

Kumar, Sanjeev (ed) (2020). 'Understanding Gandhi: Why Gandhi Matters Today' in Gandhi and the Contemporary World. Oxon & New York: Routledge. PP-1-23.

Unit 5

Gandhi, Mahatma. (1994). What is Hinduism. National Book Trust, New Delhi,

Ragi, Sangit K. (2022), RSS and Gandhi: The Idea of India, New Delhi: Sage [On Hinduism: pp. 42-74; On Religious Conversion: pp. 75-114; On Cow Protection: 193-220; On Language Questions: pp. 160-192]

Mehta, Sandhya. (2002). Gandhiji On Religious Conversion Selected and Compiled, 1st Edition. Mumbai. Mani Bhavan Gandhi Sangrahalaya.

Gandhi (M.K.) . (1955), My Religion. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust.

Bilgrami, Akeel (2011), Gandhi's Religion and Its relation to his Politics. In: Brown, Judith M. and Parel, Anthony (ed.): The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi. Cambridge University Press, 93–116

S Radhakrishnan (2007): "Gandhi's Religion and Politics," in S Radhakrishnan (ed), Mahatma Gandhi: Essays and Reflections, Mumbai: Jaico Publication House.

D. Hardiman (2003) 'Fighting Religious Hatreds', in Gandhi in His Time and Ours. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Note: Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the Examination Branch, University of Delhi, from time to time.

DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC ELECTIVE COURSE – 2b: India's National Security: Major Challenges and Strategic Thinking

CREDIT DISTRIBUTION, ELIGIBILITY AND PRE-REQUISITES OF THE COURSE

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility criteria	Pre-requisite of the course (if any)
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/Practice		
India's National Security: Major Challenges and Strategic Thinking DSE-2b	4	3	1	-	Passed Class XII	NIL

Learning Objectives

This course aims to link India's internal and external security challenges with its long term strategic thinking, approach and responses to the same. It introduces the historical dimensions of India's security challenges and the policy responses to students before equipping them with tools to conceptually analysing these. The course then discusses the intellectual foundations of India's strategic thinking drawn from both classical texts and past

practices. Students will also learn about the major contemporary debates on India's strategic culture. The course will engage students in understanding both internal and external dimensions of India's major security challenges. Some of the key external challenges, it focuses on, include India's securitized borders, maritime security threats, nuclearization, and terrorism. In the internal realm, issues pertaining to Jammu & Kashmir, the North-east, Naxalism, along with cyber and information warfare have been discussed. The final component of the course introduces the students to an array of India's strategic responses ranging from non-alignment, forging strategic partnerships and military responses to pursuing multilateral strategies in the contemporary world.

Learning outcomes

At the end of the course, students would acquire the ability to:

- Understand the ways in which, the security threats to India have evolved historically and how have these been met.
- Appreciate the intellectual and historical foundations of Indian strategic thinking.
- Develop a nuanced understanding of India's strategic culture.
- Learn about India's internal and external security threats in its multifarious dimensions.
- Understand how has India evolved a whole array of strategic responses such as nonalignment, forging strategic partnerships and bilateral as well as multilateral partnerships to address diverse challenges it faces.

SYLLABUS OF DSE-2b

UNIT – I (7 Hours)

Understanding India's National Security

- 1.1 India's Security Policy: A Historical Perspective
- 1.2 Contemporary Dimensions of India's National Security Framework
- 1.3 Conceptualizing India's National Security

UNIT – II (9 Hours)

Intellectual Foundations of India's Strategic Thinking

- 2.1 Textual Traditions: Ramayana & Mahabharata
- 2.2 Kautilya
- 2.3 Non-Textual Conceptualizations: Swaraj, Martial Culture

UNIT – III (7 Hours)

India's strategic culture

- 3.1 Evolution and conceptualization
- 3.2 Contemporary Trends

UNIT – IV (13 Hours)

India's National Security Challenges

4.1 External Challenges

- 4.1.1 India's Neighbourhood (Cross-border terrorism, securitised borders, water sharing conflicts and nuclearization)
- 4.1.2 Maritime Security

4.2 Internal Challenges

- 4.2.1 Maoism/Naxalist Challenge
- 4.2.2 Separatist Movements (J&K and the Northeast)
- 4.2.3 Cyber Warfare

UNIT – V (9 Hours)

India's Strategic Responses

- 5.1 Non-Alignment
- 5.2 Strategic Partnerships
- 5.3 Military Responses
- 5.4 Multilateral Alliances

Essential/recommended readings

Unit wise reading list

Unit 1: Understanding India's National Security

1.1 India's Security Policy: A Historical Perspective

Essential Readings

Raju G C Thomas, "The Strategic Environment and Defence Policies" in *Indian Security Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) pp. 10-49

Sanjay Chaturvedi, "Indian Geopolitics: 'Nation-State' and the Colonial Legacy" in Kanti Bajpai and Siddharth Mallavarapu (eds.) *International Relations in India: Theorising the Region and Nation* (Orient Longman, 2005) pp. 238-281

Additional Readings

David Malone, "History: A Vital Foundation of India's International Relations" in *Does the Elephant Dance: Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 19-46

Shyam Saran, "Sources of India's World View" in *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century* (Juggernaut, 2018) pp. 9-24

Shivshankar Menon, "The Stage and Inheritance" in *India and Asian Geopolitics: The Past, Present* (The Brookings Institutions, 2021) pp. 11-36

Sumit Ganguly, "India's National Security" in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 145-159

L.P. Singh, "Learning the Lessons of History" in Brahma Chellaney (eds.) *Securing India's Future in the New Millennium* (Orient Longman, 1999) pp. 1-22

Harsh Pant and Kartik Bommakanti, "India's national security: challenges and dilemmas", *International Affairs*, 95 (4) (2019):835-857.

1.2 Contemporary Dimensions of India's National Security Framework

Essential Readings

Kanti Bajpai "India: Modified Structuralism" in Muthaiah Alagappa (eds.) *Asian Security Practice* (Stanford University Press, 1998) pp. 157-197

Additional Readings

Arvind Gupta, "National Security Environment" and "Non-traditional Security Issues in National Security" in *How India Manages its National Security* (Penguin Random House, 2018).

Rohan Mukherjee & David M. Malone, "Indian Foreign policy and Contemporary Security Challenges", *International Affairs*, Volume 87 (1), pp. 87–104 (2011)

1.3 Conceptualizing India's National Security

Essential Readings

Anshuman Behera and Areeba Ahsanat Moazzam, "India's National Security Discourse: A Conceptual Introduction", in Anshuman Behera & Sitakanta Mishra (eds.), *Varying Dimensions of India's National Security* (Springer 2022) pp. 3-18

P. S. Raghavan, "National Security Determinants of Foreign Policy", in Arvind Gupta and Anil Wadhwa (Ed.), *India's Foreign Policy: Surviving in a Turbulent World*, New Delhi: (Sage Publications, 2020) pp. 34-44

Additional Readings

Arvind Gupta, "How Good is India's National Security System?" in *How India Manages its National Security* (Penguin Random House, 2018)

David M. Malone, "India's Contemporary Security Challenges: More Internal than External?" in *Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 47-74

Unit 2: Intellectual Foundations of India's Strategic Thinking

2.1 Textual Traditions: Ramayana and Mahabharata

Essential Readings

Swarna Rajagopalan, "Grand Strategic Thought in the Ramayana and Mahabharata" in Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa (eds) *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Rutledge, 2014) pp. 31-62

Additional Readings

Amrita Narlikar and Aruna Narlikar, "India's Negotiation Strategy: The Heroism of Haed Bargaining?" in *Bargaining with a Rising India: Lessons from the Mahabharata* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) pp. 24-71.

Sharad Patil, "Myth and Reality of Ramayana and Mahabharata", *Social Scientist*, Vol.4, No. 8 (1976): 68-72.

2.2 Kautilya

Essential Readings

Subrata K. Mitra, "Kautilya and the Strategic Culture of India" in Subrata K. Mitra and Michael Liebig (eds.) *Kautilya's Arthashastra: An Intellectual Portrait* (Nomos, 2016) pp. 288-316

Additional Readings

Rashed Uz Zaman, "Kautilya: The Indian Strategic Thinker and Indian Strategic Culture", *Comparative Strategy*, Volume 25, No. 3 (2006) 231-247

George Modelska, "Kautilya: Foreign Policy and International System in the Ancient Hindu World", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol-58, No-3 (Sept., 1964). pp. 549-560.

2.3 Non-Textual Conceptualizations: Swaraj, Martial Culture

Essential Readings

Arpita Anand, 'A 'Regional' Intervention in the Debate on India's Strategic Culture: Maratha Statecraft in *Agyapatra*', *Journal of Defence Studies*, 15:3, July-September 2021. Available at: <https://idsa.in/idsa/a-regional-intervention-in-the-debate-on-indias-strategic-culture-aanant>

Jayashree Vivekanandan, "Strategy, Legitimacy and the Imperium: Framing the Mughal Strategic Discourse," in Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa (eds.) *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Rutledge, 2014) pp. 63-85.

Unit 3: India's strategic culture (4 Lectures)

3.1. Evolution and conceptualization

Essential Readings

Kanti Bajpai and Amitabh Mattoo “Introduction” in *Kanti Bajpai, Amitabh Mattoo and George Tanham (eds.) Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996) pp. 15-27

Jaswant Singh, “Strategic Culture” in *Defending India* (New Delhi: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999) pp. 1-60

3.2 Contemporary Trends

Essential Readings

Michael Liebig, ‘Interrogating ‘Hyphenated Cultures’: India’s Strategic Culture and Intelligence Culture’, *Journal of Defence Studies*, 15:3, July-September 2021. Available at: <https://idsa.in/jds/interrogating-hyphenated-cultures-mliebig>

Amrita Narlikar, “Peculiar Chauvinism or Strategic Calculation? Explaining the Negotiating Strategy of a Rising India”, in *International Affairs*, Vol. 82 (1) (2006): 59-76

Additional Readings

George K. Tanham, “Indian Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay” in *Kanti Bajpai, Amitabh Mattoo and George Tanham (eds.) Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996) pp. 28-111

George K. Tanham, “Indian Strategy in Flux?” in *Kanti Bajpai, Amitabh Mattoo and George Tanham (eds.) Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996) pp. 112-139

Unit 4: India’s National Security Challenges

4.1 External Challenges:

4.1.1 India’s Neighborhood

S. Muni, ‘Problem Areas in India’s Neighbourhood Policy’, *South Asian Survey*, Vol. 10 (2) (2003): 185-196.

i. Cross-Border terrorism:

Essential Readings

Sanjeev Kumar HM, Chp 3 in *The India-Pakistan Sub-conventional War: Democracy and Peace in South Asia* (New Delhi: Sage, 2022), pp. 162-192.

Additional Readings

K. Santhanam, “Sources of Terror: India” in *South Asia Post-9/11: Searching for stability* (Observer Research Foundation, 2003), pp. 31-35

S.D. Muni “Introduction” in *Responding to Terrorism in South Asia* (Manohar, 2006) pp. 11-29

ii. Securitised Borders

Essential Readings

Shyam Saran, “The Pakistan Puzzle” in *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century* (Juggernaut, 2018) pp. 77-106

Alka Acharya, “China” in Kanti Bajpai and Harsh Pant (eds.) *India’s Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2013) pp. 356-369

Additional Readings

Shyam Saran, “The India-China Border Dispute and After” in *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century* (Juggernaut, 2018) pp. 123-149

Shiv Shankar Menon, "India and China" in *India and Asian Geopolitics: The Past, Present* (The Brookings Institution, 2021) pp. 317-339

Tanvi Madan, "China in Three Avatars in Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa (eds.) *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Rutledge, 2014) pp. 308-359

Bharat Karnad, "An Elephant with a Small Footprint: The Realist Roots of India's Strategic Thought and Policies" in Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa (eds.) *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Rutledge, 2014) pp. 200-233

iii. Water Sharing

Essential Readings

Brahma Chellaney, "Water: The latest India-Pak Battle Line" in *Water: Asia's New Battleground* (Georgetown University Press, 2011) pp. 286-296.

Medha Bisht, "From the edges of borders: reflections on water diplomacy in South Asia" *Water Policy* 21 (2019): 1123-1138

Jonathan Holslag, "Assessing the Sino-Indian Water Dispute," *Journal of International Affairs*, 64:2, Spring/Summer 2011, pp. 19-35.

Additional Readings

K. Warikoo, "Perspectives of Indus Waters treaty" in Ranabir Samaddar and Helmut Reifeld (eds.) *Peace as Process: Reconciliation and conflict Resolution in South Asia* (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2001) pp. 281-298

Brahma Chellaney, "Nepal and Bhutan as Subregional Energy Hub" in *Water: Asia's New Battleground* (Georgetown University Press, 2011) pp. 281-286

Brahma Chellaney, "Exploiting the Riparian Advantage: A key test case" in *Water: Asia's New Battleground* (Georgetown University Press, 2011) pp. 141-197 (Includes Bangladesh)

iv. Nuclearization

Essential Readings

Ashley J. Tellis, *India's Emerging Nuclear Doctrine: Exemplifying the Lessons of Nuclear revolution*, *NBR Analysis*, 12:2, May 2001, pp. 1-16; 103-110.

Sundaram, K. and MV Ramana. "India and the policy of no first use of nuclear weapons." *Journal of Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 1, no. 1 (2018). Taylor & Francis: 152-68.

Additional Readings

Bharat Karnad, "New Attractions of the Bomb: The Nuclearized Twenty-First Century World" in *India's Nuclear Policy* (Praeger Security International, 2008) pp. 5-34

Rajesh Basrur, "India and China: A managed nuclear rivalry?" *Washington Quarterly*, 42, no. 3 (2019). Taylor & Francis: 151-70.

Harsh V. Pant and Yogesh Joshi, *Indian Nuclear Policy*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2018.

Vipin Narang, "Introduction" in *Seeking the Bomb: Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation* (Princeton University Press, 2022) pp. 1-14

4.1.2 Maritime Security

Essential Readings

S. Jaishankar, Chapter 8, "The Pacific Indian: A Re-Emerging Maritime Outlook," in *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World* (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 2020), pp. 179-200.

Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, "India's maritime strategy", in Anit Mukherjee and C. Raja Mohan (eds.) *India's Naval Strategy and Asian Security* (London: Routledge, 2016) pp. 13-36.

Additional Readings

Rahul Roy Chaudhary "India's Maritime Security" *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 26, no. 1 (1999): 129-139

Vijay Sakhija, "Maritime security order in Asia: a perspective from India" in Joachim Krause and Sebastian Bruns (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Naval Strategy and Security* (London: Routledge, 2016) pp. 315-327

4.2 Internal Challenges

4.2.1 Naxalism/ Maoism

Essential Readings

P.V Ramana, "State Response to the Maoist Challenge: An Overview," in V.R. Raghavan (ed.), *The Naxal Threat: Causes, State Responses and Consequences* (New Delhi: Vij Books, 2011), pp. 71-94.

Additional Readings

E. N. Rammohan, "Rise of Naxalism, its implications for National Security and the way Forward," in V.R. Raghavan (ed.), *The Naxal Threat: Causes, State Responses and Consequences* (Mew Delhi: Vij Books, 2011), pp. 95-112.

Ramachandra Guha, "Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy" *Economic and Political Weekly* 42(32) (2007): 3305-3312

4.2.2 Separatist Movements (J&K/ Northeast)

Kashmir

Essential Readings

Navnita C. Behera, "India's Political Gambit" in *Demystifying Kashmir* (Brookings, 2006) pp. 30-72

Additional Readings

Rekha Chowdhry, "India's responses to the Kashmir Insurgency: A Holistic Perspective", in Mooed Yusuf (eds.) *Insurgency and counter-Insurgency in India: Through a Peacebuilding Lens* (United States Institutes of Peace, 2014) pp. 45-76.

V.G. Patankar, "Insurgency, Proxy War and Insurgency in Kashmir," in Sumit Ganguly and David P. Fidler (eds.), *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), pp. 65-78.

Northeast

Essential Readings

Sanjib Baruah, "Regionalism and secessionism" in Niraja Gopal Jayal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India* (Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 181-191

Additional Readings

Walter Ledweig, "Insights from the Northeast: Counterinsurgency in Nagaland and Mizoram", in Sumit Ganguly and David P. Fidler (eds.) *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (USA, Canada: Routledge, 2009) pp. 45-62

4.2.3 Cyber Security and Information Warfare

Essential Readings

Whagre Prateek & Shibani Mehta, "India's National Cybersecurity Policy Must Acknowledge Modern Realities" (Diplomat, 2019). <https://thediplomat.com/2019/12/indias-national-cybersecurity-policy-must-acknowledge-modern-realities/>

Martin C. Libicki, "The Convergence of Information Warfare". *Strategic Studies Quarterly*. 11(1), 49-65. https://www.airuniversity.af/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-11_Issue-1/Libicki.pdf

Additional Readings

S. Datta, Cybersecurity, Internet governance and India's foreign policy: Historical antecedents (Internet Democracy Project 2016)
<https://internetdemocracy.in/reports/cybersecurity-iq-ifp-saikat-datta>.

Mukerji, Amb (Retd) A. International Cooperation on Cyber Space: India's role. (Ministry of External Affairs, 2018). <https://www.mea.gov.in/distinguished-lectures-detail.htm?743>

Unit 5: India's Strategic Responses

5.1 Non-Alignment

Essential Readings

Rajen Harshe, "India's Non-Alignment: An Attempt at Conceptual Reconstruction," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25:7-8, February 17-24, 1990, pp. 399-405.

Khilnani, S., Rajiv Kumar and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (eds.) (2013). Nonalignment 2.0: A Foreign & Strategic Policy for India in the 21st Century. Penguin.

Additional Readings

P. Srivastava, "From Non-Alignment to Strategic Partnerships" *Non-Alignment Movement: Extending Frontiers* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001) pp. 177-182.

C Rajamohan, "Beyond Non-Alignment" in *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's new Foreign Policy* (Viking, 2003) pp. 29-56

Pant, H.V., & Super, J.M. (2015). India's 'non-alignment' conundrum: a twentieth- century policy in a changing world. *International Affairs*, 91(4), 747-764.

5.2 Strategic Partnerships

Essential Readings

Rajiv Sikri, "India's Strategic Choices" in *Challenge & Strategy in Rethinking India's Foreign Policy* (Sage Publications, 2009) pp. 277-290

Ashley J. Tellis, "US-India Relations: The Struggle for an Enduring Partnership" in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 481-494

Additional Readings

Teresita C. Schaffer & Howard B. Schaffer, "Indian Strategic Visions" *India at the Global High Table: The Quest for Regional Primacy & Strategic Autonomy* (Harper Collins India, 2016) pp. 60-81

C. Rajamohan, Chapter 6 on "Embracing America," in *Modi's World: Expanding India's Sphere of Influence*, New Delhi: Harper Collins, 2015.

5.3 Military Responses

Essential Readings

Dasgupta, Sunil and Stephen P. Cohen. "Is India ending its strategic restraint doctrine?", *Washington Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (2011). Taylor & Francis: 163-77.

Tarapore, Arzan. *The Army in Indian Military Strategy: Rethink Doctrine or Risk Irrelevance*. New Delhi: Carnegie India Working Paper, 2020: 1-22.

Additional Readings

Rajpal Budania, "India's Threat Perception and Policy Response" in *India's National Security Dilemmas: Pakistan Factor* (Indus Publishing Company, 2001) pp. 216-269

Singh, Sushant K. "Military as an instrument of India's foreign policy: An expanding footprint". In *The Routledge Handbook of Indian Defence Policy* (second edition) edited by Harsh V. Pant. New Delhi: Routledge, 2020.

Sumit Ganguly, "India's Defence Policy" in Niraja Gopal Jayal & Pratap Bhanu Mehta The Oxford Companion to Politics in India (Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 542-554.

5.4 Multilateral Alliances:

Essential Readings

David Malone "The evolution of Indian Multilateralism" in *Does the Elephant Dance: Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 249-273

Saran, Shyam (2013), India and Multilateralism: A Practitioner's Perspective in Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Bruce D. Jones (eds.), *Shaping the Emerging World: India and the Multilateral Order*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 43-56

Additional Readings

Teresita C. Schaffer & Howard B. Schaffer, "Multilateral Negotiations," *India at the Global High Table: The Quest for Regional Primacy & Strategic Autonomy* (Harper Collins India, 2016) pp. 213-247.

Sanjaya Baru, "The Economic Imperative for India's Multilateralism" in Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Bruce D. Jones (eds.) *Shaping the Emerging World: India and the Multilateral Order* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013) pp. 75-92

Navroz K. Dubash and Lavanya Rajamani, "Multilateral Diplomacy on Climate Change," in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 663-680.

Rajesh Rajagopalan, "Multilateralism in India's Nuclear Policy: A Questionable Default Option," in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 650-662.

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Common Pool of GE courses for Sem-IV is at the end of the document