

## **Jawaharlal Nehru University**

### **Special Centre for National Security Studies**

#### **COURSE TITLE: INDIA'S EXTERNAL SECURITY CHALLENGES**

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| Course Number:      | SN-703  |
| Course Teacher:     | Dr. Laxman Kumar Behera                                 |
| Contact Details:    | Room No. 19, JNIAS Ext., Email: lkbehera@mail.jnu.ac.in |
| Course Credit:      | 03  |
| Duration:           | One semester  |
| Instruction Method: | Lectures, tutorials and seminars                        |
| Evaluation Method:  | Sessional work and semester examination                 |
| Contact Hours:      | One hour after the class & by appointment               |

#### **Objective:**

The aim of the course is to provide a comprehensive overview of India's external security challenges and how the country deals with them. In doing so, it introduces various concepts of security and provides a historical and current perspective of external challenges to India's national security. It also deals with the geopolitical and geoeconomic threats and challenges to India's security, military modernisation of Pakistan and China and its impact on India's security and various dimensions of India's external security challenges, with a focus on nuclear, technology and maritime security.

#### **Course Outline**

- Concepts of national security
- India's external security challenges: A historical perspective
  - Pre-independence: Perception of external threats during pre- and colonial British India
  - Post-independence (till the end of the Cold War)
- India's external security challenges during the post-Cold War period
- Terrorism and India's external security challenges
- Geopolitics and external security challenges: Neighbourhood, regional and global perspective
- Geoeconomic threats and challenges to India's national security
- Military modernisation of India, Pakistan and China
  - Military balance
  - Military expenditure
  - Defence modernisation
  - Military industrial complex
- Various Dimensions of India's External Security Challenges
  - Nuclear
  - Technology
  - Maritime
- India's strategy towards external security

## Readings

### **Concepts of national security**

- United Nations, “Study on Concepts of Security”, Report of the Secretary General, August 26, 1985.
- Peter Hough et al., *International Security Studies: Theory and Practice*, Routledge: London, 2015.
- Rajesh Rajagopalan, "Security", in Bhupinder S. Chimni and Siddharth Mallavarapu (ed.), *International Relations: Perspectives for the Global South*, Pearson: Noida, 2015, pp. 135-148.
- Benjamin Miller, “The Concept of Security: Should it be Redefined?”, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2001, pp. 13-42.
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- Shyam Sharan, *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century*, Juggernaut Books: New Delhi, 2017.
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- David A. Baldwin, “The Concept of Security”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1997, pp. 5-26.
- Satish Chandra & Rahul Bhonsle, “National Security: Concept, Measurement and Management”, *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2015, pp. 337-359.
- Matthew Sussex, Michael Clarke & Rory Medcalf, “National security: between theory and practice”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 5, 2017, pp. 474-478.
- Shiping Tang, “The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis”, *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 2009, pp. 587-623.

### **India’s external security challenges: A historical perspective**

- Shekhar Adhikari, *Military Thinking of Ancient India*, Pentagon Press: New Delhi, 2016.
- Medha Bisht, “The Concept of ‘Order’ in *Arthashastra*: Re-engaging the Text”, *South Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, Issue 1-2, March 2014, pp. 211-226.
- Marko Juutinen, “Kautilyan foreign policy analysis: Sino-Indian dynamics in South Asia and the Indian Ocean region”, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2018, pp. 206-226.
- P.K. Gautam, “Relevance of Kautilya's Arthashastra”, *Strategic Analysis*, Vol 37, No. 1, 2013, pp. 21-28.

### **India’s external security challenges during the post-Cold War period**

- S. Jaishankar, *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*, HarperCollins, 2020.
- C. Raja Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India’s Foreign Policy*, Viking Press, New Delhi, 2003.
- Rohan Mukherjee, “Chaos as opportunity: The United States and world order in India’s grand strategy”, *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 26, No. 4, 2020, pp. 420-438.
- Kanti P. Bajpai and Harsh V. Pant (ed.), *India’s National Security: A Reader*, Oxford University Press: New Delhi, 2013.

- Chris Ogden, *Indian National Security*, Oxford University Press: New Delhi, 2017.
- Chris Ogden, “Post-Colonial, Pre-BJP: The Normative Parameters of India's Security Identity, 1947–1998”, *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2009, pp. 215-237.
- C. Raja Mohan and Ajai Sahni, “India’s security challenges at home and abroad”, NBR Special Report #39, May 2012.
- Sureesh Mehta, “India's National Security Challenges: An Armed Forces Overview”, *Maritime Affairs*, Vol. 5, Issue 2, 2010, pp. 1-14.
- Harsh V. Pant and Kartik Bommakanti, “India's national security: challenges and dilemmas”, *International Affairs*, Vol. 95, Issue 4, July 2019, pp. 835-837.
- S. Kalyanaraman, “India’s Defence and Security Priorities”, *IDS Policy Brief*, May 24, 2018.
- Sandeep Singh, “From a Sub-Continental Power to an Asia-Pacific Player: India’s Changing Identity”, *India Review*, Vol. 13, Issue 3, 2014, pp. 187-211.
- Rory Medcalf, “Imagining an Indian National Security Strategy: the sum of its parts”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 5, 2017, pp. 2017, 516-528.
- P.S. Raghavan, “The Evolution of India’s National Security Architecture”, *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, July-September 2019, pp. 33-52.
- Srinath Raghavan, “The Security Dilemma and India–China Relations”, *Asian Security*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2019, pp. 60-72,

### ***Terrorism and India’s external security***

- Kanti Bajpai, “Global Terrorism”, in Bhupinder S. Chimni and Siddharth Mallavarapu (ed.), *International Relations: Perspectives for the Global South*, Pearson: Noida, 2015, pp. 312-327.
- Arjun Subramaniam, “Challenges of Protecting India From Terrorism”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2012, pp. 396-414.
- Stephen Tankel, “Beyond the Double Game: Lessons from Pakistan’s Approach to Islamist Militancy,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4, 2018, pp. 545-575.
- Stephen Tankel, “Confronting Pakistan's Support for Terrorism: Don't Designate, Calibrate”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2016, pp. 165-179.
- Stephen Tankel, “Universal soldiers or parochial actors: Understanding jihadists as products of their environments”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 31, No. 2, 2019, pp. 299-322.
- Stephen Tankel, “Indian Jihadism: The Evolving Threat”, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 37, No. 7, 2014, pp. 567-585.
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- George Perkovich & Toby Dalton, “Modi’s Strategic Choice: How to Respond to Terrorism from Pakistan”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Spring 2015, pp. 23-45.

### **Geopolitics and external security challenges: Neighbourhood, regional and global perspective**

- John Agnew, *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics*, Routledge: Oxon, 1998.
- Ashley J. Tellis, “Between Washington and Beijing: India’s Geopolitical Challenges”, in Andrea Plebani E Riccardo Redaelli (ed), [https://www.educatt.com/public/garage/Crissma/Ebook\\_9788893356794.pdf#page=32](https://www.educatt.com/public/garage/Crissma/Ebook_9788893356794.pdf#page=32), pp. 31-39.
- C. Raja Mohan, “India's Geopolitics and Southeast Asian Security”, *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2008, pp. 43-60.
- Henelito A. Sevilla Jr, “Middle East Geopolitics and China-India Strategic Interaction in the New Era”, *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2020, pp. 179-193.
- Rakesh Kumar, “India & South Asia: Geopolitics, regional trade and economic growth spillovers”, *The Journal of International Trade & Economic Development*, Vol. 29, Issue 1, 2020, pp. 69-88.
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- David Scott, “India's Role in the South China Sea: Geopolitics and Geoeconomics in Play”, *India Review*, Vol. 12, Issue 2, 2013, pp. 51-69.
- Sainandan S. Iyer , Ranadhir Mukhopadhyay & Sridhar D. Iyer, “The Sino-Indian Geopolitics and Maritime Security of the Indian Ocean Region”, *Strategic Analysis*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2020.1870269>.

### **Geoeconomic threats and challenges to India’s external security**

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- David A. Baldwin, *Economic Statecraft* (New Edition), Princeton University Press: Princeton, 2008.
- Amit Ahuja and Devesh Kapur, “India’s geoeconomic strategy”, *India Review*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2018, pp. 76-99.
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- Sanjaya Baru, *India and the World: Essays on Geoeconomics and Foreign Policy*, Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2016
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- Mark Beeson, “Geoeconomics with Chinese characteristics: the BRI and China’s evolving grand strategy”, *Economic and Political Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 3, 2018.

### **Military modernisation of India, Pakistan and China**

- Lucie Béraud-Sudreau & Meia Nouwens, “Weighing Giants: Taking Stock of the Expansion of China’s Defence Industry”, *Defence and Peace Economics*, 2019.

- SIPRI Yearbook 2020: Armaments, Disarmaments and International Security, SIPRI, Sweden.
- Military Balance 2020, IISS, London.
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- James Char, “The People’s Liberation Army in its Tenth Decade: Assessing ‘Below the Neck’ Reforms in China’s Military Modernization”, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2020.
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- Hugo Meijer, Lucie Béraud-Sudreau, Paul Holtom & Matthew Uttley, “Arming China: Major powers’ arms transfers to the People’s Republic of China”, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 6, 2018, pp. 850-886.

### ***Various Dimensions of India’s External Security Challenges***

#### *Nuclear*

- Bharat Karnard, *India’s Nuclear Policy*, Praeger Security International: West Port, 2008.
- George Perkovich, *India’s Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 2001.
- Frank O’Donnell & Debalina Ghoshal, “Managing Indian deterrence: pressures on credible minimum deterrence and nuclear policy options”, *The Nonproliferation Review*, 25:5-6, 2018, pp. 419-436.
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#### *Technology*

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- Elsa B Kania, “Chinese Military Innovation in the AI Revolution”, *The RUSI Journal*, Vol. 164, No. 5-6, 2019, pp. 26-34.

- Cherian Samuel and Munish Sharma, *India's Strategic Options in Changing Cyberspace*, Pentagon, New Delhi, 2019.
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- James Johnson, "Artificial Intelligence & Future Warfare: Implications for International Security", *Defense & Security Analysis*, Vol. 35, No. 2, 2019, pp. 147-169.

### *Maritime*

- Shishir Upadhyaya, "Expansion of Chinese maritime power in the Indian Ocean: implications for India", *Defence Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 63-83.
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