

**Appendix-24**  
**Resolution No. 14-1 (14-1-3)**

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**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**Semester-IV**

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**SEMESTER-IV**  
**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**Category I**

**Political Science Courses for Undergraduate Programme of study  
with Political Science as a Single Core Discipline**  
**(B.A. Honours in Political Science in three years)**

**DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC CORE COURSE – 10: Public Administration in India**

**CREDIT DISTRIBUTION, ELIGIBILITY AND PRE-REQUISITES OF THE  
COURSE**

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility criteria	Pre- requisite of the course (if any)
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/ Practice		
<b>Public Administration in India DSC-10</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>NA</b>	<b>NA</b>

**Learning Objectives**

The paper seeks to provide an introduction to the different dimensions of public administration in India. It seeks to acquaint the student with an analytical and critical understanding of the institution of Indian bureaucracy, with issues of decentralization, financial management, public accountability, e-governance and some specific dimensions of citizens and social welfare policies.

**Learning outcomes**

With this course, we expect that students will be able to:

- Have a clear picture of the complex institutional structure of Indian administration at present
- Understand the building blocks of local governance, in rural and urban areas
- Explain the processes by which different budgeting systems work for this structure
- Analyse the processes of implementation of different social welfare policies by the administrative institutions.

**SYLLABUS OF DSC-10**

**UNIT – I (8 Hours)**

**Indian Administration**

- a. Structure of the Civil Services: Evolution
  - i. Historical Legacy
  - ii. Civil Service in the Constitutional Framework; appointment training, promotion
- b. PMO, Cabinet Secretariat
- c. Major Initiatives in Administrative Reforms

## **UNIT – II (8 Hours)**

### **Decentralization and Local Self Governance**

- a. Meaning and Types: Rural and Urban
- b. PRIs and implementation of public policies

## **UNIT – III (7 Hours)**

### **Budget**

- a. Concept of Budget and Budget Cycle in India
- b. Types of Budget: Line Budget, Performance Planning Budget, Zero Based Budget
- c. Budget making: role of the Finance Ministry

## **UNIT – IV (7 Hours)**

### **Technology and Public Administration in India**

- a. E-Governance: The Journey of E-Governance in India
- b. Models of E-Governance: Case-Study of Digital India Mission

## **UNIT – V (8 Hours)**

### **Social Welfare Policies**

- a. Education: Right to Education
- b. Health: National Health Mission
- c. Food: Right to Food Security
- d. Employment: MGNREGA

## **UNIT – VI (7 Hours)**

### **Issues and Debates in Indian Administration**

- a. Ethics in Administration: Integrity vs. Corruption
- b. Accountability: RTI, Lokpal, Citizens' Charter
- c. Relationship between Political Executive and Permanent Executive
- d. Generalists and Specialists
- e. Gender sensitivity and gender participation

## **Essential/recommended readings**

### **Unit 1. Indian Administration**

#### ***Basic Readings***

K.S. Chalam, 'Constitutional Status of Civil Service In India' in K.S. Chalam [ed.], Governance in South Asia: State of The Civil Services, Sage Publishers, 2014.

Devesh Kapur and Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Public Institutions in India: Performance and Design, Oxford University Press, 2007.

Second ARC Report, Report X, Personnel Administration and Scaling New Heights, 2005 [[https://darpg.gov.in/sites/default/files/personnel\\_administration10.pdf](https://darpg.gov.in/sites/default/files/personnel_administration10.pdf)]

Swarup, Anil, Ethical Dilemmas of a Civil Servant, Unique Publishers, 2021

Second ARC Report, 2005, Report IV, Ethics in Governance, [<https://darpg.gov.in/sites/default/files/ethics4.pdf>]

Bhure Lal, 'Civil Service Values and Neutrality' in K.S. Chalam [ed.], Governance in South Asia: State of The Civil Services, Sage Publishers, 2014

### ***Additional Readings***

Mathur, K. Recasting Public Administration in India: Reform, Rhetoric and Neo- liberalism New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2019.

Chakrabarty, Bidyut and Mohit Bhattacharya, The Governance Discourse- A Reader, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008

Gupta, Deepak, The Steel Frame: A History of the IAS, Roli Books, 2019.

Caiden, Gerald E., 2009, Administrative Reforms, Aldine Transaction, Chicago, 2009.

N. Bhaskar. Rao, Good Governance: Delivering Corruption-Free Public Services, Sage Publishers, 2013.

R. K. Saprú, Indian Administration: A Foundation of Governance, Sage, 2018.

## **Unit 2. Decentralization and Local Self Governance**

### ***Basic Readings***

Bardhan, Pranab and Dilip Mookherjee, 'The Rise of Local Governments: An Overview', in Pranab Bardhan, And Dilip Mookherjee [eds.] Decentralisation and Local Governance in Developing Countries: A Comparative Perspective, Oxford University Press, 2007

Amitabh Kundu, 'Urban System in India: Trends, Economic Base, Governance, and a Perspective of Growth under Globalization' in Waquar Ahmed, Amitabh Kundu, Richard Peet [eds.] , India's New Economic Policy: A Critical Analysis, Routledge, 2010.

B.P. Syam Roy, Democratic Decentralization in West Bengal, in E. Venkatesu, Democratic Decentralisation in India: Experiences, Issues and Challenges, Routledge [South Asia Edition], 2016

Bhagidari Scheme in Delhi; Partnership Between Local Government and Non-State Agencies/Actors; <https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/25833/1/Unit-10.pdf>

Jawed Alam Khan, 'Issues in Devolution of Functions, Functionaries and Funds to PRIs: A Comparative Assessment of UP, Rajasthan and Kerala in 2016', in E. Venkatesu, Democratic Decentralisation In India: Experiences, Issues And Challenges, Routledge, 2016

Lalita Chandrashekhar, 'Caste, Party and Democratic Decentralisation in Karnataka' in B.S. Baviskar and George Mathew [eds.] Inclusion and Exclusion in Local Governance: Field Studies from Rural India, Sage Publishers, 2009

### ***Additional Readings***

Jayal, N.G., Amit Prakash and P.K.Sharma, Local Governance in India: Decentralization and Beyond, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Satyajit Singh, The Local in Governance: Politics, Decentralisation and Environment, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2016.

Satyajit Singh and Pradeep K. Sharma [eds.] Decentralisation: Institutions and Politics in Rural India, Oxford University Press, 2007.

D. A. Rondinelli and S. Cheema, Decentralisation and Development, Beverly Hills: Sage Publishers, 1983.

Chandni Singh and Andaleeb Rehman, Urbanising the Rural: Reflections on India's National Rurban Mission, Asia and Pacific Policy Studies, March 2018

Dreze, Jean and Amartya Sen, India: Development and Participation, Oxford University Press, New York, 2002

Mehra, Diya, What Has Urban Decentralization Meant: A Case Study of Delhi, Pacific Affairs, Volume 86, No. 4, December 2013

Mary John, 'Women in Power? Gender, Caste and The Politics of Local Urban Governance', in T.R. Raghunandan [ed.] Decentralization and Local Government: The Indian experience, Orient BlackSwan, 2013

### **Unit 3. Budget**

#### **Basic Readings**

Karnam, Gayithri (ed.), Public Budgeting in India, Principles and Practices, Springer, 2018.

Nicholas Henry, Public Administration and Public Affairs. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2012.

Rumki Basu, Public Administration: Concepts and Theories, Sterling Publishers, 2013.

#### **Additional Readings**

Green Budgeting in Annual Budget 2022; <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/climate-change/how-green-is-union-budget-2022-23--81354>

Green Budgeting; <https://www.oecd.org/environment/green-budgeting/OECD-Green-Budgeting-Framework-Highlights.pdf>

Handbook on Gender Budgeting.; <https://wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/GB%20-%20Handbook%20October%202015.pdf>

Caiden, N., 'Public Budgeting Amidst Uncertainty and Instability', in Shafritz, J.M. & Hyde, A.C. (eds.) Classics of Public Administration, Belmont: Wadsworth, 2004

Siuli Sarkar, Public Administration In India, PHI Publishers, 2010

### **Unit 4-6**

#### **Basic Readings**

Shamshad Ahmad, Right to Information: Issues of Administrative Efficiency, Public Accountability and Good Governance in India, The Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol LV, January- March, No. 3, 2009

Preeti D. Pohekar , A Study of Ombudsman System in India with Special Reference to Lokayukta in Maharashtra , Gyan Publishing House, 2010

Shivani Singh, Citizen's Charter, in Governance: Issues and Challenges, Sage Publishers, 2016

Dhal, Sangita, 2022, E-Governance and Citizen Engagement: New Directions in Public Administration, Sage Publishers

Dhal, Sangita, 'Situating Digital India Mission in Pursuit of Good Governance: A Study of Electronic Governance Initiatives', Indian Journal of Public Administration, Sage Publication, January-March (66.1), pp 110-126, 2020

Tillin, Louise Rajeshwari Deshpande and K. K. Kailash [eds.], Politics of Welfare: Comparisons Across Indian States. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015

Khera, Reetika, (ed.), 2011, The Battle For Employment Guarantee, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011

#### **Additional Readings**

N.Vittal, 'Accountability in Public Service' in K.S. Chalam [ed.], Governance in South Asia: State of The Civil Services, Sage Publishers, 2014

Second ARC Report, Report 1, Right to Information, 2005, [https://darpg.gov.in/sites/default/files/rti\\_masterkey1.pdf](https://darpg.gov.in/sites/default/files/rti_masterkey1.pdf)

Samuel Paul, India's Citizen's Charters: In Search of a Champion, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 43, No. 7, Feb. 16 - 22, 2008, pp. 67-73

Pippa Norris, Digital Divide: Civic Engagement, Information, Poverty and The Internet World Wide. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001

Chaudhuri, Bidisha, E-Governance In India-Interlocking, Politics, Technology and Culture, Routledge, New York, 2014

Dhal, Sangita, Enabling Social Rights through Proactive Public Policy: Auditing Education and Health Sectors in India, Indian Journal of Public Administration, Volume 52, No.1, New Delhi, 2016

Renu Srivastava, Impact of Central Sponsored Schemes on Women Empowerment with Special Reference to Health and Education, Kamlesh Gupta, State and Public Policy, Pentagon Press, 2018

Rukmini Banerji, 'Learning for All: Lessons from ASER and Pratham in India on the Role of Citizens and Communities in Improving Children's Learning' in Sungsup Ra, Shanti Jagannathan and Rupert Maclean, Powering a Learning Society During an Age of Disruption, Springer Publishers, 2021 [[https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-16-0983-1\\_13](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-16-0983-1_13)]

K. Lee and Mills, The Economic of Health in Developing Countries, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983

Vinod Kumar, Socio-Economic Impact of MGNREGA on Rural People: A Study in Mandi District of Himachal Pradesh, Indian Journal of Public Administration, Sage Publication, January-March (59.2), 2013 [<https://doi.org/10.1177/0019556120130213>]

Anjoo Sharan Upadhyaya, Ashild Kolas and Ruchita Beri, Food Governance in India: Rights, Security and Challenges in The Global Sphere, Routledge, 2022.

**Note:** Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the Examination Branch, University of Delhi, from time to time.

### DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC CORE COURSE – 11: Concepts in Comparative Political Analysis

#### CREDIT DISTRIBUTION, ELIGIBILITY AND PRE-REQUISITES OF THE COURSE

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility criteria	Pre-requisite of the course (if any)
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/ Practice		
Concepts in Comparative Political Analysis DSC-11	4	3	1	-	NA	NA

#### Learning Objectives

This paper offers critical perspectives into salient concepts in comparative politics. These concepts provide the tools for understanding political processes and institutions through comparisons across political systems and political regimes. The course aims to make students familiar with electoral systems and party system to make sense of the different ways in the representation is achieved. The experiences with constitutionalism and constitutional designs which facilitate federal sharing of power, the ideas of nationalism in anti-colonial movements, and development models that have driven nation and state building processes across the world comprise the core themes of this course. The course attempts to cover these themes

by deploying concepts which provide the lens for understanding different political systems and processes reinforced with examples and case studies.

### **Learning outcomes**

After studying this course, the students would

- acquire an understanding of a range of concepts such as nationalism and constitutionalism
- learn how to distinguish between different kinds of political systems based on their electoral design and party systems
- demonstrate knowledge of federal designs and ideas of political community based on different notions of nationalism
- understand development models historically and empirically

## **SYLLABUS OF DSC- 11**

### **UNIT – I (6 Hours)**

#### **Socio-Economic Structures**

Capitalism, Socialism, Colonialism and Neo-liberalism

### **UNIT – II (7 Hours)**

#### **Discourses on Nationalism**

Civic and Ethnic nationalisms, Ideological basis of anti-colonial nationalism (Gandhi, Mao, Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral)

### **UNIT – III (6 Hours)**

#### **Constitutionalism**

Evolution of the idea of constitutionalism, post-colonial constitutionalism

### **UNIT – IV (7 Hours)**

#### **Federalism**

Historical context

Federation and Confederation: debates around territorial division of power.

### **UNIT – V (7 Hours)**

#### **State and Regime types**

Capitalist, Welfare, Populist and Security state

### **UNIT – VI (6 Hours)**

#### **Electoral System**

Definition and procedures: Types of electoral systems (First Past the Post, Proportional Representation, Mixed Representation)

### **UNIT – VII (6 Hours)**

#### **Party System**

Historical contexts of emergence of political parties, types of parties and party systems.

## **Essential/recommended readings**

### **1. Socio-Economic Structures**

#### **a. Capitalism**

R. Suresh (2010) *Economy & Society -Evolution of Capitalism*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp.151-188; 235-268.

G. Ritzer (2002) 'Globalization and Related Process I: Imperialism, Colonialism, Development, Westernization, Easternization', in *Globalization: A Basic Text*. London: Wiley- Blackwell, pp. 63-84.

M. Dobb (1950) 'Capitalism', in *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, pp. 1-32.

E. Wood (2002) 'The Agrarian origin of Capitalism', in *Origin of Capitalism: A Long View*. London: Verso, pp. 91-95; 166-181.

A. Hoogvelt (2002) 'History of Capitalism Expansion', in *Globalization and Third World Politics* London: Palgrave, pp. 14-28.

## **b. Socialism**

A. Brown (2009) 'The Idea of Communism', in *Rise and Fall of Communism*, Harpercollins, pp. 1-25; 587-601.

J. McCormick (2007) 'Communist and Post-Communist States', in *Comparative Politics in Transition*, United Kingdom: Wadsworth, pp. 195-209

R. Meek (1957) 'The Definition of Socialism: A Comment', *The Economic Journal*. 67 (265), pp.135-139.

## **2. Discourses on Nationalism**

B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, 2006 (1983).

U. Ozkirimli (2010), *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan.

H.B. Davis, *Towards a Marxist Theory of Nationalism*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1978 (Chapter 8: Social Classes and the Formation of Nation: Fanon, Cabral, and the African Liberation Struggle, pp. 202- 239)

## **3. Constitutionalism**

C. McIlwain (1940 [2007]), *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern*, Cornell University Press.

U. Baxi (2000) 'Postcolonial Legality', in Henry and Sangeeta Ray eds., *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, Blackwell, pp.540-555.

## **4. Federalism**

M. Burgess (2006) *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, pp. 135-161.

R. Watts (2008) 'Introduction', in *Comparing Federal Systems*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, pp. 1-27

R. Saxena (2011) 'Introduction', in Saxena, R (eds.) *Varieties of Federal Governance: Major Contemporary Models*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, pp. xii-x1.

## **5. State and Regime Types**

Lindstaedt N. (2020) Authoritarian Regimes, in D. Caramani (ed.), *Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, Ch 6. Pp.103-115

Busch, Andreas (2015), 'The Changing Architecture of the National Security State', in Stephan Leibfried, Evelyn Huber, Matthew Large, Jonah D. Levy and John D. Stephens (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of State*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Webb, E. (2011) 'Totalitarianism and Authoritarianism', in Ishiyama, J. T. and Breuning, M.(eds.) *21st Century Political Science: A Reference Book*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 249-257.



Mudde Cas and Kaltwasser Cristóbal Rovira (2017), What is Populism (Ch 1), Populism around the world (Ch 2) in *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*, OUP

Garland, David (2016) Ch 1, Ch 6, Ch 7, in *The Welfare State: A Very Short Introduction*, OUP.

Hague, R. and Harrop, M. (2004) 'The state in a global context', in *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17-34.

Kesselman, M. (2007) *The Politics of Globalization*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, pp. 330- 339.

Rosenzweig, Paul (2016) Lecture 1- Security, Liberty, or Neither, and Lecture 4- Surveillance in America, in: *The Surveillance State, Big Data, Freedom, and You*, Course Guidebook, Teaching Company.

Mabee, B. (2009) The 'Security State' and the Evolution of Security Provision. in: *The Globalization of Security. New Security Challenges Series*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Kersbergen K V and Philip Manow (2020) The Welfare State in D Caramani (ed.), *Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, Ch.21, pp. 376-394

Mabee, B. (2009). The 'Security State' and the Evolution of Security Provision.in: *The Globalization of Security. New Security Challenges Series*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Miliband, Ralph (1973), *The State in Capitalist Society*, Quartet Books

Newton, K. and Deth, Jan W. V. (2010) Welfare (Ch 17), *Foundations of Comparative Politics: Democracies of the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## **6. Electoral System**

A. Heywood (2002) 'Representation, Electoral and Voting', in *Politics*. New York: Palgrave, pp 223-245.

Downs, W. M. (2011) 'Electoral Systems in Comparative Perspectives', in Ishiyama, J. T. and Breuning, M. (eds.) *21st Century Political Science: A Reference Book*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 159-167.

A. Evans (2009) 'Elections Systems', in J. Bara and M. Pennington (eds.) *Comparative politics*, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 93-119.

R. Moser, and S. Ethan (2004) 'Mixed Electoral Systems and Electoral System Effects: Controlled Comparison and Cross-national Analysis', in *Electoral Studies*. 23, pp. 575-599.

## **7. Party System**

Caramani, D. (2020) 'Party Systems', in Caramani, D. (ed.) *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Ch.13, pp. 231-251.

Choudhary, Sunil K. (2018), Theorizing Parties and Party Systems, in *The Changing Face of Parties and Party Systems, A Study of Israel and India*, Palgrave Macmillan.

A. Cole (2011) 'Comparative Political Parties: Systems and Organizations', in J. Ishiyama, and M. Breuning (eds) *21st Century Political Science: A Reference Book*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 150-158.

A. Heywood (2002) 'Parties and Party System', in *Politics*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 247-268.

B. Criddle (2003) 'Parties and Party System', in R. Axtmann (ed.) *Understanding Democratic Politics: An Introduction*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 134-142.

## **Additional Readings:**

Bara, J & Pennington, M. (eds.). (2009) *Comparative Politics*. New Delhi: Sage.

Caramani, D. (ed.). (2020) *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Fifth Ed.

Hague, R. and Harrop, M. McCormick J. (2016) *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction* (Tenth Edition). London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ishiyama, J.T. and Breuning, M. (eds.). (2011) *21st Century Political Science: A Reference Book*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Newton, K. and Deth, Jan W. V. (2010) *Foundations of Comparative Politics: Democracies of the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Neil, P. (2009) *Essentials of Comparative Politics* (3rd Edition). New York: WW. Norton & Company, Inc.

Roy Macridis (1966) *The Study of Comparative Government*, Random House.

**Note:** Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the Examination Branch, University of Delhi, from time to time.

### DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC CORE COURSE – 12: Global Politics

#### Credit distribution, Eligibility and Pre-requisites of the Course

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility criteria	Pre-requisite of the course (if any)
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/ Practice		
Global Politics DSC 12	4	3	1	-	NA	NA

#### Learning Objectives

This course aims to familiarize the students with key concepts and issues of global politics by providing an overall frame that de-centres the Eurocentric notion of the origins and development of global politics and introduces students to the alternative locations of global politics through history as well as in the contemporary contexts. Through the conceptual frames of geo-politics, geo-economics and geo-strategy, students will learn about various dimensions of the contemporary dynamics of global politics. Students will debate questions of dominance, control, and identity by examining the cultural frames of global politics. The course also offers insights into key and pressing contemporary global issues ranging from climate change, nuclear proliferation and migration to the rise and impact of global terrorism and, human security. It also discusses politics at the grassroots level through the lens of global social movements in an interconnected world. Throughout, the course attempts to foreground the perspectives from the Global South in order to pluralize and truly globalize the domain of global politics.

#### Learning outcomes

At the end of the course, students would acquire

- a basic clarity on the meaning, nature and significance of global politics.
- ability to analyse global politics beyond its conventional Eurocentric accounts.
- conceptual tools to understand its dynamics in the contemporary context.
- an understanding of the debates on the changing nature of global politics in terms of de-globalization and post-globalization along with territorialization and deterritorialization.
- the ability to understand the operational aspects of geo-politics, geo-economics, and geo-strategy in the context of global politics.
- the skills to analyze discourses on cultural frames of global politics

- an enhanced understanding of contemporary global issues like- ecology, environment, proliferation of nuclear weapons, global terrorism, human security, and migration.

## SYLLABUS OF DSC-12

### UNIT – I (10 Hours)

#### Locating Global Politics

### UNIT – II (12 Hours)

#### Changing Nature of Global Politics

- a. Globalization to de-globalization, and post-globalization
- b. Geo-politics, Geo-economics, and Geo-strategy
- c. Territorialisation and De-territorialisation
- d. Cultural Frames of Global Politics

### UNIT – III (12 Hours)

#### Contemporary Global Issues

- a. Ecological Issues: Climate Change, and International Environmental Agreements
- b. Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in Post- Cold War Era
- c. Global Terrorism and Its Impact
- d. Migration
- e. Human Security

### UNIT – IV (11 Hours)

#### Global Social Movements

- a. Environment Movements
- b. Women Movements
- c. Peace Movements

## Essential/recommended readings

### Unit 1 Locating Global Politics

#### **Essential readings:**

Hobson, J.M. (2004). *The Eastern origins of Western civilization* (pp. 1-26). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Acharya, Amitav (2014), "Who Are the Norm Makers? The Asian-African Conference in Bandung and the Evolution of Norms" in Special Section on "Principles from the Periphery: The Neglected Southern Sources of Global Norms", *Global Governance*, 20 (3): 405- 417.

#### **Additional readings:**

Hobson, J.M. (2020), "Globalization" in A. B. Tickner, & K. Smith (eds.), *International Relations from the Global South: Worlds of difference* (pp. 221-239). Routledge.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (2017), "Oriental Globalization: Past and Present", in Delanty, Gerard (eds.), *Europe and Asia Beyond East and West*, New York: Routledge, pp. 61-73.

Getachew, A. (2019), *Worldmaking after Empire: The rise and fall of self-determination* (pp. 1-13). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

## **Unit 2 Changing Nature of Global Politics**

### **a. Globalization to de-globalization, and post-globalization**

#### ***Essential readings:***

Ritzer, G. (2010), *Globalization: A Basic Text*, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 33-62.

Stager, M. (2009). *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-16.

Kornprobst, M. & Paul, T.V. (2021), "Globalization, deglobalization and the liberal international order", *International Affairs*, 97 (5): 1305-1316.

Flew, T. (2020). "Globalization, neo-globalization and post-globalization: The challenge of populism and the return of the national", *Global Media and Communication*, 16 (1): 19-39.

#### ***Additional Readings:***

Held, D., & McGrew A. (2003), "The Great Globalization Debate: An introduction" in D. Held, & A. McGrew. (eds.), *Global Transformations Reader: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 1-50.

Paul, T.V. (2021). "Globalization, deglobalization and reglobalization: Adapting liberal international order". *International Affairs*, 97 (5): 1599-1620.

James, Harold (2017), "Deglobalization as a Global Challenge", *Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) Papers No. 135*, URL: [https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/documents/Paper%20no.135WEB\\_1.pdf](https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/documents/Paper%20no.135WEB_1.pdf)

### **b. Geo-politics, Geo-economics, and Geo-strategy**

#### ***Essential Readings:***

Chaturvedi, S. (2012), "Geopolitics" in B.S. Chimni, & S. Mallavarapu (eds.), *International Relations: Perspectives for the Global South*, New Delhi: Pearson, pp: 149-166.

Wigell, Mikael et al. (2019) (eds.), *Geo-economics and Power Politics in the 21st Century: The Revival of Economic Statecraft*, London: Routledge, pp: 1-24.

Hobson, John M. (2021), *Multicultural Origins of the Global Economy: Beyond the Western-Centric Frontier*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 433-455.

Blouet, Brian W. (2005) (eds.), *Global Geostrategy: Mackinder and the defence of the West*, New York: Frank Cass, pp. 1-16; 137-141; 165-171.

#### ***Additional Readings:***

Flint, C. (2022). *Introduction to Geopolitics* (4th Edition), London: Routledge, pp: 1-44.

Dodds, K. (2019), *Geopolitics: A Very Short Introduction* (3rd Edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-14.

Luttwak, Edward N. (1998), "From Geopolitics to Geo-Economics: Logic of Conflict, Grammar of Commerce" in Tuathail, Gearoid O et al. (eds.), *The Geopolitics Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 125-130.

Dorsman, Andre B et al. (2018) (eds.), *Energy economy, Finance and Geostrategy*, Cham (Switzerland): Springer, pp. 1-10.

### **c. Territorialisation and De-territorialisation**

#### ***Essential Readings:***

Sassen, Saskia (1996), "The State and the new geography of power", in *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalisation*, New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 1-32.

Elden, S. (2005), "Missing the Point: Globalization, Deterritorialization and the Space of the World", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(1), 8–19.

### **Additional Readings:**

Scholte, J. A. (2003), "What is 'Global' about Globalization?" In D. Held & A. McGrew. (eds.), *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 84-91.

Appadurai, A. (1990), "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy", *Theory Culture and Society*, 7 (2-3): 295-310.

## **d. Cultural Frames of Global Politics (3 Lectures)**

### **Essential Readings:**

Harshe, R. (2006), "Culture, Identity and International Relations", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(37), 3945–3951.

Lapid, Yosef (1996), "Culture's Ship: Returns and Departures in International Relations Theory", in Lapid, Yosef and Friedrich Kratochwil (eds.), *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., pp. 3-20.

### **Additional Readings:**

Holton, Robert (2000), "Globalization's Cultural Consequences", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (ANNALS, AAPSS)*, 570: 140-152.

Gusterson, Hugh (2005), "The Seven Deadly Sins of Samuel Huntington", in Besteman, Catherine and Hugh Gusterson (eds.), *Why America's Top Pundits are Wrong*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 24-42.

Chirico, JoAnn (2014), "Globalizing Culture: Change and Continuity", in *Globalization: Prospects and Problems*, Washington D.C.: Sage Publications, pp. 254-284.

## **Unit 3 Contemporary Global Issues**

### **a. Ecological Issues: Climate Change, and International Environmental Agreements**

#### **Essential Readings:**

Heywood, A. (2011), "Global Environmental Issues" in *Global Politics*, New York: Palgrave, pp. 383-411.

Volger, J. (2011), 'Environmental Issues', in J. Baylis, S. Smith and P. Owens (eds.), *Globalization of World Politics*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 348-362.

#### **Additional Readings:**

Kreienkamp, J. (2019), "The Long Road to Paris: The History of the Global Climate Change Regime", *Global Governance Institute Policy Brief Series* (pp. 1-24), London: University College.  
[https://www.ucl.ac.uk/global-governance/sites/global-governance/files/the long road to paris the history of the global climate change regime.pdf](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/global-governance/sites/global-governance/files/the%20long%20road%20to%20paris%20the%20history%20of%20the%20global%20climate%20change%20regime.pdf)

Death, Carl (2019), 'Can We Save the Planet?', in Edkins, Jenny & Maja Zehfuss (eds.), *Global Politics: A New Introduction (3<sup>rd</sup> edition)*, New York: Routledge, pp. 61-84.

Falkner, Robert (2012), "Global environmentalism and the greening of international society", *International Affairs*, 88 (3): 503-522.

### **b. Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in Post- Cold War Era**

#### **Essential Readings:**

D. Howlett (2011), "Nuclear Proliferation" in J. Baylis, S. Smith and P. Owens (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 384-397.

Narang, Vipin (2017), "Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation: How States Pursue the Bomb", *International Security*, 41(3): 110-150.

### **Additional Readings:**

Heywood, A. (2011), Nuclear Proliferation and Disarmament. In *Global Politics*, New York: Palgrave, pp. 263-281.

Chacko, Priya & Alexander E Davis (2018), "Resignifying 'responsibility': India, exceptionalism and nuclear non-proliferation", *Asian Journal of Political Science*, pp. 1-19. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2018.1486218>

## **c. Global Terrorism and Its Impact**

### **Essential Readings:**

Bajpai, K.P. (2012), "Terrorism" in B.S. Chimni and Siddharth Mallavarapu (eds.), *Handbook on International Relations: Essays from the Global South*. New Delhi: Pearson Education, pp. 312-327.

Gerges, F.A. (2005), *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 119-150.

### **Additional Readings:**

Heywood, A. (2011), "Terrorism" in *Global Politics*, New York: Palgrave, pp. 282-302.

Vanaik, A. (2007), *Masks of Empire*, New Delhi: Tulika, pp. 103-128.

Hoffman, Bruce (2002), "Rethinking Terrorism and Counterterrorism Since 9/11", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 25 (5): 303-316.

Barber, Benjamin (2010), "On Terrorism and New Democratic Realism", in Ritzer, George & Zenep Atalay (eds.), *Readings in Globalization: Key Concepts and Major Debates*, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 305-306.

## **d. Migration**

### **Essential Readings:**

Castells, S. (2012), "Global Migration" In B.S. Chimni, & S. Mallavarapu (eds.), *International Relations: Perspectives for the Global South*, New Delhi: Pearson India Education, pp. 272-285.

Chirico, JoAnn (2014), "Transborder Threats to Human Well-Being: Inequality and Migration", in *Globalization: Prospects and Problems*, Washington D.C.: Sage Publications, pp. 368-382.

### **Additional Readings:**

Aneesh, A. (2006), *Virtual Migration: The Programming of Globalization*, London: Duke University Press, pp. 67-99.

Ritzer, G. (2010), "Global Flows of People: Vagabonds and Tourists", in *Globalization: A Basic Text*, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 297-321.

Moses, J. (2006), *International Migration: Globalization's Last Frontier*, London: Zed Books, pp. 1-17.

## **e. Human Security**

### **Essential Readings:**

Acharya, Amitav (2014), "Human Security" in Baylis, J. et al. (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (6th edition)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 448-462.

Tadjbakhsh, S. & Chenoy, Anuradha (2007), *Human Security*, London: Routledge, pp. 13-19; 123-127; 236-243.

**Additional Readings:**

Acharya, Amitav (2001), "Human Security: East versus West", *International Journal*, 56 (3): 442-460.

Cook, Alistair D.B. (2017), "Non-traditional Security and World Politics", in Beeson, Mark & Nick Bisley (eds.), *Issues in 21<sup>st</sup> Century World Politics (3<sup>rd</sup> edition)*, New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, pp. 38-51.

UNDP (1994), "Human Development Report: New Dimensions of Human Security", <https://www.hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-1994>.

**Unit 4 Global Social Movements**

**Essential Readings:**

Fominaya, C. (2014), *Social Movements and Globalization- How Protests, Occupation and Uprisings are Changing the World* (Chapter 3), pp: 27-49, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guidry, John A. et al. (2000) (eds.), *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 1-32.

Eschle, Catherine & Neil Stammers (2004), "Taking Part: Social Movements, INGOs, and Global Change", *Alternatives*, 29 (3): 333-372.

**Additional Readings:**

Moola, Sarifa (2004), "Contemporary Activism: Shifting Movements, Changing Actors", *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 60: 39-46.

Maiba, Hermann (2005), "Grassroots Transnational Social Movement Activism: The Case of Peoples' Global Action", *Sociological Focus*: 38 (1): 41-63.

Laxer, Gordon & Sandra Halperin (2003) (eds.), *Global Civil Society and Its Limits*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp: 1-21.

**Additional References:**

Tickner, Arlene B. & Karen Smith (2020) (eds.), *International Relations from the Global South: Worlds of Difference*, New York: Routledge.

Acharya, A. (2018), *Constructing Global Order: Agency and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lechner, Frank J. & John Boli (2015) (eds.), *The Globalization Reader (5<sup>th</sup> edition)*, Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Schaeffer, Robert K. (2021), *After Globalization: Crisis and Disintegration*, New York: Routledge.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. (2018), *Globalization and Its Discontents Revisited: Anti- Globalization in the Era of Trump*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Stuenkel, Oliver (2016), *Post Western World: How Emerging Powers are Remaking Global Order*, Cambridge: Polity.

Chari, Chandra (2008) (eds.), *War, Peace and Hegemony in a Globalized World: The Changing Balance of Power in the Twenty-first Century*, New York: Routledge.

**Note:** Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the Examination Branch, University of Delhi, from time to time.



## Discipline Specific Elective (DSE) Courses for Sem – IV

### DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC ELECTIVE COURSE – 2a: Gandhi and the Contemporary World

#### CREDIT DISTRIBUTION, ELIGIBILITY AND PRE-REQUISITES OF THE COURSE

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility criteria	Pre-requisite of the course (if any)
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/ Practice		
Gandhi and the Contemporary World DSE-2a	4	3	1	-	NA	NA

#### Learning Objectives

The Course has been designed to acquaint student with the core foundations of Gandhi's thoughts, methods and his position on key important issues of national and global concern. These issues range from the social, political, cultural to religious and economic questions which engaged the intellectual minds in his times and even today. As a celebrated champion of non-violent struggle Gandhi is an icon for fight against injustice, discrimination and unfair treatments.

#### Learning outcomes

After reading this module the student will be able to answer:

- What are the core principles of Gandhian thought on which he scrutinizes all actions?
- How Gandhi applied those principles in shaping his positions on social, political, economic and religious questions?
- The students will be able to answer how Gandhi presented the critique of the Western Civilization.
- The students will be able to know the position of Gandhi on key questions of contemporary debates in India like Religious conversion, protection of cow, language issue and Hinduism.
- The student will be able to know how Gandhi's use of the term Swadeshi does not just limit to economic aspects but all gametes of national life.

#### SYLLABUS OF DSE-2a

##### UNIT – I (12 Hours)

Truth and Non-violence

##### UNIT – II (8 Hours)

Gandhian Thought: Theory and Action

- a. Theory of Satyagraha
- b. Satyagraha in Action: Peasant Satyagraha, Temple Entry and Critique of Caste, Social Harmony and Communal Unity

##### UNIT – III (9 Hours)

Gandhi on Modern Civilization and Ethics of Development



- a. Conception of Modern Civilization and Alternative Modernity
- b. Critique of Development

## **UNIT – IV (8 Hours)**

### **Gandhi and the Idea of Political**

- a. Swaraj
- b. Swadeshi

## **UNIT – V (8 Hours)**

### **Gandhi's views on**

- a. Hinduism
- b. Religious Conversion
- c. Cow Protection
- d. Language Questions

## **Essential/recommended readings**

### Unit I

Bilgrami, Akeel (2003) Gandhi, The Philosopher, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 38 (39), pp- (4159-416).

Veeravalli, Anuradha. (2014). Gandhi in political theory: Truth, law and experiment Ashgate, Farnham, UK and Burlington, USA.

Godrej Farah (2006). Nonviolence and Gandhi's Truth: A Method for Moral and Political Arbitration. The Review of Politics 68 pp- 287-317. USA. University of Notre Dame.

Allen, Douglas ((2007). 'Mahatma Gandhi on Violence and Peace Education'. Philosophy, East and West 57 (3):290-310.

### Unit 2

Diwakar, R. R. (1969). Saga of Satyagraha. New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation

Nayar, Sushila (1951,1989). Mahatma Gandhi, Volume IV, Satyagraha at Work. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

Pyarelal & Sushila Nayar (1965), 1986 Gandhi - Birth of Satyagraha: From Petitioning to Passive Resistance, Vol.3. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

P. Rao (2009) 'Gandhi, Untouchability and the Postcolonial Predicament: A Note'. Social Scientist.Vol.37(1/2). Pp.64-70.

B. Parekh,(1999)'Discourse on Unsociability', in Colonialism, Tradition and Reform: An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse, New Delhi: Sage Publication

### Unit 3

B. Parekh (1997) 'The Critique of Modernity', in Gandhi: A Brief Insight, Delhi: Sterling Publishing Company, pp. 63-74.

K. Ishii (2001) 'The Socio-economic Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi: As an Origin of Alternative'

### Unit 4

D. Dalton (1996) 'Swaraj: Gandhi's Idea of Freedom' in Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings, USA: Hackett Publishing, pp. 95-148.

Ragi, Sangit K. (2022), RSS and Gandhi: The Idea of India, New Delhi: Sage [On Swadeshi: pp. 221-250]

R. Ramashray (1984) 'Liberty Versus Liberation', in Self and Society: A Study in Gandhian Thought, New Delhi: Sage Publication.

Kumar, Sanjeev (ed) (2020). 'Understanding Gandhi: Why Gandhi Matters Today' in Gandhi and the Contemporary World. Oxon & New York: Routledge. PP-1-23.

### Unit 5

Gandhi, Mahatma. (1994). What is Hinduism. National Book Trust, New Delhi,

Ragi, Sangit K. (2022), RSS and Gandhi: The Idea of India, New Delhi: Sage [On Hinduism: pp. 42-74; On Religious Conversion: pp. 75-114; On Cow Protection: 193-220; On Language Questions: pp. 160-192]

Mehta, Sandhya. (2002). Gandhiji On Religious Conversion Selected and Compiled, 1st Edition. Mumbai. Mani Bhavan Gandhi Sangrahalaya.

Gandhi (M.K.) . (1955), My Religion. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust.

Bilgrami, Akeel (2011), Gandhi's Religion and Its relation to his Politics. In: Brown, Judith M. and Parel, Anthony (ed.): The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi. Cambridge University Press, 93–116

S Radhakrishnan (2007): "Gandhi's Religion and Politics," in S Radhakrishnan (ed), Mahatma Gandhi: Essays and Reflections, Mumbai: Jaico Publication House.

D. Hardiman (2003) 'Fighting Religious Hatreds', in Gandhi in His Time and Ours. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

**Note:** Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the Examination Branch, University of Delhi, from time to time.

## DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC ELECTIVE COURSE – 2b: India's National Security: Major Challenges and Strategic Thinking

### CREDIT DISTRIBUTION, ELIGIBILITY AND PRE-REQUISITES OF THE COURSE

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility criteria	Pre-requisite of the course (if any)
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/ Practice		
India's National Security: Major Challenges and Strategic Thinking DSE-2b	4	3	1	-	NA	NA

### Learning Objectives

This course aims to link India's internal and external security challenges with its long term strategic thinking, approach and responses to the same. It introduces the historical dimensions of India's security challenges and the policy responses to students before equipping them with tools to conceptually analysing these. The course then discusses the intellectual foundations of India's strategic thinking drawn from both classical texts and past

practices. Students will also learn about the major contemporary debates on India's strategic culture. The course will engage students in understanding both internal and external dimensions of India's major security challenges. Some of the key external challenges, it focuses on, include India's securitized borders, maritime security threats, nuclearization, and terrorism. In the internal realm, issues pertaining to Jammu & Kashmir, the North-east, Naxalism, along with cyber and information warfare have been discussed. The final component of the course introduces the students to an array of India's strategic responses ranging from non-alignment, forging strategic partnerships and military responses to pursuing multilateral strategies in the contemporary world.

### **Learning outcomes**

At the end of the course, students would acquire the ability to:

- Understand the ways in which, the security threats to India have evolved historically and how have these been met.
- Appreciate the intellectual and historical foundations of Indian strategic thinking.
- Develop a nuanced understanding of India's strategic culture.
- Learn about India's internal and external security threats in its multifarious dimensions.
- Understand how has India evolved a whole array of strategic responses such as nonalignment, forging strategic partnerships and bilateral as well as multilateral partnerships to address diverse challenges it faces.

## **SYLLABUS OF DSE-2b**

### **UNIT – I (7 Hours)**

#### **Understanding India's National Security**

- 1.1 India's Security Policy: A Historical Perspective
- 1.2 Contemporary Dimensions of India's National Security Framework
- 1.3 Conceptualizing India's National Security

### **UNIT – II (9 Hours)**

#### **Intellectual Foundations of India's Strategic Thinking**

- 2.1 Textual Traditions: Ramayana & Mahabharata
- 2.2 Kautilya
- 2.3 Non-Textual Conceptualizations: Swaraj, Martial Culture

### **UNIT – III (7 Hours)**

#### **India's strategic culture**

- 3.1 Evolution and conceptualization
- 3.2 Contemporary Trends

### **UNIT – IV (13 Hours)**

#### **India's National Security Challenges**

- 4.1 External Challenges
  - 4.1.1 India's Neighbourhood (Cross-border terrorism, securitised borders, water sharing conflicts and nuclearization)
  - 4.1.2 Maritime Security
- 4.2 Internal Challenges
  - 4.2.1 Maoism/Naxalist Challenge
  - 4.2.2 Separatist Movements (J&K and the Northeast)
  - 4.2.3 Cyber Warfare

## **UNIT – V (9 Hours)**

### **India's Strategic Responses**

- 5.1 Non-Alignment
- 5.2 Strategic Partnerships
- 5.3 Military Responses
- 5.4 Multilateral Alliances

## **Essential/recommended readings**

### **Unit wise reading list**

#### **Unit 1: Understanding India's National Security**

##### **1.1 India's Security Policy: A Historical Perspective**

###### ***Essential Readings***

Raju G C Thomas, "The Strategic Environment and Defence Policies" in *Indian Security Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) pp. 10-49

Sanjay Chaturvedi, "Indian Geopolitics: 'Nation-State' and the Colonial Legacy" in Kanti Bajpai and Siddharth Mallavarapu (eds.) *International Relations in India: Theorising the Region and Nation* (Orient Longman, 2005) pp. 238-281

###### ***Additional Readings***

David Malone, "History: A Vital Foundation of India's International Relations" in *Does the Elephant Dance: Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 19-46

Shyam Saran, "Sources of India's World View" in *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century* (Juggernaut, 2018) pp. 9-24

Shivshankar Menon, "The Stage and Inheritance" in *India and Asian Geopolitics: The Past, Present* (The Brookings Institutions, 2021) pp. 11-36

Sumit Ganguly, "India's National Security" in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 145-159

L.P. Singh, "Learning the Lessons of History" in Brahma Chellaney (eds.) *Securing India's Future in the New Millennium* (Orient Longman, 1999) pp. 1-22

Harsh Pant and Kartik Bommakanti, "India's national security: challenges and dilemmas", *International Affairs*, 95 (4) (2019):835-857.

##### **1.2 Contemporary Dimensions of India's National Security Framework**

###### ***Essential Readings***

Kanti Bajpai "India: Modified Structuralism" in Muthaiah Alagappa (eds.) *Asian Security Practice* (Stanford University Press, 1998) pp. 157-197

###### ***Additional Readings***

Arvind Gupta, "National Security Environment" and "Non-traditional Security Issues in National Security" in *How India Manages its National Security* (Penguin Random House, 2018).

Rohan Mukherjee & David M. Malone, "Indian Foreign policy and Contemporary Security Challenges", *International Affairs*, Volume 87 (1), pp. 87–104 (2011)

### 1.3 Conceptualizing India's National Security

#### **Essential Readings**

Anshuman Behera and Areeba Ahsanat Moazzam, "India's National Security Discourse: A Conceptual Introduction", in Anshuman Behera & Sitakanta Mishra (eds.), *Varying Dimensions of India's National Security* (Springer 2022) pp. 3-18

P. S. Raghavan, "National Security Determinants of Foreign Policy", in Arvind Gupta and Anil Wadhwa (Ed.), *India's Foreign Policy: Surviving in a Turbulent World*, New Delhi: (Sage Publications, 2020) pp. 34-44

#### **Additional Readings**

Arvind Gupta, "How Good is India's National Security System?" in *How India Manages its National Security* (Penguin Random House, 2018)

David M. Malone, "India's Contemporary Security Challenges: More Internal than External?" in *Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 47-74

### Unit 2: Intellectual Foundations of India's Strategic Thinking

#### 2.1 Textual Traditions: Ramayana and Mahabharata

##### **Essential Readings**

Swarna Rajagopalan, "Grand Strategic Thought in the Ramayana and Mahabharata" in Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa (eds) *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014) pp. 31-62

##### **Additional Readings**

Amrita Narlikar and Aruna Narlikar, "India's Negotiation Strategy: The Heroism of Haed Bargaining?" in *Bargaining with a Rising India: Lessons from the Mahabharata* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) pp. 24-71.

Sharad Patil, "Myth and Reality of Ramayana and Mahabharata", *Social Scientist*, Vol.4, No. 8 (1976): 68-72.

#### 2.2 Kautilya

##### **Essential Readings**

Subrata K. Mitra, "Kautilya and the Strategic Culture of India" in Subrata K. Mitra and Michael Liebig (eds.) *Kautilya's Arthashastra: An Intellectual Portrait* (Nomos, 2016) pp. 288-316

##### **Additional Readings**

Rashed Uz Zaman, "Kautilya: The Indian Strategic Thinker and Indian Strategic Culture", *Comparative Strategy*, Volume 25, No. 3 (2006) 231-247

George Modelski, "Kautilya: Foreign Policy and International System in the Ancient Hindu World", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol-58, No-3 (Sept., 1964). pp. 549-560.

#### 2.3 Non-Textual Conceptualizations: Swaraj, Martial Culture

##### **Essential Readings**

Arpita Anand, 'A 'Regional' Intervention in the Debate on India's Strategic Culture: Maratha Statecraft in *Agyapatra*,' *Journal of Defence Studies*, 15:3, July-September 2021. Available at: <https://idsa.in/jds/a-regional-intervention-in-the-debate-on-indias-strategic-culture-aanant>

Jayashree Vivekanandan, "Strategy, Legitimacy and the Imperium: Framing the Mughal Strategic Discourse," in Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa (eds.) *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014) pp. 63-85.

### Unit 3: India's strategic culture (4 Lectures)

### 3.1. Evolution and conceptualization

#### **Essential Readings**

Kanti Bajpai and Amitabh Mattoo "Introduction" in *Kanti Bajpai, Amitabh Mattoo and George Tanham (eds.) Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996) pp. 15-27

Jaswant Singh, "Strategic Culture" in *Defending India* (New Delhi: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999) pp. 1-60

### 3.2 Contemporary Trends

#### **Essential Readings**

Michael Liebig, 'Interrogating 'Hyphenated Cultures': India's Strategic Culture and Intelligence Culture', *Journal of Defence Studies*, 15:3, July-September 2021. Available at: <https://idsa.in/ids/interrogating-hyphenated-cultures-mliebig>

Amrita Narlikar, "Peculiar Chauvinism or Strategic Calculation? Explaining the Negotiating Strategy of a Rising India", in *International Affairs*, Vol. 82 (1) (2006): 59-76

#### **Additional Readings**

George K. Tanham, "Indian Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay" in *Kanti Bajpai, Amitabh Mattoo and George Tanham (eds.) Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996) pp. 28-111

George K. Tanham, "Indian Strategy in Flux?" in *Kanti Bajpai, Amitabh Mattoo and George Tanham (eds.) Securing India: Strategic Thought and Practice* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996) pp. 112-139

## Unit 4: India's National Security Challenges

### 4.1 External Challenges:

#### 4.1.1 India's Neighborhood

S. Muni, 'Problem Areas in India's Neighbourhood Policy', *South Asian Survey*, Vol. 10 (2) (2003): 185-196.

#### i. Cross-Border terrorism:

#### **Essential Readings**

Sanjeev Kumar HM, Chp 3 in *The India-Pakistan Sub-conventional War: Democracy and Peace in South Asia* (New Delhi: Sage, 2022), pp. 162-192.

#### **Additional Readings**

K. Santhanam, "Sources of Terror: India" in *South Asia Post-9/11: Searching for stability* (Observer Research Foundation, 2003), pp. 31-35

S.D. Muni "Introduction" in *Responding to Terrorism in South Asia* (Manohar, 2006) pp. 11-29

#### ii. Securitised Borders

#### **Essential Readings**

Shyam Saran, "The Pakistan Puzzle" in *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century* (Juggernaut, 2018) pp. 77-106

Alka Acharya, "China" in Kanti Bajpai and Harsh Pant (eds.) *India's Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2013) pp. 356-369

#### **Additional Readings**

Shyam Saran, "The India-China Border Dispute and After" in *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st Century* (Juggernaut, 2018) pp. 123-149

Shiv Shankar Menon, "India and China" in *India and Asian Geopolitics: The Past, Present* (The Brookings Institution, 2021) pp. 317-339

Tanvi Madan, "China in Three Avatars in Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa (eds.) *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014) pp. 308-359

Bharat Karnad, "An Elephant with a Small Footprint: The Realist Roots of India's Strategic Thought and Policies" in Kanti Bajpai, Saira Basit and V. Krishnappa (eds.) *India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014) pp. 200-233

### **iii. Water Sharing**

#### **Essential Readings**

Brahma Chellaney, "Water: The latest India-Pak Battle Line" in *Water: Asia's New Battleground* (Georgetown University Press, 2011) pp. 286-296.

Medha Bisht, "From the edges of borders: reflections on water diplomacy in South Asia" *Water Policy* 21 (2019): 1123–1138

Jonathan Holslag, "Assessing the Sino-Indian Water Dispute," *Journal of International Affairs*, 64:2, Spring/Summer 2011, pp. 19-35.

#### **Additional Readings**

K. Warikoo, "Perspectives of Indus Waters treaty" in Ranabir Samaddar and Helmut Reifeld (eds.) *Peace as Process: Reconciliation and conflict Resolution in South Asia* (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2001) pp. 281-298

Brahma Chellaney, "Nepal and Bhutan as Subregional Energy Hub" in *Water: Asia's New Battleground* (Georgetown University Press, 2011) pp. 281-286

Brahma Chellaney, "Exploiting the Riparian Advantage: A key test case" in *Water: Asia's New Battleground* (Georgetown University Press, 2011) pp. 141-197 (Includes Bangladesh)

### **iv. Nuclearization**

#### **Essential Readings**

Ashley J. Tellis, *India's Emerging Nuclear Doctrine: Exemplifying the Lessons of Nuclear revolution*, *NBR Analysis*, 12:2, May 2001, pp. 1-16; 103-110.

Sundaram, K. and MV Ramana. "India and the policy of no first use of nuclear weapons." *Journal of Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 1, no. 1 (2018). Taylor & Francis: 152-68.

#### **Additional Readings**

Bharat Karnad, "New Attractions of the Bomb: The Nuclearized Twenty-First Century World" in *India's Nuclear Policy* (Praeger Security International, 2008) pp. 5-34

Rajesh Basrur, "India and China: A managed nuclear rivalry?" *Washington Quarterly*, 42, no. 3 (2019). Taylor & Francis: 151-70.

Harsh V. Pant and Yogesh Joshi, *Indian Nuclear Policy*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2018.

Vipin Narang, "Introduction" in *Seeking the Bomb: Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation* (Princeton University Press, 2022) pp. 1-14

### **4.1.2 Maritime Security**

#### **Essential Readings**

S. Jaishankar, Chapter 8, "The Pacific Indian: A Re-Emerging Maritime Outlook," in *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World* (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 2020), pp. 179-200.

Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan, "India's maritime strategy", in Anit Mukherjee and C. Raja Mohan (eds.) *India's Naval Strategy and Asian Security* (London: Routledge, 2016) pp. 13-36.

### **Additional Readings**

Rahul Roy Chaudhary "India's Maritime Security" *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 26, no. 1 (1999): 129-139

Vijay Sakhuja, "Maritime security order in Asia: a perspective from India" in Joachim Krause and Sebastian Bruns (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Naval Strategy and Security* (London: Routledge, 2016) pp. 315-327

## **4.2 Internal Challenges**

### **4.2.1 Naxalism/ Maoism**

#### **Essential Readings**

P.V Ramana, "State Response to the Maoist Challenge: An Overview," in V.R. Raghavan (ed.), *The Naxal Threat: Causes, State Responses and Consequences* (New Delhi: Vij Books, 2011), pp. 71-94.

#### **Additional Readings**

E. N. Rammohan, "Rise of Naxalism, its implications for National Security and the way Forward," in V.R. Raghavan (ed.), *The Naxal Threat: Causes, State Responses and Consequences* (New Delhi: Vij Books, 2011), pp. 95-112.

Ramachandra Guha, "Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy" *Economic and Political Weekly* 42(32) (2007): 3305-3312

### **4.2.2 Separatist Movements (J&K/ Northeast)**

#### **Kashmir**

#### **Essential Readings**

Navnita C. Behera, "India's Political Gambit" in *Demystifying Kashmir* (Brookings, 2006) pp. 30-72

#### **Additional Readings**

Rekha Chowdhry, "India's responses to the Kashmir Insurgency: A Holistic Perspective", in Moeed Yusuf (eds.) *Insurgency and counter-Insurgency in India: Through a Peacebuilding Lens* (United States Institutes of Peace, 2014) pp. 45-76.

V.G. Patankar, "Insurgency, Proxy War and Insurgency in Kashmir," in Sumit Ganguly and David P. Fidler (eds.), *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), pp. 65-78.

#### **Northeast**

#### **Essential Readings**

Sanjib Baruah, "Regionalism and secessionism" in Niraja Gopal Jayal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India* (Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 181-191

#### **Additional Readings**

Walter Ledweig, "Insights from the Northeast: Counterinsurgency in Nagaland and Mizoram", in Sumit Ganguly and David P. Fidler (eds.) *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (USA, Canada: Routledge, 2009) pp. 45-62

### **4.2.3 Cyber Security and Information Warfare**

#### **Essential Readings**



Whagre Prateek & Shibani Mehta, "India's National Cybersecurity Policy Must Acknowledge Modern Realities" (Diplomat, 2019). <https://thedi diplomat.com/2019/12/indias-national-cybersecurity-policy-must-acknowledge-modern-realities/>

Martin C. Libicki, "The Convergence of Information Warfare". *Strategic Studies Quarterly*. 11(1), 49-65. [https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-11\\_Issue-1/Libicki.pdf](https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-11_Issue-1/Libicki.pdf)

### **Additional Readings**

S, Datta, Cybersecurity, Internet governance and India's foreign policy: Historical antecedents (Internet Democracy Project 2016)  
<https://internetdemocracy.in/reports/cybersecurity-ig-ifp-saikat-datta>.

Mukerji, Amb (Retd) A. International Cooperation on Cyber Space: India's role. (Ministry of External Affairs, 2018). <https://www.mea.gov.in/distinguished-lectures-detail.htm?743>

## **Unit 5: India's Strategic Responses**

### **5.1 Non-Alignment**

#### **Essential Readings**

Rajen Harshe, "India's Non-Alignment: An Attempt at Conceptual Reconstruction," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25:7-8, February 17-24, 1990, pp. 399-405.

Khilnani, S., Rajiv Kumar and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (eds.) (2013). *Nonalignment 2.0: A Foreign & Strategic Policy for India in the 21st Century*. Penguin.

#### **Additional Readings**

P. Srivastava, "From Non-Alignment to Strategic Partnerships" *Non-Alignment Movement: Extending Frontiers* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2001) pp. 177-182.

C Rajamohan, "Beyond Non-Alignment" in *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's new Foreign Policy* (Viking, 2003) pp. 29-56

Pant, H.V., & Super, J.M. (2015). India's 'non-alignment' conundrum: a twentieth- century policy in a changing world. *International Affairs*, 91(4), 747-764.

### **5.2 Strategic Partnerships**

#### **Essential Readings**

Rajiv Sikri, "India's Strategic Choices" in *Challenge & Strategy in Rethinking India's Foreign Policy* (Sage Publications, 2009) pp. 277-290

Ashley J. Tellis, "US-India Relations: The Struggle for an Enduring Partnership" in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 481-494

#### **Additional Readings**

Teresita C. Schaffer & Howard B. Schaffer, "Indian Strategic Visions" *India at the Global High Table: The Quest for Regional Primacy & Strategic Autonomy* (Harper Collins India, 2016) pp. 60-81

C. Rajamohan, Chapter 6 on "Embracing America," in *Modi's World: Expanding India's Sphere of Influence*, New Delhi: Harper Collins, 2015.

### **5.3 Military Responses**

#### **Essential Readings**

Dasgupta, Sunil and Stephen P. Cohen. "Is India ending its strategic restraint doctrine?", *Washington Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (2011). Taylor & Francis: 163-77.

Tarapore, Arzan. *The Army in Indian Military Strategy: Rethink Doctrine or Risk Irrelevance*. New Delhi: Carnegie India Working Paper, 2020: 1-22.

### **Additional Readings**

Rajpal Budania, "India's Threat Perception and Policy Response" in *India's National Security Dilemmas: Pakistan Factor* (Indus Publishing Company, 2001) pp. 216-269

Singh, Sushant K. "Military as an instrument of India's foreign policy: An expanding footprint". In *The Routledge Handbook of Indian Defence Policy* (second edition) edited by Harsh V. Pant. New Delhi: Routledge, 2020.

Sumit Ganguly, "India's Defence Policy" in Niraja Gopal Jayal & Pratap Bhanu Mehta *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India* (Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 542-554.

### **5.4 Multilateral Alliances:**

#### **Essential Readings**

David Malone "The evolution of Indian Multilateralism" in *Does the Elephant Dance: Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 249-273

Saran, Shyam (2013), India and Multilateralism: A Practitioner's Perspective in Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Bruce D. Jones (eds.), *Shaping the Emerging World: India and the Multilateral Order*, Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 43-56

#### **Additional Readings**

Teresita C. Schaffer & Howard B. Schaffer, "Multilateral Negotiations," *India at the Global High Table: The Quest for Regional Primacy & Strategic Autonomy* (Harper Collins India, 2016) pp. 213-247.

Sanjaya Baru, "The Economic Imperative for India's Multilateralism" in Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Bruce D. Jones (eds.) *Shaping the Emerging World: India and the Multilateral Order* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013) pp. 75-92

Navroz K. Dubash and Lavanya Rajamani, "Multilateral Diplomacy on Climate Change," in in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 663-680.

Rajesh Rajagopalan, "Multilateralism in India's Nuclear Policy: A Questionable Default Option," in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan, and Srinath Raghavan (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2015) pp. 650-662.

**Note:** Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the Examination Branch, University of Delhi, from time to time.

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