

Counter-Insurgency in India: Politics, Security-Vectored State Bureaucracy & the ‘Kautilyan Template’

Organiser: Dr. Michael Liebig
Thursdays 16:00-18:00
INF 330 SAI R 317

Since 1947, there have been multiple and grave threats to the internal security of India, some of them even casting doubt on its territorial integrity. While some of these internal conflicts, notably the Naxalite-Maoist insurgency, linger on, in most cases the Indian State eventually managed to bring about conflict-resolution. That has been done by combining remedial and repressive measures: negotiation/conciliation, concession/delivering public goods, dissension/isolation and use of force. This approach of conflict resolution has deep ideational roots going back to South Asia’s pre-modern history and can be termed the ‘Kautilyan template’ of internal security.

However, when examining more closely the Indian State’s responses to the insurgencies in the North-East, Punjab, Kashmir or the ‘Naxalite belt’, we find inconsistent counter-insurgency policies flip-flopping between ‘soft’ and ‘iron fist’ policies. This seems connected to the often agonistic relations between political actors in Delhi and in the respective states on one side and the security-vectored bureaucracy, notably state police and its intelligence organizations as well as the central intelligence agencies Intelligence Bureau (IB) and Research & Analysis Wing (R&AW).

It appears that the ‘Kautilyan template’ of internal security is more firmly anchored in the state bureaucracy than among the political actors who have alternatively discarded and pursued it. Yet, after much policy vacillation and human losses, there seems to be a distinct pattern in that political actors and state bureaucrats eventually converge on a counter-insurgency approach that is grounded in the ‘Kautilyan template’ of internal security – and nets conflict-resolution. In view of the above, the seminar will examine the ‘Khalistan insurgency’ (1978-1993) in Punjab. Before the insurgency disintegrated in 1993, an estimated 25.000 persons had been killed and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated as a direct consequence of the conflict. Secondly, we will examine the Naxalite/Maoist insurgency in Andhra Pradesh.

Calendar SoSe 2018:

[Recommended literature for each seminar session will be uploaded in Moodle]

April 19 : Introduction to the course (Liebig)

April 26 : Remedial and coercive approaches in COIN: The four *upayas* (Liebig)

May 3 : The Kautilyan template of internal security

May 10 Christi Himmelfahrt (holiday)

May 17 : Security-vectored state bureaucracy: Police forces and intelligence community

May 24 : Insurgency in Punjab: background and initial phase 1978-1983

May 31 Fronleichnam (holiday)

Juni 7 : Insurgency in Punjab: 1984 -- brute force COIN and escalating insurgency

June 14 : Insurgency in Punjab: 1985-1991 -- Political vacillations and high-intensity insurgency

June 21 : Insurgency in Punjab: The right mix of remedial and coercive measures terminates insurgency (1991-1993)

June 28 : Maoist insurgency in Andhra Pradesh: Background and differences with Punjab insurgency

July 5 : Maoist insurgency in Andhra Pradesh: The 'right mix' of remedial and coercive measures rolls back insurgency (1992-present)

July 12 : Political actors, COIN and India's internal security culture

July 19 : Discussion of term papers

Literature:

- Chima, Jugdep (2010): *The Sikh Separatist Insurgency in India -- Political Leadership and Ethnonationalist Movements*. New Delhi: Sage
- Dhillon, Kirpal (2006) *Identity and Survival. Sikh Militancy in India 1978-1993*. New Delhi: Penguin
- *Doctrine for Sub-Conventional Operations (2006): Headquarters Army Training Command*. Shimla
- <http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com/web/doctrine%20sub%20conv%20w.pdf>
- Ganguly, Sumit / Fidler, David (2009): *India and Counterinsurgency – Lessons learned*. London: Routledge
- Gill, K.P.S. (1994): *Endgame in Punjab: 1988 – 1993. Faultlines 1*
<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/publication/faultlines/volume1/Fault1-kpstext.htm>
- Goswami, Namrata (2011): *Armed Ethnic Conflicts in Northeast India and the Indian State's Response: Use of force and the 'notion' of proportionality*. Heidelberg: Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics. <http://crossasia-journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/hdpapers/issue/view/346>
- Goswami, Namrata (2015): *Indian National Security and Counter-Insurgency – The use of force vs. non-violent response*. London: Routledge
- Mullik, B.N (1972) *My Years with Nehru 1948-1964*. Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1971
- Pathak, D.C. (2003). *Intelligence – A Security Weapon*. New Delhi: Manas Publications
- Roy, Kaushik (2011): *Kautilya on COIN – A Classical Indian Thinker on Counter-Insurgencies*. In: Roy, Kaushik (ed.): *Warfare and Politics in South Asia From Ancient to Modern Times*. Delhi: Manohar Publishers. pp. 57-84
- Shoham, Dany/Liebig, Michael (2016): *The intelligence dimension of Kautilyan statecraft and its implications for the present*. *Journal of Intelligence History*. 15/2, pp. 119-138