicals or chapters in books should be listed in your footnote like so:


If you use footnotes, you may include a bibliography but are not obligated to do so. If you use footnotes, be sure to place citations at the bottom (foot) of the page, not at the end of the paper (which would make them endnotes).