

Syllabus

SEST 573-01
Security Issues in South Asia
Fall 2021
Monday: 5:00 – 7:30 pm
Professor: C. Christine Fair, Ph.D.

Place: TBA

Phone: 202-460-9295
202-687-7898 (Office)
c_christine_fair@yahoo.com

Office hours: Monday, 3-4:30 p.m.,
directly after class, and by appointment
E-mail: ccf33@georgetown.edu

About Me: A Content Warning

I am not a political scientist although I am frequently mistaken for one due to the kinds of work I do and the scholars with whom I collaborate. Instead, I completed my PhD in the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilization—which is formally in the humanities—and an MA from the Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago. I suffered nearly ten years at the RAND Corporation and another four years at the United States Institute of Peace before being fortunate enough to join the faculty at Georgetown. (You can read more on my personal website: christinefair.net.) This means that I have spent the vast majority of my adulthood studying various political and military issues pertaining to South Asia, particularly in the countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and increasingly Myanmar (which is in Southeast Asia). In my own research I employ a mixed methods approach, drawing upon qualitative and quantitative data and research methodologies.

As I am fond of saying, if someone like me with a PhD in Punjabi literature can figure out data...anyone can.

I believe learning—and teaching—should be an enjoyable activity rather than a pestiferous undertaking. Therefore, I bring to my classroom my (often ribald) sense of humor. (If you're not having fun...at least I'll be having fun.) If you want to see what you are getting into *before* signing up for my course, you can peruse videos on my Youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/user/TheChristinefair>. You can also peruse some of the quotidian nonsense that a woman in this business has to endure by perusing the comments. (Trigger warning: some of the comments are bigoted or otherwise exceedingly boorish.)

I believe in being direct in providing verbal and written feedback as this is most efficient means of communicating. This means that I will not preface my criticisms with an inventory of your past brilliance to lessen the pique of necessary critique. Take this as a sign of respect rather than discourtesy.

My exams are straight forward. There are no trick questions. If you have done the readings, taken notes on them, come to class and paid attention to the discussion and participated, you will do well.

Experience tells me this. The students who have difficulty with the exams are those who did not do the readings, did not take notes on the readings, did not attend the class discussions and/or pay attention to them. Students who miss the first lecture tend to face the most challenges. If you miss the first lecture, please get notes from your classmates.

While students are not entitled to their own facts (when facts are empirically known or knowable), in this course, I explicitly encourage students to cultivate their own points of view about these facts, how we know them, and what import we derive from them. In this course, we will often ask ourselves the following questions: 1. What is known? 2. What is knowable (presuming reasonable resources)? 3. What is not knowable (presuming reasonable resources)? While I frequently write commentary on political events, I do not expect you to espouse my views. At no point should students feel compelled to rehearse my arguments in class, on quizzes or exams or elsewhere.

Finally, I use a **red font**—sometimes in **bold**—to indicate things that are important. Why? Red is the universal color that says “Look! You need to seriously pay attention to this!” This should not be a concern as some students have repined in the past.

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. We may also discuss Myanmar on occasion, although it is part of Southeast Asia

South Asia has long hosted some of the most serious challenges to US national security interests. India and Pakistan have been locked in an intractable security competition since 1947 over the disputed status of Kashmir. There have been four Indo-Pakistani wars (1947, 1965, 1971, and 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. Terrorist attacks in India by militant groups based in and backed by Pakistan are the most likely precipitants of future Indo-Pakistan crises, as the 2019 “[Pulwama affair](#)” demonstrates. Preventing such 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 among other factors. The rise of India and China impose a number of security challenges on the United States as it manages its interests in South Asia and beyond. Managing the rise of China has been a primary 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 two rising giants that will shape the future of the region.

India, long a victim of Pakistan’s proxy war, has also endured numerous ethnic and religious-based insurgencies since 1947 as well as numerous waves of Maoist insurgencies.

Pakistan began cultivating so-called jihadi groups in 1974 to fight a hostile regime in Kabul with its own meagre resources. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and China began to provide Pakistan with ample resources to raise, train and equip the so-called mujahideen to wage a devastating guerilla campaign against the Soviets. With the Soviet withdrawal and collapse of the USSR, 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, US 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. Despite being on the backfoot and losing the war, the United States is struggling to force them to the negotiating table to enable a US withdrawal.

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. These groups often enjoy linkages to Pakistani groups as well as the Islamic State and Al Qaeda on the Indian Subcontinent.

Sri Lanka fought the ethno-nationalist Tamil Tigers for decades before finally defeating the organization in 2009. The international community widely decried the brutality with which the government defeated the Tamil Tigers and even accused government forces of war crimes. Since defeating the Tamil Tigers, the state has demonstrated no interest in building peace with its much-abused minority Tamil population. Furthermore, new cleavages have emerged in recent years as Buddhist chauvinism towards the island's Christian and Muslim populations becomes more pronounced.

We will not cover Nepal, the Maldives or Bhutan in this course, even though they are countries in South Asia.

Course Learning Objectives

During this course, you will develop a grasp of the following concepts:

- The partition of the sub-continent and its consequences.
- 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 and China.
- The Sri Lankan Tamil Tiger insurgency and its eventual defeat in 2009.

- The main insurgencies confronting modern India including the Kashmir insurgency, the Sikh insurgency, the insurgencies in India's Northeast, and the various Naxalite movements throughout India.

This is **not** a course on “current events.” If you expect to devote considerable time to what is in the newspapers or social media feeds, 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 “of great importance or significance, especially in having a bearing on future events” for the region.

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

Note: This cannot be a discussion-based course if you have not done the readings. Please bring your questions to the classroom. This is likely the first time most of you have studied this complicated region and it is natural that you will have questions. There is no shame in not knowing something and that's why you have faculty around to explain stuff! If you already knew this stuff, you wouldn't be in this course.

Instructional Methodology

This is not intended to be a lecture-style course; rather, it is a seminar. I expect all students to come prepared (having watched all films and read all materials) and engage in a class discussion that is structured around questions and answers to illuminate key aspects of the course films and supporting readings. While I will end the course discussions with key takeaways, you are expected to fully contribute.

Required Materials and Texts

Required Texts

There are no required texts as scans are all on Canvas for your convenience. However, some of you may wish to purchase the books which we use extensively. These books are:

- Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie, 2005).
- Yasmin Khan. *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Shrinath Raghavan. *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years* (Bangalore: Orient Blackswan, 2010).

Required Technology

You must have a computer with internet access. This course will require you to have access to Zoom video if we revert to course continuity procedures should public health guidance change. Depending upon the class size and student preferences, I may use Jamboard, Survey Monkey, and breakout rooms in Zoom. If you are not familiar with Jamboard, please familiarize yourself with this Google product. (If you are signed in as a Georgetown Student, Jamboard will be one of the technologies available in your suite.) Prior to class, I will send out a survey to access to your preferences and comfort with these technologies. This class is for you, and I will try to accommodate class preferences.

Academic Freedom

Students located in certain countries may face challenges participating in some academic enterprises due to fear of censorship, retaliation, or sanction. Some individuals have reported that following best security practices related to Zoom, NetID accounts, and device hygiene are sufficient to assuage those fears. Other individuals have reported that the use of Virtual Private Networks (VPNs) may better address some of these challenges. The University cannot provide or recommend specific VPNs for student use; students are encouraged to research available options and determine whether they can lawfully and reasonably make use of such a technological solution in their jurisdiction.

Email Etiquette

This is not the only course I teach; you are not my only students; and teaching is not my only obligation to the University. Please expect that it will take one full business day to respond to you. If you email me between Friday evening and Monday morning, expect that I will get back to you by late Monday or Tuesday morning. Also, please do not address your emails to me using my first name. If this guidance strikes you as odd, I encourage you to read some of the following works on this issue:

Neumann, J. “Why are female doctors introduced by first name while men are called ‘Doctor’?,” *Washington Post*, June 24, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/why-are-female-doctors-introduced-by-first-name-while-men-are-called-doctor/2017/06/23/b790ddf2-4572-11e7-a196-a1bb629f64cb_story.html?utm_term=.80da3c2b82ba.

Files, J. A., Mayer, A. P., Ko, M. G., Friedrich, P., Jenkins, M., Bryan, M. J., ... & Duston, T, “Speaker Introductions at Internal Medicine Grand Rounds: Forms of Address Reveal Gender Bias,” *Journal Of Women's Health*, 26(5)(2017): 413-419.

Langin, K. “Male Scientists Are Far More Likely to Be Referred To By Their Last Names, Impacting Status And Awards,” *Science*, June 25, 2018. <http://www.sciencemag.org/news/2018/06/male-scientists-are-far-more-likely-be-referred-their-last-names-impacting-status-and>.

Policy on Computers, Phones and Social Media

I expressly forbid students from filming or recording these lectures. I will ask students who do so to leave the class. I will record this class as absent. I will also report this to SSP leadership. I also forbid students from posting quotes or photos to social or other media attributable to me, this class or your classmates. I enforce this policy to ensure that we all enjoy a safe environment to engage the literature and the intellectual objectives of this course. I will accord no exceptions. (Note that I may record the lecture for students who may have missed it or for other administrative reasons.)

I do not ban laptops, tablets, or cellphones in class as I believe doing so is ableist and because I will encourage you to look up answers to questions that you do not know. *However, I insist that you refrain from “leisure internet activities” during class.* Examples of such prohibited activities include but are not limited to: texting or emailing associates (unless it’s an emergency); posting to social media; online shopping or other recreational activities. (I note these activities because they have occurred in class.)

Assessing Learning

To assess students’ progress in meeting this course’s learning objectives students will take two exams, described below. In addition, there will be several brief quizzes throughout the semester, one analytical essay as well as one group project. I address each of these below in turn.

Quizzes: There will be weekly quizzes. I will use these quizzes to ensure that students have done the required readings. These will be posted to Canvas. must be completed prior to the start of class. Late quizzes will receive a score of zero. All quizzes are open note/open book.

Analytical Essay: You will write one analytical essay, as described on Canvas.

Group Project: There will be one group project in this course that will be discussed at the appropriate time. The group project has both written and oral components. It will involve group oral presentations during the penultimate class of this course and research beyond materials on the syllabus.

Exams: There will be two exams, a midterm and a final, that will be comprised of short answer and long essay questions. These exams will be take-home, open-book, open-net, and untimed. Most students require at least three hours to complete the exam. Plan accordingly. I expressly forbid all collaboration and I will treat it as an honor code violation, as I will any other violation of the honor code (plagiarism, making up data, etc.). Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the Honor Code, the details of which are provided below.

Exams that are submitted late will receive 2/3 decrement for each day late. Thus, an A becomes a B+. Because glitches do happen, save your confirmation email that you in fact e-mailed me your exam. Include yourself on the CC line as evidence. The onus of providing evidence of timely submission is upon you. Note that for grading purposes, exams must be uploaded to Canvas. Do that before emailing me a backup copy.

Class Participation and Commentary: I expect students to participate actively in class discussions. Class participation includes completing assigned readings, attending all classes (unless a student is ill, has a religious obligation, or has some other legitimate emergency), and contributing to class discussion.

I strongly encourage students to take notes on the readings to facilitate recall during our class discussions.

Questions to ask of each text:

1. Who is(are) the author(s)? Does the author’s/authors’ background tell us anything about potential authorial bias? (Note: ethnicity or nationality is not an adequate concern! Legitimate examples include: is the author a current or former diplomat?)
2. What is the text? Is it peer-reviewed? (Why is this important?) Is it written for a primarily scholarly audience, policy analytic, or a mixed audience? Why is this important?

3. Peruse the citations. What can you infer from the citation base of the document?
4. What is the main argument of the text?
5. What kind of evidence does the author use to defend or develop this argument? (Does the author use primary sources or secondary sources? Does it matter?)
6. Is the author making an inductive or deductive argument?
7. Does the evidence support the argument?
8. Has the author effectively described his/her question, data, research methods, and finding? If so, what makes it “[effective](#).” If not, what makes it [ineffective](#)?
9. How does this text compare (with respect to these questions) to other assigned texts that advance a similar claim, recount the same history, or use similar data? Where possible, think about how the texts relate to one another in the assigned week or other weeks of the syllabus. (I have picked these texts to be in “conversation” with others across the syllabus.)

Class participation *is not* a part of your formal grade; however, it will play a factor in determining borderline grades. For example, if a student’s grade is a B+ but is very close to an A- and the student was an effective partner in classroom discussions and demonstrated that s/he had a competent mastery of the reading, I will give her/him an A-. If s/he was not a participant in class discussions and/or evidenced little understanding of the assigned readings, she/he will get the B+.

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. Below I indicate how I weight the items for your final grade.

20%: Average Quiz Score
 10%: Analytical Essay
 10%: Group Project
 30%: First exam
 30%: Second exam

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 complete review of your exam, be it positive, negative, or neutral. Make your case wisely.* You have the option of appealing this grade by emailing the director of SSP, Professor Kier Lieber, at kal25@georgetown.edu. He will form an appeal board whose grade is final.

Policy on Missed Classes

Consistent with SSP guidelines, students may not miss more than two classes and pass this course. Please plan vacation and work schedules accordingly. I take attendance weekly. If you are ill or will miss a class due to religious observance, please let me know in advance of class. (Do not presume that I will know your religious observance habits based upon your name, for example.)

Academic Honesty

Please be certain that you understand Georgetown's policy and procedures regarding academic honesty. It is available here: <https://honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/system/policies>.

For additional guidance please read "What is plagiarism?" (<https://honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/whatisplagiarism>) and "Plagiarism checklist" (<https://honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/https%3A/honorcouncil.georgetown.edu/faculty/plagiarism-checklist>).

Note on Disabilities and Other Required Accommodations

If you have a documented physical, learning, or other disability, I will make appropriate accommodations. Please contact me so that we can discuss these arrangements. Also, if you believe you need help, please contact me and I will help you navigate the university's bureaucracy to obtain a formal dispensation. Please do not hesitate to seek help from me or others in the program or university. Please consider us as your allies in your educational experiences. You can find additional information about this at the Disability Support Services' webpage: <https://academicsupport.georgetown.edu/disability>

Note on Religious Obligations

If you anticipate any conflicts between the schedule in this syllabus and your religious obligations, please inform me so that we can make alternate arrangements. (Do not presume that I will know your religious observance habits based upon your name.)

Plan for Class Continuity During University Closures

The Washington D.C. metropolitan area can experience severe weather. In some cases, the University will close the campus. Given that our classes meet once a week and given your varied schedules, it is nearly impossible to reschedule a cancelled class. ***For these reasons, classes will NOT be cancelled when the university is closed.***

Please login into Zoom through the link provided on Canvas. Zoom provides the opportunity to call in should video not be available.

Please be sure to charge your phones or have a standby external battery pack. A missed class will be treated as any other missed class unless there is a very compelling excuse.

Zoom-Specific Etiquette

Many of us, since the onset of the current pandemic, have spent much of our lives on Zoom or similar platforms. Many of us have taken this as an opportunity to be more casual in our dress and in our demeanor. For the purposes of recreating a professional environment, there are very specific demands I make of students for showing up and being present in this online environment.

This program caters to persons who seek employment in international or national security fields. You should view each engagement with your faculty and your fellow students as potential job opportunities. This means, that I expect all of us to show up in Zoom as we would in the classroom. Based upon my experiences teaching online in the previous Spring and Fall semesters and as a full-time student taking two courses this summer, I have crafted these guidelines to help you and help me help you to achieve the objectives of this course and to encourage a professional online presence that will facilitate your desired end state: gainful employment.

We do not know how long this pandemic will constrain our professional and personal lives. I have chosen to accept this as a new reality rather than view it as an aberration or interruption. Businesses have learned from the cost-savings of online meetings and many businesses have learned that it is cost effective to have their employees working at home—where they bare all of the costs—rather than expect them to work in expensive-to-maintain offices. They have also learned that their employees are working longer because they are not wasting time commuting to and from the office. Learning to be professionally present in this environment is a job skill for the foreseeable future.

What does this mean for you and our class?

First, I expect you to be present with your camera on. There is no other way that I can assess your presence or absence in this class. In some cases, internet bandwidth may require you to turn off your camera. But this is the aberrant condition not the normative condition. For this reason, you must have a computer with a camera to participate. In some cases, you can use your smart phone with the Zoom mobile app when your home internet is sub-optimal.

Second, what are appropriate venues for participating in our class? You should be at a table or a desk with access to your course materials whether in hard-copy or electronic copy. Consider an environment that is not terribly comfortable given the temptation to doze away! And some of you do snore. What are examples of inappropriate venues? Your bed. I had several students participate in class from bed. This is simply not appropriate for more reasons than I wish to adumbrate. This sends a terrible market signal. Would you participate in a high-level discussion with State Department officials from your bed? I would hope not. Remember: you are not only making an impression upon me, but also upon your colleagues. Since your colleagues may work in an office with job openings, you need to create a professional appearance with them as well.

Third, let's discuss clothing. Over the course of the last six months, I have seen many things that I cannot unsee because students have availed of the Zoom environment to be less vigilant in protecting their professionalism. Here are examples which I would prefer to never see again and I'm confident that their course-mates would agree. I had a student repeatedly put his/her feet up on his/her desk—providing us ample vision of his feet—and then predictably fall asleep with occasional eruptions of snoring. Another student liked to do his/her class on a couch where s/he too would nod off. I have had students show up in their pajamas or clothing with inadequate coverage, which have afforded inappropriate vistas of viewing. Remember how you appear on camera: some of these sartorial peccadillos are exacerbated by the camera and the angle of the camera. Not only are inappropriate vistas distracting for your fellow students, it is distracting to me because I have no way of politely urging you to wake up, adjust coverage of important anatomy, etc. This is not about prudishness; rather it's about mutual respect and professionalism and camera angles.

In short, please respect all of us by showing up appropriately attired. I am aware of the joke that is circulating that “on Zoom I don’t need to wear pants.” There is a reason why this is a joke and that is because many people have been revealed to be in that pant-free state on Zoom and the joke, regrettably is not only on them. During the Zoom experience, many of us may need to get up from our chairs unexpectedly due the household environments in which we are working. Children require immediate attention. Your dog, cat or pet ferret may decide to micturate on your mother-in-law’s prized shoe. Your spouse may have caught the kitchen on fire while you were in class. And when you do get up, everyone sees what you are—or are not—wearing.

For our classes over Zoom, wear what you would wear if you were physically in our classroom with other people.

Remember: The purpose of SSP is to prepare you all for the national security roles you will inhabit following graduation and presenting yourself in professional attire is an aspect of that preparation.

Fifth, I am visually impaired and am undergoing surgical correction. This means that I may be unable to see the chat function. For this reason, I expect all students to have their microphone on mute such that we are not subjected to distracting ambient noise. When you wish to speak or make a contribution or when I ask you a question, please unmute yourself and speak. There is no need in classes of this size to use the hand gesture or messaging functions.

Finally, the goal of this class is to be as synchronous as possible. To protect your privacy and mine, I am very disinclined to record videos. We will be discussing sensitive material and it has been my experience that recording is very chilling for those conversations. If you disagree, let’s discuss this in class. This course is ultimately for you. Things that would persuade me one way or the other is vastly different time zones that would be impossible to accommodate synchronously.

University Code of Student Conduct

Student conduct is prescribed by the CODE OF STUDENT CONDUCT, available here: <https://studentconduct.georgetown.edu/code-of-student-conduct>. I expect students to comport themselves accordingly.

University Policy on Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination in Education

Georgetown University's Center for Securities Studies (CSS) and the Security Studies Program supports the University's commitment to diversity. The University has a policy on Equal Opportunity and Non-Discrimination in Education. Additionally, the University considers acts of hate and bias unacceptable and antithetical to its commitment to an inclusive and respectful community.

Students who have concerns about treatment that they have experienced are encouraged to discuss these concerns with the director of SSP. You may also reach out to the representative of the Office of Institutional Diversity, Equity & Affirmative Action (IDEAA).

Students who want to pursue a formal complaint of discrimination may do so by contacting IDEAA: (<http://ideaa.georgetown.edu>). Additionally, students may report concerns of hate and bias at

<http://biasreporting.georgetown.edu/>. A member of the Hate & Bias team will discuss your concerns with you.

Course Outline

Class 1 (Wed. August 25): The Legacy of the Raj; Partition & Portents of Conflict

Read the below texts in the order given:

Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 2007), pp. 1-15 (Introduction).

SKIM: This is a fast read. But pay attention to the introduction and the conclusion. This book lays a foundation of this course by describing the brutality of partition. The film below also gives you a good overview. If you can't read all of Khan, at least watch the film. Yasmeen Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007): pp. 1-142, 205-210. **NB: Some of the event described here are violent, reflecting the brutality of Partition.**

Shrinath Raghavan. *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years* (Bangalore: Orient Blackswan, 2010), Chapters 2 and 3 (pp. 26-100).

Vali Nasr, "National Identities and the India-Pakistan Conflict," in T.V. Paul, ed., *The India-Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): pp. 178-201.

Film: "Partition: The Day India Burned" (BBC), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jGiTaQ60Je0>. **NB: Some of the events described in this film are violent, reflecting the sanguinary nature of Partition.**

In addition, students are expected to familiarize themselves with the politics and demographics of religion in South Asia throughout the course. 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. August 30):

Part 1: Kashmir Background and Wars: Enduring Rivalry?

T.V. Paul, "Causes of the India-Pakistan Enduring Rivalry," in T.V. Paul Ed. *The India-Pakistan Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): pp. 3-24

Shrinath Raghavan. *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years* (Bangalore: Orient Blackswan, 2010), Chapter 4 (pp. 101-148).

Shuja Nawaz, "The First Kashmir War Revisited," *India Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2008): pp. 115 -154.

N.B. This Nawaz piece is dry as dirt. But it is the first piece in which the author uses official Pakistani sources to demonstrate Pakistani state involvement in the 1947 “raid into Kashmir.” This piece is very important. Ask yourself whether or not anyone else could do this kind of research? Could you or I do this research? Why or why not?

Suggested Films:

Guns and Glory Episode 3 on the 1947 Indo-Pak War

Part II: Indian and Pakistani armies

These two publications are paired. Read their arguments carefully to understand the differences in their argument and evidentiary bases. Because Ganguly has many objectives in this article, focus specifically upon how he and Raghavan differently assess the 1962 war with China, the lessons learned, and how those lessons impinged upon the conduct and outcome of the 1965 war. What kind of evidence do they marshal in defense of their arguments? Who is more persuasive and why?

Sumit Ganguly, “From the Defense of The Nation to Aid to The Civil: The Army In Contemporary India,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1-2 (1991): pp. 11-26,

Srinath Raghavan, “Civil-Military Relations in India: The China Crisis and After,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2009): pp. 149–175.

These two publications are paired. Read their arguments carefully to understand the differences in their argument and evidentiary bases. How do the two authors view the army relative to other institutions. I encourage you to Google the authors to understand their respective potential biases, political and empirical commitments, and other aspects of their respective points of view.

Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, pp.97-131.

Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, Chapter 2 (pp. 51-86).

Suggested Films:

Guns and Glory Episode 5 on the 1965 Indo-Pak War

Guns and Glory Episode 4 on the 1962 Sino-Indian War

September 6: Labor Day (No Class)

Class 3 (Mon. September 13): China in the Region

Part 1: Sino-Indian Rivalry

John Garver, *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, University of Washington Press, 2002) (Chapters 1-3): pp. 1-109.

Shrinath Raghavan. *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years* (Bangalore: Orient Blackswan, 2010), (Chapters 7, 8): pp. 227-310

Part 2: Sino-Pakistan Relations

Aparna Pande, *Explaining Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge, 2011): pp. 114-135; 202-206, 214-235.

John Garver, *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century*, (Chapters 7-8): pp. 187-242.

Optional: For a Pakistani account, you may want to peruse the below reading but it is optional: Shahid Amin. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal* (Karachi: OUP, 2000): pp. 157-164.

Class 4 (Mon. September 20): Bangladesh: Birth of a Nation, Seeds of Conflict

Part 1: The 1971 War and the Creation of Bangladesh

Read this piece first to get an understanding of the demographics.

Christophe Jaffrelot, "East Bengal: Between Islam and Regional Identity," in Christophe Jaffrelot Ed. *A History of Pakistan and Its Origins*, (London: Anthem, 2002): pp. 39-60, 300-301.

Next read Sarmila Bose, *Dead Reckoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011): pp. 1-5; 47-70; 161-183. Bose tries to unpack several conventional wisdoms about the war.

Gary Bass, *The Blood Telegram* (New York: Knopf, 2013): pp. 1-87, 267-288.

Suggested Films:

"Bangladesh Genocide 1971- BBC Report,"

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fPG2VxnI93E>.

"Indira Gandhi's interview on India Pakistan War in 1971,"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_MATAqeiL-4

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MATAqeiL-4>.

Part 2: Islamism, Islamist militancy in Bangladesh

I apologize in advance for putting my writings on the syllabus. I do so with great reservation and only because they provide digestible accounts that others have not yet provided. We will NOT discuss my writings in class. But you should still read them as they will help you understand the issues discussed.

Consider how the events before and during the 1971 war inflect upon the kind of state and polity that would develop in contemporary Bangladesh. How does the history of Bangladesh have import on the eventual rise of Islamist militancy in the state?

Riaz, Ali. "Bangladesh: The return of religion to the political center stage." *Religion and Politics in South Asia* (Oxford: Routledge, 2020): pp. 76-100.

Matthew J. Nelson and Seth Oldmixon, "Bangladesh on the Brink," RESOLVE NETWORK, Research Report No. 1, September 2017.

C. Christine Fair and Wahid Abdallah, "Islamist Militancy in Bangladesh Public Awareness and Attitudes," Resolve Network Research Brief, No. 4. September 2017.

Class 5 (Mon. Sept. 27): Afghanistan

Analytical Essay Due.

Questions to ask of the texts: When did Pakistan begin the "Afghan jihad" and why? Who started it? How have Afghan behaviors conditioned Pakistan's behavior and vice versa? How do the "Taliban" differ from the "mujahideen"? What are the constants and the variables in Pakistani behavior since the mid-1970s?

Note that the Rizwan Hussain account is also as entertaining as watching grass grow in the desert. However, I have found no other account that is as robust as his work. It's worth the slog.

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

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

Shane A. Smith, "Afghanistan after the Occupation: Examining the Post-Soviet Withdrawal and the Najibullah Regime It Left Behind, 1989–1992." *The Historian* Vol. 76. No. 2 (2014): pp. 308-343.

Abdulkader Sinno, "Explaining the Taliban's Ability to Mobilize the Pashtuns," in Crews and Tarzi Ed. *The Taliban and the Crisis of Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008): pp. 59-89.

Naematollah Nojumi, "The Rise and Fall of the Taliban," in Crews and Tarzi Ed., *The Taliban and the Crisis of Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008): pp. 90-117.

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.

Seth G. Jones, "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2008): pp. 7–40.

William, Byrd. *Lessons from Afghanistan's History for the Current Transition and beyond*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2012.

William Maley. "Terrorism and insurgency in Afghanistan." *Terrorism, Security and Development in South Asia*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2021): pp. 140-156.

Suggested Film: "The Rise of the Taliban 1989-2001," National Geographic, September 25, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ElGB82P0HwI>

Class 6 (Mon. October 4): First mid-term exam due day of class, no readings. In-class film, tba.

October 11: Mid Term Holiday (No Class)

Class 7 (Mon. October 18): Islamization of Pakistan and its Enduring Impacts

Questions to ask of the texts: What domestic and international events account for the so-called Islamization of Pakistan? What does “Islamization” of Pakistan mean?

Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, pp. 131-157.

Mariam Abou Zahab, “The Regional Dimension of Sectarian Conflicts in Pakistan,” in Christophe Jaffrelot Ed. *Pakistan: Nationalism Without a Nation?* (London: Zed, 2002): pp.115-128.

S. V. R. Nasr, “The Rise of Sunni Militancy in Pakistan: The Changing Role of Islamism and the Ulama in Society and Politics,” *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2000): pp. 139-180.

Haq, Farhat. "Pakistan: A state for the Muslims or an Islamic state?" *Religion and Politics in South Asia*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2010): pp. 133-159.

Part II: After 9/11, the “Military-Militant-Mullah” Consensus Begins to Break Down

Shehzad H. Qazi, “Rebels of the frontier: origins, organization, and recruitment of the Pakistani Taliban,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (2011): pp. 574-602.

Akhtar, Shahzad. "Fighting for the FATA: Military action and governance in the tribal areas of Pakistan." *Perspectives on Contemporary Pakistan*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2020): pp.17-32.

Suggested Film:

["Making Deals with the Militants,"](https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/taliban/) <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/taliban/>.

Class 8 (Mon. Oct. 25): Nuclearization of South Asia

Questions to ask of the text: What events motivated India to test in May of 1998. Consider developments in the international system, regional dynamics and events as well as domestic political processes. What motivated Pakistan to test in 1998?

George Perkovich, *India's Nuclear Bomb* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1999): pp. 404-443.

S. Paul Kapur, “India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace: Why Nuclear South Asia Is Not Like Cold War Europe,” *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005): pp. 127–152

Read the below pieces as a “conversation.” How do their arguments differ?

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 a Nuclear South Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Fall 2008): pp. 127-152.

The below is an account of a Pakistani scholar. How does her argument differ from the others? Samina Ahmed, "Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program: Turning Points and Nuclear Choices," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1999): pp. 178-204

Tristan A. Volpe, "Atomic leverage: Compellence with nuclear latency." *Security Studies* Vol. 26 No. 3 (2017): pp. 517-544.

Vipin Narang, "Posturing for Peace? Pakistan's Nuclear Postures and South Asian Stability." *International Security* Vol. 34 No. 3 (2010): pp. 38-78.

Class 9 (Mon. November 1): India's Insurgencies

Begin with this piece:

Sumit Ganguly, "The Crisis of Indian Secularism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (2003): pp. 11-25.

In this monograph, read the part by Sahni only. What are India's key security challenges? How does the rhetoric of the "Muslim threat" align with the data? Consider India's complex internal security apparatus. Also consider India's political structure and how this structure renders reforms extremely difficult.

Ajai Sahni and C. Raja Mohan, "India's Security Challenges at Home and Abroad," National Bureau of Asian Research, May 2012.

(http://www.nbr.org/publications/specialreport/pdf/SR39_India_Security_Challenges.pdf) –

Bidisha Biswas. "Hindu radicalization and implications for India." *Terrorism, Security and Development in South Asia*. (Oxford, Routledge, 2021): pp.177-192.

Sikh Insurgency

Virginia Van Dyke, "The Khalistan movement in Punjab-India and the post-militancy era 1, 2: Structural change and new political compulsions." *Ethnic Subnationalist Insurgencies in South Asia*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2015): pp. 61-81.

Pritam Singh and Navtej K. Purewal, "The resurgence of Bhindranwale's image in contemporary Punjab," *Contemporary South Asia*, Vol. 21, No. 2(2013): pp. 133-147.

Philip Hultquist. "The improbable rise and inglorious fall of the Khalistan insurgency in India's Punjab." *Terrorism, Security and Development in South Asia*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2021): pp.121-139.

I put my own writing on the Golden Temple here because I provide summaries that other readings do not. I will replace it when other options arise. We will NOT discuss my writing in class. But you should still read it as it will help you understand the issues discussed.

C. Christine Fair, ["The Golden Temple: A Tale of Two Sieges,"](#) in *Treading on Hallowed Ground: Counter Insurgency Operations in Sacred Space*. C. Christine Fair and Sumit Ganguly (New York: OUP, 2008).

Suggested Films:

Film "60 Minutes Documentary on Operation Bluestar,"

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MvI2C0bojs> [Note the original is not available. This truncated version is only 10 minutes and is promoted by Sikh organizations. Why is it cut off?]

Film "1984 riots: Forgotten chapter?" (9 minutes) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ik5ar3lx3JA>

Film, "Punjab Terrorism K P S GILL 1993," (47 minutes)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1fbWCUoLRbg>.

Class 10 (Mon. November 8) India's Insurgencies Continued

Insurgency in Assam

Dinesh Kotwal, "The contours of Assam insurgency," *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 24, No.12 (2001): pp 2219-2233.

Lawrence E. Cline, "The Insurgency Environment in Northeast India," *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2006): pp. 126-147.

Suggested Film:

"The Other Indians," <https://www.news18.com/news/buzz/delhi-university-students-from-the-north-east-open-up-about-the-racism-they-face-every-day-1023136.html>

"Bloody Tea part 1," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n83MaCWOFCM>.

"Bloody Tea part 2," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NeMAaKF72Ac>.

Naxalites

A central issue here is India's Adivasi population, which is not well described in the readings. If you'd like to see a documentary on one of the Adivasi tribes, see these brief documentaries.

1. Challenges faced by Adivas: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LtjEik7bjCY>
2. Short film about the Chenchulokam (Telugu with English subtitles), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ju-RcEsr0hE> (also on Canvas).
3. Tribes of Chhattisgarh (English Subtitles) Parts 1 and 2 (Telugu with English subtitles) at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i8abkmpvDSQ>; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HkhSKp_EVoA&list=PLnT1lyFFng7Yrd6clBrawmZ8y9MMgr6c1&index=4&t=0s.

Jonathan Kennedy, "Beyond Naxalbari: A Comparative Analysis of Maoist Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Independent India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 54, No. 4 (2012): pp. 832-862.

Dipak K. Gupta. "The Naxalites and the Maoist Movement in India: Birth, Demise, and Reincarnation," *Democracy and Security*, Vo.3, No.2 (2007): pp.157-188.

Dalbir Ahlawat. "Naxal insurgency in India: Genesis, ideological precepts, and security challenges." *Terrorism, Security and Development in South Asia*. (Oxford, Routledge, 2021): pp. 80-98.

Suggested Films:

"India's Silent War," <https://tinyurl.com/ya75ohxc>.

Class 11 (Mon. November 15) Indian Grand Strategy?

Transitioning to Indian Grand Strategy: how do the readings from Class 9 and 10 impinge upon Indian Grand Strategy and quest for "great power status"?

C. Raja Mohan, "Poised for Power: The Domestic Roots of India's Slow Rise," in Ashley J. Tellis and Michael Wills Ed. *Strategic Asia 2007-2008* (Seattle: NBR, 2007): pp. 177-207.

Shrinath Raghavan. *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru Years* (Bangalore: Orient Blackswan, 2010), Chapter 1 (pp. 12-25).

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

Ashley J. Tellis, *India as a New Global Power: An Action Agenda for the United States* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005): **pp. 41-44 ONLY**.

Ashley J. Tellis, "The Merits of Dehyphenation: Explaining US Success in Engaging India and Pakistan." *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (2008): pp. 21-42.

For a contrarian view, see:

Harsh V. Pant, "A Rising India's Search for a Foreign Policy," *Orbis*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (2009): pp. 250-264

Class 12 (Mon. November 22): The Civil War in Sri Lanka

Neil de Votta, "Control Democracy, Institutional Decay, and the Quest for Eelam: Explaining Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka" *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 1, (2000): pp. 55-76.

Nira Wickramasinghe, "Waging War for Peace" Sri Lanka in 2008, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 49, Issue 1, (2008): pp. 59-66.

Niel A. Smith, "Understanding Sri Lanka's Defeat of the Tamil Tigers," *Joint Force Quarterly*, vol. 4th Quarter, No. 59 (2010): pp. 40-44.

Stanley W. Samarasinghe. "Terrorism, security, and development in Sri Lanka: In the national, regional, and global context." *Terrorism, Security and Development in South Asia*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2021): pp. 42-61.

Nirmal Ranjith Dewasiri, "Sri Lanka: The Buddhisization of politics in the Sinhala-South." *Religion and Politics in South Asia*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2020): pp186-206.

Required Film: We will watch a film titled the *No Fire Zone: The Killing Fields of Sri Lanka* (2017), produced by Callum Macrae. You can find information about this film here:
<https://nofirezone.org/about>.

NB: This film contains graphic images of sexual and other violence.

Class 13 (Mon. November 29): In-class film. Second mid-term exam due day of class, no readings Class 14

(Mon. Dec. 6): Final Class. Group project presentations in class No readings.

Appendix A: Sample Explanation of Grading Criteria

Grade	GPA	100 pt.	Description
A	4.0	93-100	Brilliant and <u>original</u> work; nearly publishable. Commendably clear and thoroughly analytical; comprehensively supported by, and systematically substantiated with, voluminous empirical evidence.
A-	3.67	90-92	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.
B+	3.33	87-89	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.
B	3.0	83-86	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.
B-	2.67	80-82	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.
C+	2.33	77-79	Average; little analysis and an insufficiently developed argument. <i>Some</i> , albeit cursory knowledge of the main intellectual problem; <i>some</i> key empirical points may have been identified and touched on, basic, but are anemically developed. No detailed familiarity with the literature evident.
C	2.0	73-76	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.
F	0.0	0-72	Totally unsatisfactory, absence of argument, analysis; and Little if any reference to, much less knowledge of, the literature.

After reading this syllabus, you should be in no doubt about class policies and assignments. If you have any remaining questions, I strongly encourage you to contact me as soon as possible.

Please sign the below statement and return this page on our second day of class.

I have carefully read the syllabus for SEST 573-01 Security Issues in South Asia and understand its contents.

Printed Name

Signature

Date