

India's Foreign Policy and National Security
LKY School of Public Policy, January 2012

Course Instructor: Kanti Bajpai

Office: Centre for Asia and Globalisation (CAG), Oei Tiong Ham Building

Office Hours:

Phone: 66796

Email: sppkpb@nus.edu.sg

Class Timings: Wednesday, 2-5 pm

Classroom: MM 2-3

Objectives of the Course

India is a rising power. Its foreign policy and national security choices will be consequential for South Asia, for neighbouring regions such as Southeast Asia, for Asia as a whole, and increasingly for the world. India has always played a fairly large role diplomatically, beyond its neighbourhood. It is poised to extend its military influence as well. The course attempts to provide students with an overview of the problems that India confronts and how it typically goes about dealing with those problems.

The objective of the course is to therefore acquaint students with the outlines of India's foreign policy and its national security and to encourage a critical analysis of Indian thinking and practice. In doing so, it is hoped that students will learn not just about India but also about foreign policy and national security issues more broadly. So much foreign policy analysis and national security analysis is based on the experience of the Western countries and of the former Soviet Union and now China. It is vital to understand how other societies confront these issues. India is an interesting case of a developing country, rising power, and an open society, dealing with a complex external environment and the full spectrum of national security problems from the challenge of a nuclear deterrent to subconventional conflict and asymmetric warfare.

Readings and Class Sessions

Academic Affairs will also make available hard copies in a course pack. Please make sure you collect these from time to time from the office.

You are expected to do all the readings prior to class. After the first lecture, the course will be conducted seminar style, with the instructor providing a brief introduction to the topic and then opening up to student presentations on the subject. The number of student presentations will depend on the number of students in the course. After the student presentation, we will open up to more general discussion amongst all the students and the instructor.

It is important to bear in mind that the approach here is twofold: a critical assessment of the concepts and arguments presented in the readings; and a problem solving concern in which we think about the implications for Indian policy makers.

Assessment

Students will be assessed in the following way:

Final exam	50%	
Term paper	30%	Due date in class Week 13
Short paper	20%	Due date in class Week 7

The term paper will be 4000 words in length (the bibliography is not included in the 4000 words). It should address an issue of war and peace between states and should be related to the topics in the course. The precise subject of the term paper should be discussed and finalized with the instructor. It is intended to be a research paper and should deal with the security concerns of one or more countries and the prospects for war and peace. It should be analytical i.e. it should look at a case and seek to understand why war occurred or why, despite tensions and differences, war was avoided.

The short paper will be 2000 words in length based on the presentation in class by the student. It is intended to be a “reaction” paper and should assess the readings for that week and explain how useful the student found the readings in understanding the topic at hand.

The final examination will cover the entire course and will be a three-hour examination in which the students will answer three questions. The expectation is that students will be able (i) to summarize the main lines of argument contained in the readings, (ii) to assess the arguments in the readings (i.e. agree and disagree with arguments and state why they agree and disagree), and (iii) to suggest ways of thinking about issues that go beyond the readings. In other words, there will be three components to a good answer – summarizing arguments, critiquing arguments, and offering creative analysis or prescriptions about policy issues that go beyond the readings.

In all assessments, students will also be judged on organization, clarity of expression, and presentation of the material (proper footnoting and references, correct use of subheadings, etc., in the papers). There will be penalties for late submission of the short and term paper. The grading scale is from F (fail) to A+ (Excellent).

Papers will be computer checked for plagiarism.

COURSE STRUCTURE

We will be reading the following. The readings that have been starred (*) are required. The others are recommended. I strongly suggest that you do as many of the recommended as possible.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Week 1: SHOPPING WEEK – Introduction to the Course

Week 2: Indian Strategic Thinking

*C. Raja Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy* (New Delhi: Viking/Penguin, 2003), chapter 2.

*Rahul Sagar, "State of Mind: What Kind of Power will India Become?" *International Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 4 (July 2009), pp. 801-816.

*Bharat Karnad, "The Cultural Context of *Moralpolitik*: The Traditional Indian Statecraft, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Bomb," in Karnad, *Nuclear Weapons and Indian Security: The Realist Foundations of Strategy* (Delhi: Macmillan India, 2002), pp. 1-65.

Kanti Bajpai, "Indian Strategic Culture," in Michael Chambers, ed., *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances* (Carlisle, PA.: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College), pp. 245-302. Also available online at <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB108.pdf#page=238>

Week 3: India's Major Relationships: Changes under the NDA and the UPA Governments, 1998 to 2009; Relations with the United States

*James Chiriyankandath and Andrew Wyatt, "The NDA and Indian Foreign Policy," in Katharine Adeney and Lawrence Saez, eds., *Coalition Politics and Hindu Nationalism* (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2005), pp. 193-211.

*Harsh Pant, "The India-US Nuclear Pact: Policy, Process, and Great Power Politics," *Asian Security*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2009, pp. 273-295.

*Ashley Tellis, "The Transforming U.S.-Indian Relationship and Its Significance for American Interests," downloaded from <http://www.npec-web.org/files/20061017-Tellis-Transforming.pdf>.

Teresita Schaffer, *India and the United States in the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: The CSIS Press, 2009). Chapter to be announced.

Week 4: India's Major Relationships: China

*Surjit Mansingh, "Rising China and Emergent India in the 21st Century: Friends or Rivals," *The Korean Journal of Defence Analysis*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Winter 2007), pp. 117-142.

*Manjari Chatterjee Miller, "Re-collecting Empire: 'Victimhood' and the 1962 Sino-Indian War," *Asian Security*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2009, pp. 216-241.

Mohan Guruswamy and Zorawar Daulet Singh, "Road to Rapprochement Diplomacy Since the 1970s," in Guruswamy and Singh, *India-China Relations: The Border Issue and Beyond* (New Delhi: Viva Books, 2009), pp. 92-114.

Srinath Raghavan, *War and Peace in Modern India: The Nehru Years* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2009). Chapter on China.

Harry Broadman, "India and China Go to Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2008.

Week 5: India's Major Relationships: Pakistan, South Asia, and the Extended Neighbourhood

*T.V. Paul, "Why has the India-Pakistan Rivalry Been so Enduring? Power Asymmetry and an Intractable Conflict," *Security Studies*, 15:4 (October-December 2006), pp. 600-630.

*David Malone, *Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 101-128.

*David Scott, "India's 'Extended Neighbourhood' Concept: Power Projection for a Rising Power," *India Review*, vol. 8, no. 2, April-June 2009, pp. 107-143.

E. Sridharan, "Economic Cooperation and Security Spillovers: The Case of India and Pakistan," downloaded from [www.stimsonorg/southasia./pdf/sridharan.pdf](http://www.stimsonorg/southasia/pdf/sridharan.pdf).--Pakistan

Week 6: India and Global Order: Climate Change, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and Disarmament

*Amrita Narlikar, "Peculiar Chauvinism or Strategic Calculation: Explaining the Negotiation Strategy of a Rising India," *International Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 1, January 2006, pp. 77-94.

*Sandeep Sengupta, "Defending 'Differentiation': India's Foreign Policy on Climate Change from Rio to Copenhagen," paper presented at the Annual Convention of the

International Studies Association, New Orleans, USA, 17-20 February 2010. Paper to be handed out by the instructor.

*Amrita Narlikar, "India and the WTO," in Steve Smith, Tim Dunne, and Amelia Hadfield eds., *Foreign Policy Analysis in International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 270-283.

Arundhati Ghose, "Disarmament and India's Nuclear Diplomacy: Evolution of a 'Reluctant' Nuclear Weapon State," in Atish Sinha and Madhup Mohta, eds., *Indian Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities* (New Delhi: Foreign Service Institute and Academic Foundation, 2007), pp. 979-1007.

Week 7: India as a Power: Hard and Soft Power

*Baldev Raj Nayar and T.V. Paul, "Major-Power Status in the Modern World: India in Comparative Perspective," in Nayar and Paul, eds., *India in the World Order: Searching for Major Power Status* (New Delhi: Foundation Books and Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 27-64.

*Jacques C. Hymans, "India's Soft Power and Vulnerability," *India Review*, vol. 8, no. 3, July-September 2009, pp. 234-265.

*Dan Markey, "Developing India's Foreign Policy 'Software,'" *Asia Policy*, July 2009, pp. 73-96.

Stephen P. Cohen, *India: Emerging Power* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution), chapter 1.

Sanjaya Baru, "The Strategic Consequences of India's Economic Performance," in Sanjaya Baru, *Strategic Consequences of India's Economic Performance* (New Delhi: Academic Foundation, 2006), pp. 32-56.

Jan Cartwright, "India's Regional and International Support for Democracy: Rhetoric or Reality?" *Asian Survey*, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 403-28.

INDIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

Week 8: The Evolution of India's Nuclear Weapons Policy

*Bharat Karnad, *India's Nuclear Policy* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Security International and New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2009), pp. 63-106.

*K. Subrahmanyam, "Indian Nuclear Policy—1964-98: A Personal Recollection," in Jasjit Singh, ed., *Nuclear India* (New Delhi: Knowledge World in association with Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 1998), pp. 26-53.

George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb* (New Delhi: OUP, 1999), pp. 404-443.

P.R. Chari, "India's Nuclear Doctrine: Confused Ambitions," *The Non-Proliferation Review*, Fall-Winter 2000, pp. 123-135.

Week 9: Other Weapon Systems, Defence Reforms

*Stephen P. Cohen and Sunil Dasgupta, *Arming Without Aiming: India's Military Modernization* (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2010), chapters on army, naval, and airforce modernization.

*Anit Mukherjee, "Failing to Deliver: The Post Crises Defence Reforms in India, 1998-2008". Paper to be handed out by the instructor.

Brian K. Hedrick, "India's Strategic Defense Transformation: Expanding Global Relationships," Strategic Studies Institute, November 2009, available at <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB950.pdf>.

Week 10: Deterrence, Escalation, and Accidental War

*Sumit Ganguly, "Nuclear Stability in South Asia," *International Security*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Fall 2008), pp. 45-70.

*S. Paul Kapur, "Ten Years of Instability in Nuclear South Asia," *International Security*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Fall 2008), pp. 71-94.

*Walter C. Ladwig III, "A Cold Start for Hot Wars? The Indian Army's New Limited War Doctrine," *International Security*, vol. 32, no. 3 (Winter 2007/08), pp. 158-190.

Rajesh Rajagopalan, "The Threat of Unintended Use of Nuclear Weapons in South Asia," *India Review*, vol. 4, no. 2, April 2005, pp. 214-232.

Week 11: Counterinsurgency, Terrorism, Internal Security

*Anit Mukherjee, "India's Experience with Insurgency and Counterinsurgency," in Sumit Ganguly, Andrew Scobell, and Joseph Liow, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Asian Security Studies* (Routledge, 2009).

*Praveen Swami, "Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir in Theory and Practice," *India Review*, vol. 2, no. 3 (July 2003), pp. 55-88.

*Jennifer Oetken, "Counterinsurgency against Naxalites in India," in Sumit Ganguly and David P. Fidler, eds., *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

Rajesh Rajagopalan, *Fighting Like a Guerilla: The Indian Army and Counterinsurgency* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2008), pp. 134-168.

Ajai Sahni, "Naxalism: The Retreat of Civil Governance," *Faultlines*, pp. 79-103.

Week 12: Counterinsurgency, Terrorism, Internal Security

*K.P.S. Gill, "Endgame in Punjab: 1988-1993," *Faultlines*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1999), pp. 1-72.

*Bethany Lacina, "Does Counterinsurgency Theory Apply in Northeast India?" *India Review*, vol. 6, no. 3, July-September 2007, pp. 165-183.

*Ashok Mehta, "India's Counterinsurgency in Sri Lanka," in Sumit Ganguly and David P. Fidler, eds., *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

Kanti Bajpai, *Roots of Terrorism* (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2002).

Week 13: Non-Traditional Security: Water, Energy

*Ramaswamy P. Iyer, "Water Security: Indian Concerns," in Kapil Kak, ed., *Comprehensive Security for an Emerging India* (New Delhi: Knowledge World, 2010), pp. 343-359.

*Manjeet Pardesi and Sumit Ganguly, "India and Energy Security: A Foreign Policy Priority," in Harsh V. Pant, ed., *Indian Foreign Policy in a Unipolar World* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), pp. 99-127.

The following is a list of additional readings that may be useful for the course and for the papers. Also listed are journals that publish articles on Indian foreign policy and national security.

OTHER USEFUL READINGS

- Baruah, Sanjib. *India Against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999)
- Basrur, Rajesh. *Minimum Deterrence and India's Nuclear Security* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006)
- Basrur, Rajesh. *South Asia's Cold War: Nuclear Weapons and Conflict in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2008, forthcoming)
- Chandran, Suba. *Limited War: Revisiting Kargil in the Indo-Pak Conflict* (New Delhi: India Research Press, 2005)
- Chellaney, Brahma, ed. *Securing India's Future in the New Millennium* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1999)
- Chen, Ruisheng. "China and South Asia in the 21st Century", China Centre for International Studies (April 1998)
- Cohen, Stephen P. *The Indian Army: Its Contribution to the Development of a Nation*, 2nd ed. (New York and Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990)
- Cohen, Stephen P. *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2004)
- Garver, John W. *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twenty-First Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002)
- Karnad, Bharat. *Nuclear Weapons and Indian Security: The Realist Foundations of Strategy* (New Delhi: Macmillan, 2002)
- Kelly, David A., Ramkishan S. Rajan, and Gilliam H.L. Goh, eds., *Managing Globalization: Lessons from China and India* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2006)
- Kux, Dennis. *Estranged Democracies: India and the United States, 1941-1991* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1994)
- Lal, Rollie. *Understanding India and China: Security Implications for the United States and the World* (London: Praeger Security International, 2006)
- Levy, Adrian, and Catherine Scott-Clark, *Deception: Pakistan, the United States and the Global Weapons Conspiracy* (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2007)
- Mansingh, Surjit, and Charles Heimsath, *A Diplomatic History of Modern India* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1971)
- Meredith, Robyn. *The Elephant and the Dragon: The Rise of India and China and What It Means for All of Us* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007)
- Perkovich, George. *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Rajgopalan, Rajesh. *Fighting Like a Guerilla: The Indian Army and Counterinsurgency* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2008)

- Rajgopalan, Rajesh. *Second Strike: Arguments About Nuclear War in South Asia* (New Delhi: Viking, 2005)
- Rajagopalan, Swarna, ed. *Security and South Asia: Ideas, Institutions, and Initiatives* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2006)
- Rizvi, Gowher. *South Asia in a Changing International Order* (New Delhi: Sage, 1993)
- Rosen, Stephen Peter. *Societies and Military Power: India and its Armies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996)
- Subrahmanyam, K. *Shedding Shibboleths: India's Evolving Strategic Outlook* (Delhi: Wordsmiths, 2005)
- Smith, Chris. *India's Ad Hoc Arsenal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Smith, David. *The Dragon and the Elephant: China, India and the New World Order* (London: Profile Books, 2007)
- Sathasivam, Kanishkan. *Uneasy Neighbours: India, Pakistan, and US Foreign Policy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005)
- Sridharan, E., ed. *The India-Pakistan Nuclear Relationship: Theories of Deterrence and International Relations* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2007)
- Tanham, George K. *Indian Strategic Thought* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1992)
- Tellis, Ashley. *India's Emerging Nuclear Posture: Between Recessed Deterrent and Ready Arsenal* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001)
- Thomas, Raju G.C. *Democracy, Security, and Development in India* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996)

Journals/Magazines

- *Asian Security*
- *Asian Survey*
- *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*
- *Contemporary South Asia*
- *Contemporary Security Policy*
- *Economic and Political Weekly (Mumbai)*
- *Frontline (Chennai)*
- *India Quarterly (New Delhi)*
- *International Affairs*
- *International Security*
- *International Studies (New Delhi)*
- *Journal of International Affairs*
- *Journal of Strategic Studies*
- *India Review*
- *Pacific Affairs*
- *Security Dialogue*
- *Security Studies*
- *South Asian Survey (New Delhi)*
- *Strategic Analysis (New Delhi)*
- *Survival*
- *World Policy Journal*