

## **Grand Strategic Choice: India's Debate on Strategic**

**B.A. SEMINAR: SS 2017**

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### **Course Description:**

Does India have a Grand Strategy? Does it lack a strategic culture? Are recurrent questions which have in recent times become common place in the scholarly discourse about Indian foreign and security policy. The past two decades have seen a growing amount of research on the relationship between culture and strategy in general as well as on the Indian case in particular.

The concept of strategic culture is not a new one. Therefore, the first part of the seminar will be dedicated to tracing the evolution of the strategic culture approach as an analytical instrument back to the 1970ies. The question of culture and other ideational explanations for state behaviour came up as an attempt to mend shortcomings in ahistorical and non-cultural structural models of strategic choice at the heart of mainstream international security studies since that time. So different definitions will be discussed, which will follow a generational scheme. The focus, however, will mainly rest, besides authors like Jack Snyder, Colin Gray, Elizabeth Kier, on Alastair Iain Johnston's seminal work.

The second part of the course engages the Indian debate which has been influenced by various adaptations of the above mentioned strategic culture concepts. Monolithic interpretations like Tanham's controversial essay on Indian strategic thought as well as scholars which put an emphasis on the various schools of thought rooted in elite revolts against the Nehruvian-consensus will be examined, like Kanti Bajpai's, Stephen Cohen's, Deepa Ollapally's contributions to name but a few.

Closely related to their explanations of India's strategic culture are issues such as nation-building leading to questions like: What kind of India should be defended? Against which threats should India brace itself? What part should violence play in India's external relations and finally what ideological coalitions are vying for dominance within India's strategic community?

By the end of the course, students will be familiar with different approaches to strategic culture as an analytical category as well as with its impact on Indian international relations discourse and its implication for identity politics.

## Calendar and Syllabus:

1. April 28<sup>th</sup>, 2017

### *#1 Administrative session*

#### *Supplementary reading:*

> Walker, Stephen G. (ed.) *Rethinking foreign policy analysis*. (London, Routledge, 2011)

2. May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017

### *#2 Introduction: Strategic Culture*

#### Core reading for next week:

> Lantis, Jeffrey. 'Strategic Culture: From Clausewitz to Constructivism' in: *Defence Threat Reduction Agency*, 2006.

#### *Supplementary:*

> Narang, Vipin and Staniland, Paul. "Institutions and Worldviews in Indian Foreign Security Policy." *India Review*, 11:2, 2012, 76-94.

May 12<sup>nd</sup>, 2017

### *#3 Locating Strategic Culture in IR*

#### Core reading for next week:

Johnston, Alastair Iain. "Thinking about Strategic Culture", In: *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 32-64, 1995.

#### *Supplementary:*

Katzenstein, Peter J., eds. *The culture of national security: norms and identity in world politics*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1996.

4. May 19<sup>th</sup>, 2016

### *#4 Strategic Culture as a Composite Concept*

#### Core reading for next week:

> Gray, Colin. 2007. "Out of the Wilderness: Prime Time for Strategic Culture", *Comparative Strategy*, 26: 1-20.

#### *Supplementary:*

Desch, Michael. *Culture clash: Accessing the importance of ideas in security studies*. *International Security* 23 (1): 141-170, 1998.

5. May 26<sup>th</sup>, 2017

### *#5 The 1<sup>st</sup> Generation of Strategic Culture Research*

#### Core reading for next week:

>Elizabeth Kier, 1995. *Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

*Supplementary:*

Klein, Bradley S. *Hegemony and Strategic Culture: American Power Projection and Alliance Defence Politics*. In: *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2. April 1988.

6. June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017

*#6 The 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation of Strategic Culture Research*

Core reading for next week:

> Gray, C.S., 1999. *Strategic culture as context: the first generation of theory strikes back*, London, etc: Cambridge University Press.

>Johnston, A.I., 1999. *Strategic cultures revisited: reply to Colin Gray*, London, etc: Cambridge University Press.

*Supplementary:*

> Poore, S., 2003. *What is the context? A reply to the Gray-Johnston debate on strategic culture*, London: Cambridge University Press.

7. June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017

*#7 The 'Johnston-Gray' Debate*

Core reading for next week:

Tanham, George K. *Indian Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay*. RAND Corporation. Santa Monica, CA, 1992.

*Supplementary:*

> Singh, Jaswant. *Defending India*, Delhi: Macmillan 1999.

8. June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2017

*#8 The Sources of Strategic Culture: India Focus*

Core reading for next week:

> Das, Runa. *Strategic culture, identity and nuclear (in)security in Indian politics: Reflections from critical constructivist lenses*. In: *International Politics* Vol. 47, 5, 472–496, 2010.

*Supplementary:*

> Rajesh M. Basrur, 'Nuclear Weapons and Indian Strategic Culture', *Journal of Peace Research*, 38 (2), March 2001, pp. 181-198.

9. July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2017

*#9 Identity Politics and Strategic Culture*

Core reading for next week:

> Jones, Rodney W. India's Strategic Culture. In: Advanced Systems and Concepts Office. Defense Threat Reduction Agency. 2006. Available at <https://fas.org/irp/agency/dod/dtra/india.pdf>, retrieved 2014-03-20.

*Supplementary:*

> Mehta; Pratab Bhanu: 'Still Under Nehru's Shadow? The Absence of Foreign Policy Frameworks in India', *India Review*, 8 :3, 2009; 209-233.

10. July 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017

*#10 The Case Study: India I*

Core reading for next week:

> Bajpai, Kanti. "Indian Strategic Culture" in: "South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances", edited by Michael R. Chambers (Zürich: Bibliogov, 2002), pp.245-305.

*Supplementary:*

> Ollapally, Deepa M. and Nau, Henry R. "Worldviews of Aspiring Powers: Domestic Foreign Policy Debates In China, India, Iran, Japan, And Russia", (Oxford University Press) 2012.

11. July 21<sup>st</sup>, 2017

*#11 The Case Study: India II*

Core reading for next week:

>Fair, Christine C., "The Army's Strategic Culture and Implications for International Security" in: Fair, Christine C., "Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War", Oxford University Press 2014.

*Supplementary:*

> Cohen, Stephen, *India: Emerging Power*, Delhi: Oxford University Press 2001

12. July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2017

*#12 The Case Study: Other South Asian States*

Common evaluation of the course and Q&A regarding the term paper.

13. June 9<sup>th</sup>, 2017

*#13 Reading Week I*

14. June 16<sup>th</sup>, 2017

*#14 Reading Week II*

### **Prior Requirements:**

Language of instruction will be English and students are expected to have prior knowledge of International Relations.

### **Credit Points:**

*(In German. For other degrees please clarify requirements with your lecturer and Fachstudienberater.)*

### **B.A. Südasiastudien**

- **6 Leistungspunkte;**

Teilnahme (**2LP**), Referat (**2LP**), Hausarbeit (**2LP**)

**(7 to 8 pages or ca. 3500 words – WITHOUT Contents and Bibliography)**

Essays (Hausarbeiten) can be built on your presentation.

Please do check with your lecturer regarding the research question, as well as the overall structure of your essay.

Essays (Hausarbeiten) can be written either in English or in German.

Each participant has to give a presentation of **maximum 20 minutes**. This presentation should go beyond the core readings for each session and attempt to answer a focused question.

A **mandatory preparatory meeting** with the lecturer takes place in the week before the presentation.

Please bring your **handout** - with your question, structure & bibliography - to this preparatory meeting. Please print this handout for all participants.

### **Deadline for the Essay:**

Please hand in your essay (Hausarbeit) latest till **30<sup>th</sup> of September 2017**

via email to: [Beitelmaier-Berini@uni-heidelberg.de](mailto:Beitelmaier-Berini@uni-heidelberg.de)

Good luck!