Syllabus

SEST-573-01
Security Issues in South Asia
Spring 2013
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Background to South Asia and this Course

South Asia includes the countries of Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and the Maldives. Some definitions of South Asia also include Afghanistan. I do as well for purposes of this course.

South Asia has long hosted some of the most serious challenges to U.S. national security interests. India and Pakistan have been locked in an intractable security competition since 1947 over the disputed disposition of Kashmir. There have been four Indo-Pakistani wars (1947, 1965, 1971, 1999), a protracted proxy conflict since 1989, and numerous crises that have threatened to develop into full-scale conflicts. Pakistan has hosted Islamist militants that operate in India since 1947, and in Afghanistan since the 1970s. Since the overt nuclearization of the sub-continent in 1998 when India and Pakistan tested nuclear weapons, the stakes of their competition have increased, with any war possibly resulting in advertent or inadvertent nuclear use. Attacks in India by Pakistan-based and backed militants remain one of the most likely precipitants of future Indo-Pakistan crises. Preventing such a crises and concomitant nuclear escalation remains a prominent US regional priority.

While India’s security competition with Pakistan is well known, India also has outstanding territorial disputes with China, which defeated India in the Sino-Indian War of 1962. Indeed, it was this loss that motivated India’s pursuit of nuclear weapons. The rise of India and China imposes a number of security challenges on the United States as it manages its interests in South Asia and beyond. Indeed, managing the rise of China has been a principal driver of developing the US-India strategic relationship. For New Delhi, the growing peer competition with Beijing has surpassed the old Indo-Pakistani rivalry as a driver of defense planning and strategy. For all the focus on Pakistan, Afghanistan, and their fragilities, it is the contest between Asia’s rising giants that will shape the future of the region, and the world.

Throughout the 1980s, the United States — principally with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia — raised, supported, and missioned Islamist insurgents (“mujahideen”) to wage a guerilla war against the Soviet occupation. With the Soviet withdrawal and collapse of the U.S.S.R. as well as the invocation of proliferation-related sanctions against Pakistan, Washington’s interests in the region lapsed. With the 9/11 terrorist attacks by al Qaeda, U.S. attention again focused upon Afghanistan and Pakistan. After being routed in late 2001, the Taliban fled to Pakistan’s tribal areas, where they regrouped and
launched an unexpected insurgent campaign against the United States, NATO, and the Afghan
government. Currently, the Taliban have the initiative and the United States and its allies are struggling
to retard and possibly reverse Taliban successes to increase the likelihood that the Afghan government
can secure the state at some point in the near future.

While Islamist militants are well known in Pakistan and Afghanistan, Bangladesh too has witnessed
the emergence of Islamist militants operating in and from the country, often enjoying linkages to
Pakistani groups. India, long a victim of Pakistan-backed Islamist terror groups, has been afflicted by
a number of ethnic and religious-based insurgencies since 1947 and is now witnessing the emergence
of indigenous Islamist militant groups in the Indian heartland that are motivated by grievances
disconnected from the famed Kashmir dispute but likely enjoying support from Pakistan.

In addition, Sri Lanka has experienced some three decades of ethno-nationalist insurgency with the
Tamil Tigers waging a vicious war on the Government of Sri Lanka. Nepal too has undergone several
years of Maoist insurgency. (We will not cover Nepal in this course.)

**Course Learning Goals**

- The partition of the sub-continent and its sequelea.
- An overview of the Indian and Pakistani armies and the roles they play at home and abroad.
- Sources of Indo-Pakistani security competition, including the Kashmir dispute.
- The past and present dimensions of the Sino-Indian security competition.
- The emergence of Bangladesh from the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war and its implications for
Pakistani identity formation and other aspects of regional security.
- New sources of Islamist militancy in India and Bangladesh, with important ties to founding
militant groups in Pakistan.
- The various proximal and distal threats to international and regional security due to ongoing
conflict in Afghanistan.
- The effects of nuclearization of the Indo-Pakistan security competition.
- The regional and global consequences of the rise of India as well as China.

This is not a course on “current events.” If you expect that we will devote considerable time to what is
in the newspaper, this is not the course for you. The course aims to enable you to understand the
current events in the region. You are welcome to raise events that arise that are salient to the topics
under study in a given week as well as events that are momentous for the region that do not
particularly relate to the topics of the week. These will be rare and must indeed be momentous rather
than quotidian events that characterize the region.

This is not a lecture-style course; rather, it is a seminar. I expect all students to come prepared and
engage in a class that is structured around questions and answers to illuminate key aspects of the
course. While I will end the course discussion with key takeaways, you are expected to fully contribute.

**Assessing Learning**
To assess students’ progress in meeting this course’s learning objectives; students will take two exams, described below. Students who are unsatisfied with their test performance may submit a final analytical paper for extra credit, also described below.

**Exams:** There will be two exams that will be comprised of short answer and essay questions. These exams will be “take home,” open book, open-net and time-limited. Collaboration is expressly forbidden and will be treated as an honor code violation. *Exams that are submitted late will receive a failing grade. Because glitches do happen: save your confirmation email that the exams were e-mailed. Always include yourself on the CC line as evidence. The onus of providing evidence of timely submission will be upon you.*

**Written Work:** Those of you who are unsatisfied with your test performance may submit an optional 10-page final paper for this course. I expect you to rely upon course readings rather than conduct extensive research outside of the scope of the course.

**Procedures for Submitting Final Paper**

- All students must ensure that their name and email appears on all materials submitted for review.
- ALL documents must be submitted in Word — not PDF — as I extensively use the “Track Changes” function for feedback. Also, ensure that pages are numbered.
- ALL documents should be double spaced, 12-pt font, with one inch margins.
- **Failure to adhere to the maximum page length and parameters will be penalized by a one-third letter grade deduction. For example, an A paper will become A-. This is to ensure that everyone has the same space within which they can make an effective argument (See paper writing guidelines in Appendix B).**

**Policy on Lateness:** Because these papers are an extra credit assignment, NO late extra credit papers will be accepted unless there is an extraordinary circumstance (e.g. illness).

**Class Participation and Commentary:** Students are expected to participate actively in class discussions. Class participation includes completing assigned readings, attending all classes (unless a student is ill or has some other emergency), and contributing to class discussion.

_Because classes are longer than in the past, it is strongly encouraged to take notes on the readings to facilitate recall. Please note the main argument of the readings, the empirical bases for their argument, specific important details, and whether you agree or disagree with the theses advanced._

**Final course grades**

You will receive grades commensurate with the quality of the work irrespective of the performance of others in the class. (That is: materials for this course are not graded on a curve.) For sample of criteria of grades, please see Appendix A.

**10%:** For class participation, which is defined by attendance (5%), completing readings, and contributing to class discussions (5%).

**45%:** First exam.
45%: Second exam

**Extra Credit:** For those who submit the final paper, I will replace your lowest exam grade with your paper grade provided that the paper grade exceeds that of the worst exam grade. For example, if you received a C and a B on your exams and submit a final paper which received a B, your grade will be based upon the two B’s and your class participation grade. If you received a C and B on your exams and a C on the paper, your grade will not change.

**Policy on Grade Disputes:** I make every effort to be fair. Ultimately, grading of products for this course may be subjective on occasion. If you believe that I was unfair in my assessment, you must request a reconsideration of your grade within **48 hours of receiving your grade**. However, be aware that while I may have mistakenly assessed your paper downward by overlooking some critical virtue(s), I may also have missed serious flaws upon first review and unfairly assessed it upward. *My re-grade of your paper will reflect the results of this review, be it positive, negative, or neutral. Make your case wisely.*

**Required Books**


**Notes**

If you have a documented physical or learning disability, I will be glad to make appropriate accommodations. Please contact me by so that we can discuss these arrangements.

If you anticipate any conflicts between this schedule and your religious obligations, please inform me so that we can make alternate arrangements.

**Academic honesty**

Please be certain that you understand Georgetown’s policy on academic honesty. The relevant section of the Graduate Bulletin is at: [http://www9.georgetown.edugradgsas_wwwpagesreg_7.cfm#plagiarism](http://www9.georgetown.edugradgsas_wwwpagesreg_7.cfm#plagiarism).
The undergraduate Honor Council pamphlet may also be useful in understanding what plagiarism is, as it contains several examples. It is available at: http://www.georgetown.edu/honormain.html.

For additional examples, please read “What is Plagiarism?” which you can find at the general site: http://www.georgetown.edu/honor.

Course Outline

Class 1 (Wed. Jan. 9): The Legacy of the Raj; Partition & Portents of Conflict


In addition, students are expected to familiarize themselves with the politics and demographics of religion in South Asia throughout the course. Key resources include:


One stop shopping for this can be had at the CIA World Factbook: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/. Pay attention to religious and ethnic diversity.

Class 2 (Mon. Jan. 14):

Part I: Indian and Pakistani armies


**Part 2: Kashmir Background and Wars: Enduring Rivalry?**


** No Class on January 21, 2013. MLK Day**

**Class 3 (Mon. January 28): China in the Region**

**Part 1: Sino-Indian Rivalry**


**Part 2: Sino-Pakistan Relations**


**Optional Reading for Class 3:**


Class 4 (Mon. Feb. 4): Bangladesh: Birth of a Nation, Seeds of Conflict

Part 1: The 1971 War and the Creation of Bangladesh

Sumit Ganguly, Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947, pp. 51-78

Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military, pp. 87-129.


Part 2: Islamism, Islamist militancy in Bangladesh


Class 5 (Mon. Feb. 11): Afghanistan

Part 1: The Soviet Jihad and the Birth of the Taliban

Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military, pp.159-197.

Rizwan Hussain, Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 93-164.

Part 2: Afghanistan under the Taliban and After

Rizwan Hussain, Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 165-238.

**Optional Reading for Class 5:**


**February 18. Presidents’ Day. No Class**

**Class 6 (Mon. Feb. 25): First mid-term exam, no readings.**

**Spring Break. March 1-March 10. No class.**

**Class 7 (March 11): Islamization of Pakistan and its Impacts**


**Class 8 (Mon. March 18): Nuclearization of South Asia**


**Optional reading for Class 8:**


**Class 9 (Mon. March 25: The Rise of India**

C. Raja Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon*, pp. 1-115, 142-72, 204-236 (Chapters 1-4, 6, 8)


**Easter Break. March 27-April 1. No class.**

**Class 10 (Mon. April 8): Indian Grand Strategy and its Possibilities**


Class 11 (Mon. April 15): The Sri Lankan Ethno-Nationalist Insurgency


Class 12 (Mon. April 22): Pakistan and the GWOT


Extra credit papers will be due on Monday May 6 at 5 pm.

Extra Credit Paper Topics:

Below are given several topics. You can either use one of these topics, or select a topic on your own. If you chose this option, I suggest that you discuss your topic with me. You can always submit papers earlier than the noted deadline if that suits your schedule.

As there are usually no right or wrong answers, papers will be judged on the soundness of the argument, robustness of data mobilized to support the argument, as well as the suitability of the methodology of analysis employed. Remember: all papers must present evidence for the argument.

Suggested Topics – these will be updated and expanded on the basis of class discussion before the final exam:

- What is an enduring rivalry, and should the Indo-Pakistan conflict be characterized as one?
- What are the stability-instability and instability-instability paradoxes and which best applies to the Indo-Pakistan conflict dyad?
- Is Kashmir the cause or symptom of the Indo-Pakistan Security competition?
- Why has the Pakistan Army become a driver in Pakistani governance while the Indian army has remained subject to civilian control and on the periphery of power in India?
- Does the disputed disposition of Kashmir over-determine the future of Indo-Pakistan relations?
- Can India meaningfully and positively influence Pakistani strategic perceptions and decision-making?
- Under what conditions, if any, can Pakistan accept Afghanistan as a neighbor rather than a client and abandon its long-standing use of Islamist and/or militant actors to prosecute its interests in Afghanistan?
- How will the rise of India affect Pakistan’s strategic calculus and policy? How will the rise of India influence future Pakistani behavior in the region? Will Pakistan acquiesce to an ever more dominant India and seek some sort of accommodation, or will it become ever more recalcitrant, relying upon unconventional means to achieve its objectives? Are there other options that Pakistan may develop to counter a rising India?
- How does the rise of China and the modalities of its rise affect the Indo-Pakistan security competition? Alternatively, will China’s relations with Pakistan and India dampen or exacerbate Indo-Pakistani rivalry?
- Will Bangladesh become a future hub of Islamist militancy in the region? If so, what drivers may propel this, or alternatively, what factors may ensure that Bangladesh does not become the next epicenter of Islamist militancy?
- What role does the Pakistan Army play in shaping the ideology of Pakistan, and with what consequences?

- What can India do to minimize the threat that its emergent domestic Islamist militants pose to the state? These actions need not be limited to domestic policy.

- In light of the various views about the stabilizing and destabilizing effects of nuclearization of the sub-continent, what do you believe have been the impacts of nuclearization and why?

- What options does India possess to compel or deter Pakistan from supporting militant groups as non-state actors operating against India? How do these options change as some of these groups develop indigenous organizations in India or become increasingly autonomous from their organizations’ command and control?

- Is Pakistan’s lackluster performance in the global war on terrorism due to a lack of will, capacity, or both?

- Is de-hyphenization of US policies towards India and Pakistan truly possible? Alternatively, are US goals in India and Pakistan mutually exclusive with success in achieving one cluster of objectives undermining success with respect to others?

- What explains Sri Lanka’s eventual defeat of the LTTE after decades of failure to do so?

- What consequences may arise from the way in which the Government of Sri Lanka defeated the LTTE? Will peace be in Sri Lanka’s future?

- Is Pakistan a friend or foe of the United States and why?

- How will India adapt to counter the threats it faces from Pakistan? What options does it have?
Appendix A: Sample Explanation of Grading Criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>GPA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brilliant and original work; nearly publishable. Commendably clear and thoroughly analytical; comprehensively supported by, and systematically substantiated with, voluminous empirical evidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excellent work; powerful analysis with distinctive, well-structured argument; critical and full awareness of the literature alongside masterful use of empirical evidence to support and substantiate the arguments presented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B+</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very good; fine analysis with a coherent argument, most of the most important points are developed in a structured discussion; well-substantiated with clear and firm command of supporting empirical evidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good; sound analytical skill shown from identification and understanding of the core intellectual problem accompanied by a clear discussion of the subject substantiated with some (albeit, perhaps insufficient) empirical evidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Satisfactory; basic analytical skills apparent from identification of the intellectual problem and an insufficiently developed discussion of it. Poorly structured with inadequate empirical evidence provided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average; little analysis and an insufficiently developed argument. Some, albeit cursory knowledge of the main intellectual problem; some key empirical points may have been identified and touched on, basic, but are anemically developed. No detailed familiarity with the literature evident.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below average. weak analysis and an incoherent argument, bare evidence of ability to identify intellectual problem, little use of empirical evidence and minimal knowledge of literature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totally unsatisfactory, absence of argument, analysis; and Little if any reference to, much less knowledge of, the literature.</td>
</tr>
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Appendix B: Paper Guidance:

Your papers must have a cover sheet with your full name, your e-mail address, and title of your paper. It must be e-mailed to me by the stated time frame or suffer penalties noted above. I will return all comments to you electronically with your comments and grades.

Paper structure:

In most cases, there is no right answer that I am seeking from you. Rather, I want you to properly frame an argument, mobilize data in support of your argument, and cogently exposit your answer within the stated length of the paper. Papers are not editorials. All arguments must be buttressed by data and reliance upon peer-reviewed scholarly materials.

Each paper should have a brief introduction (consisting of perhaps 2 paragraphs). The first paragraph of the introduction should state 1) what your question is; 2) why your question is important; 3) what sources you will use to answer it; 4) and a brief statement describing your argument (e.g. “Ultimately, this paper concludes that…”)

The concluding paragraph of your introduction should provide a roadmap wherein you describe BRIEFLY the structure of your paper. For example, “My argument is advanced through X sections. In the first section, I recount…In the second section, I examine…In the final concluding section, I summarize my findings and put forth a series of implications.”

Each paper should have a final concluding section in which you BRIEFLY summarize the conclusions you have reached. Most importantly, in this section you should put forward some implications that are appropriate to your topic and your findings. Some papers will have import for a country’s domestic or external policies, regional security, international security, bilateral relations, and so forth. These implications SHOULD DERIVE from your analysis. They should not be a recount of every possible good idea you may have on a subject.

Each paper must introduce each section with appropriate section heads. (Microsoft Word has a format feature for first level, second level and third level headers.) This should be used judiciously, and not in excess. For your papers, you are likely to only use headers to introduce each section with possible use of headers if there are sub-sections. These are not decorations; rather, they are meant to help orient the reader to the structure of the paper and your argument and should follow exactly the roadmap in your introduction.

NEVER, EVER use the passive voice (e.g. “Militancy is used in Pakistan for a range of goals.”) Why? The passive voice allows you to be lazy and imprecise. WHO is using these militants? If you can’t identify an “agent” then you have not adequately addressed the issue in question. In general, authors who use the passive voice obfuscate the very issue they seek to clarify. Don’t do it.

Claims of fact must be buttressed by citation of relevant secondary scholarly sources or primary data. Err on the side of caution.
Finally, each paper should be answerable with recourse only to the prescribed readings in this course. I do not expect you to regurgitate what the authors have argued. Most of our readings present alternative views to the same subject. Therefore, I want you to mobilize authors’ work critically rather than by rote. You may want to answer your question by presenting alternative arguments and proffering your own data-driven exposition of whose argument makes the most sense.

Papers must use appropriate citations and comply with Georgetown’s honor code. Below is a suggested method of citation. You may use others if you choose, provided that you use complete citations (for the first occurrence) and cite them consistently.

Citation Methods

(Taken from the guidance provided by International Security, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/58/quarterly_journal.html?page_id=180&parent_id=46)

See The Chicago Manual of Style (http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html) for less common citation forms.

- For citations after the first full citation, do not use op. cit.; instead, use the author’s name and a short form of the title, in the following format:

4. Ibid., p. 72 [only where the immediately preceding note contains only the relevant reference].

- State or country name should follow the place of publication if ambiguous (Cambridge, : Ballinger) or not widely known (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., but New York: Knopf).
- Use standard abbreviation (Calif., Washington, D.C.), rather than USPS style (CA, MA).
- Anglicize foreign place names, but retain the standard English version of publisher’s name (Moscow: Gospoltizdat, 1949).
- Avoid extracts, tables, and paragraphing in notes.

Notes Format

These examples demonstrate the basic note format; when in doubt, check The Chicago Manual of Style and provide all bibliographic information in a format that most closely resembles the following. Present notes as double-spaced endnotes.

Periodicals and Dailies

- Observe order and punctuation of elements.
- Include full author name and title.
- Give volume number, issue number and date, per publication’s numbering and dating system.
- Note omission of usual comma after article title ending in question mark or exclamation point.


- For popular periodicals and dailies carrying no volume or issue numbers, note that parentheses are not needed around the date.
- Authors and page numbers should be included where available.
- Punctuation of titles should be copied exactly rather than conformed to IS style.

**Books, Manuscripts:**

**Books:**

- Note order of items.
- Note placement of punctuation.
- Use the author’s full name.
- Provide full page number, that is, pp. 163-167, not “163-7”:


**Article or chapter in edited volume:** note use of book’s full title and subtitle:


**Volume in a series:** use chapter where appropriate:


**Annual:** note the introduction and use of acronym:


**Translated and edited version; multivolume work:**


**Reprint/Revised/Enlarged edition:** note “Dell” stands alone without “Books,” but full name of a university press is given:

**Paper in a series:** Note the use of IISS acronym which has been introduced in an earlier note; “Summer 1983” per publisher’s dating system:


**Unpublished paper or dissertation:**


**Government report:** subsequent citations may use U.S. GPO abbreviation:


**Congressional reports:** for testimony, list individual first:


**Archival Material**

Give the title of the cited item first and supply all the bibliographical dates necessary to permit identification and location of the source.

- Use consistent format throughout.
- Where there are repeated references to particular archives, introduce a short form for similar references in subsequent notes.

Leven C. Allen to Joint Chiefs of Staff, May 26, 1950, and memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, n.d., CCS 383.21 Korea (3-19-45), sec. 21, Records of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, Record Group 218, National Archives.