



Traditional and New Security Challenges: South Asia in Global Perspective

U21 Advanced Intensive Study Module
Delhi, 10 – 16 February 2013

Module Handbook

A collaborative Masters-level module, involving students and staff from the University of Birmingham, the University of Delhi, and the University of Melbourne.

Introduction to the Module

Aims

This module brings together expertise from the universities of Birmingham, Delhi and Melbourne to deliver an advanced analysis of the interactions between government and society on major areas of public policy. The module will explore the evolving international security agenda and encourage students to consider if security and insecurity have fundamentally transformed in recent decades. It will consider the relevance of the traditional 'national security' paradigm – based upon military defence of territory against 'external' threats – and explore how challenges such as weak and failed states, environmental degradation, terrorism, underdevelopment, migration, and normative ideas such as 'human security' and the 'Responsibility to Protect' have come to change the way we think about, and respond to, insecurity. The module will encourage students to take a 'critical' approach to these debates, it will draw upon the diverse backgrounds of participants, and it will explore the South Asia experience – as well as other regions – to illustrate the topics discussed.

The module enables students to study with masters students from other institutions, taught by a team of specialists from the participating universities, focussing on evolving security studies debates. It will enhance the learning experience by providing an opportunity for students to follow an advanced and intensive course in a multi-cultural and interdisciplinary context.

Learning Outcomes

The module will provide opportunities for students to:

1. Demonstrate a critical awareness of existing knowledge in the field of study, and of the main challenges for advancing the state of knowledge
2. Undertake an internationally comparative analysis of the relationship between government and society in an area of public policy, identifying both the academic and public policy implications
3. Demonstrate the ability to work effectively on advanced knowledge generation and analysis tasks in a multi-national/multi-cultural group

Teaching format

Classes will follow a lecture-seminar format. Students must accept the responsibility for taking on the necessary background and specialist reading; these postgraduate sessions depend upon a high level of input and participation from the members of the group. Attendance is compulsory unless there are exceptional circumstances.

Assessment

Performance on this module will be measured by:

- 1) Individual learning log (30%): The individual learning log, of up to 2000 words, will record your ongoing learning and reflections on the whole module, the

literature, and the debates that we have in the class. It may be written in a more informal style than usually adopted for an essay. You should briefly touch upon each of the topics (sessions) covered during the module, identifying the linkages and relating them to the overarching themes of the course. We would suggest that you prepare the material for the learning log by making a note of your thoughts on the topic for each session both before the session is delivered (for example: what are your key questions, what areas do you most want to discuss) and after the session is completed (for example, consider: how has it changed your thinking, what impact does it have on your overall understanding of security and globalisation, how does it support or challenge the ideas you have developed during the other sessions?). The learning log should demonstrate to the reader how your learning has progressed through the module. This will be marked by a module convenor from your home institution.

- 2) Assignment (60%): 3,000 word paper which will be marked by the convenor from your home institution.
- 3) Group presentation (10%): 20 minute presentation by a cross-university group plus Q&A, during the final session of the module, assessed pass/fail by module tutors.

Assignment Questions

To Be Confirmed

Assignment deadlines

Assignments and Individual Learning Logs are to be submitted both printed and electronically.

Two printed copies of each completed assignment with a cover sheet should be handed in to Dr. Edward Newman. You are also required to submit an electronic copy of each assignment (to the module convenors) for checking using plagiarism detection software, in line with university policy.

The Learning Log must be submitted by Monday 11 March.

The Assignment must be submitted by Tuesday 2 April.

Permission to submit an assignment after the deadline must be sought directly from the module convenors based at your home institution and will be given only in exceptional circumstances (e.g. serious illness). Failure to meet these conditions may result in a penalty being applied, as per the rules of your home institution or department.

Group Presentation

Each group is to choose one South Asian country from the following list to use as a case study. Ideally, each group will present on a different country. To ensure this, each group should provide the subject coordinator with a list of three preferences as soon as possible via email. The subject coordinator will then negotiate each group's preferences to work

out the best outcome.

India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives.

For your country case study, each group should:

- (1) Provide an overview of the internal and external security environment for that country and identify the most significant security challenges;
- (2) Identify how those main security challenges are being dealt with by local and/or national and/or regional actors;
- (3) Evaluate those responses and suggest some alternative approaches/policies for mitigating the security challenges

Marking criteria for presentations:

1. Quality of presented analysis of topic in response to set questions above.
2. Ability to address and respond meaningfully to questions from staff and other students during Q&A.
3. Evidence of genuine collaboration between group members as reflected in presentation.

Module outline

Sunday 10 Feb

Tour of Delhi
Evening: Welcome dinner and introductions

Monday 11 Feb

Session 1 (AM): Introduction: Approaches to Security
Edward Newman (University of Birmingham) and all teaching staff

Session 2 (PM): Nuclear Challenges in South Asia
Rajesh Rajagopalan (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Tuesday 12 Feb

Session 3 (AM): Armed Conflict, Civil Wars, State Failure and 'New Wars'
Edward Newman (University of Birmingham)

Session 4 (PM): The rise of India and China: regional and global security
perspectives
Pradeep Taneja (University of Melbourne)

Wednesday 13 Feb

Session 5 (AM): Gender, Conflict and Security in South Asia
Navnita Behera (University of Delhi)

Session 6 (PM): Challenges of terrorism/counter-terrorism in the South Asian context
Cdr (Ret.) Uday Bhaskar (Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies)

Evening: Group dinner, Oberoi Hotel

Thursday 14 Feb

Session 7 (AM): The Security Challenges of Forced Migration
Nasreen Chowdhory (University of Delhi)

Session 8 (PM): The Environment, Natural Resources and Security
Devika Sharma (University of Delhi)

Friday 15 Feb

Session 9 (AM): Regional Security Governance
Pradeep Taneja (University of Melbourne)

Session 10 (PM): Assessed Student Group Presentations (extended class)
All staff and students

Saturday 16 Feb

Day trip to Agra

Attendance Requirements

Due to the intensive delivery format of the subject, students must attend all 10 sessions as a requirement. Absences from sessions due to illness should be reported to the subject coordinator in advance.

Reading materials

The rest of the document contains required and suggested readings. The list is long and you are not expected to read everything! You are, however, expected to read much more than those readings marked as essential for each session.

The reading lists allow you to explore a wide range of different writings about a topic. You can also do your own independent research using, for example, recently published journal articles.

Useful Journals

There is a huge range of journals which may provide useful research material for your assignments and course preparation. Some good places to start include the following:

Civil Wars
Conflict, Security and Development
Contemporary Security Policy
International Peacekeeping
International Security
Journal of African Political Economy
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Journal of Peace Research
Review of International Studies
Security Dialogue
Third World Quarterly

Session 1 Introduction: Approaches to Security

Dr. Edward Newman, University of Birmingham

This opening session will outline competing approaches to the study of security and discuss their prescriptions and implications for security policymaking. We here canvass ‘traditional’ state-centric approaches to security, particularly realism and liberalism. We then contrast these with critical and human security approaches. The main features and points of difference of each approach will be identified and teased out. The final part of the seminar will consider the relevance and application of different approaches to security to the South Asian context. Which approaches have been prevalent in South Asian security scholarship, and how have they shaped political practice in the region? What alternatives are desirable and/or possible?

Questions to consider

- What do you consider ‘security’ to mean? Is there an ‘essential’ meaning of security?
- Has the nature of security/insecurity evolved over the past several decades?
- In what ways do the processes and consequences of globalisation challenge our thinking about and practices of security?
- What do you consider to be the most important security challenges in the short, medium, and longer term?

Required reading

- Terry Terriff, Stuart Croft, Lucy James, and Patrick M. Morgan (1999), ‘Traditional views of security in international politics’, in their *Security Studies Today*, 29-64. Cambridge, UK, and Malden, MA. #
- Keith Krause (1998). “Critical Theory and Security Studies: The research program of ‘Critical Security Studies’”, *Cooperation and Conflict* 33(3): 298-333.
- Edward Newman (2010), ‘Critical human security studies’, *Review of International Studies* 36: 77-94.

Session 2 Nuclear Challenges in South Asia

Professor Rajesh Rajagopalan, Jawaharlal Nehru University

India and Pakistan built nuclear weapons in the late 1980s. They openly declared their nuclear arsenals after conducting a series of tests in May 1998. Almost a quarter century after they crossed the nuclear weapons threshold, the consequences for regional and global security as well as international relations theory are still being actively debated. On one side of this debate are the nuclear 'optimists': those who argue that the spread of nuclear weapons will stabilize regional conflicts. On the other hand, the nuclear 'pessimists' argue that nuclear weapons make extant regional conflicts even more dangerous. This debate has important implications as other regions – the Middle East and Northeast Asia, for example – straddle the same nuclear divide that South Asia crossed earlier. In this discussion, we will examine the opposing perspectives and the different interpretations they give to the consequences of South Asia's nuclearization.

Required Readings

- Sumit Ganguly, "Nuclear Stability in South Asia," *International Security* 33:2 (Fall 2008): 45-70.
- S. Paul Kapur, "Ten Years of Instability in A Nuclear South Asia," *International Security* 33:2 (Fall 2008): 71-94.
- Dinshaw Mistry, "Tempering Optimism about Nuclear Deterrence in South Asia," *Security Studies* 18:1 (2009): 148-82.
- Scott D. Sagan and Kenneth N. Waltz, *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003)

Suggested further reading

Chaim Braun & Christopher Chyba, 'Proliferation rings: New challenges to the nuclear non-proliferation regime', *International Security* 29(2) (2004): 5-49.

International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (ICNND), Report Synopsis (pp. 1-24), in *Eliminating Nuclear Threats: A Practical Agenda for Global Policymakers*. Canberra & Tokyo, 2009.
<http://www.icnnd.org/reference/reports/ent/index.html>

Michael Hamel-Green, 'Nuclear-weapon-free zone initiatives: Challenges and opportunities for regional cooperation on non-proliferation', *Global Change, Peace & Security* 21(3) (2009): 357-376.

Christopher S. Parker, 'New weapons for old problems: Conventional proliferation and military effectiveness in developing states', *International Security* 23(4) (1999): 119-147.

Tom Lansford, 'The Great Game renewed? US-Russian rivalry in the arms trade of South Asia', *Security Dialogue* 33(2) (2002): 127-140.

Anna M. Pluta and Peter D. Zimmerman, 'Nuclear terrorism: A disheartening dissent', *Survival* 48(2) (2006): 55-69.

Scott D. Sagan, 'The case for no first use', *Survival* 51(3) (2009): 163-182.

Amitai Etzioni, 'Tomorrow's institution today: The promise of the Proliferation Security Initiative', *Foreign Affairs* 88 (2009): 7-11.

Ashley J. Tellis, 'The evolution of U.S.-Indian ties: Missile defence in an emerging strategic relationship', *International Security* 30(4) (2006): 113-151.

Session 3 Armed conflict, civil war, state failure and 'new wars'

Dr. Edward Newman, University of Birmingham

This session will explore patterns of armed conflict in recent decades, focussing mainly on intrastate violence, state failure and civil war. It will consider a range of debates and theories regarding the causes and nature of intrastate conflict, with reference to cases around the world but in particular in South Asia. It will also give particular consideration to the question of whether 'failed states' – given the range of problems associated with them – represent a new paradigm in terms of threats to international security. Three key questions will lie at the heart of this discussion: 1) are there clear changes in the nature of armed conflict which may support the idea of 'New Wars'? 2) Do patterns of civil war and state failure, which are far more prevalent than inter-state war, represent a fundamental challenge to conventional ways of thinking about and dealing with international insecurity? 3) What types of armed conflict characterize South Asia at the beginning of the 21st Century, and what patterns are likely to define the coming years?

Questions to consider

- What are the principal patterns and types of civil war in recent decades? What are the main theories of civil war?
- Does the 'greed' and 'grievance' debate help us to understand contemporary civil war?
- What are 'new wars'? Is this idea helpful to understand armed conflict in South Asia?
- Are weak or failed states a useful category of analysis in international politics? Is the idea of failed states – and the popularity of focussing on this – a reflection of Western concerns over 'new' security threats since 9/11? Is this a 'real' change in the nature of international peace and security, or is it a political construction?

Required reading

India Armed Violence Assessment (2011) 'India's States of Armed Violence: Assessing the Human Cost and Political Priorities', *Small Arms Survey*, Issue Brief Number 12, September 2011.

'Vulnerability to Violence': chapter 2 of *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, World Bank Publications, 2011.

Edward Newman, 'Failed states and international order: constructing a post-Westphalian World', *Contemporary Security Policy*, vol. 30, no. 3, 2009.

Suggested further reading

Edward Newman, 'The 'New Wars' Debate: A Historical Perspective is Needed', *Security Dialogue*, vol.35, no.2, 2004.

Edward Newman, 'Conflict research and the 'decline' of civil war', *Civil Wars*, vol.11, no.3, 2009.

John Mueller, 'The Banality of Ethnic War', *International Security*, vol.25, no.1, 2000.

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars* (Polity, 2nd edition, 2006).

‘Overview’ of *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, World Bank Publications, 2011. See:

http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/c.html/world_development_report_2011/abstract/WB.978-0-8213-8439-8.abstract

Frances Stewart, ‘Horizontal Inequalities as a Cause of Conflict’, input paper for the *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, World Bank Publications, 2011: <http://wdronline.worldbank.org/worldbank/a/nonwdrdetail/198>

Matts Berdal, ‘How ‘new’ are ‘new wars’? Global economic change and the study of civil war’, *Global Governance*, 9:4 (2003), 477-502.

S. N. Kalyvas, ‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?’, *World Politics*, 54:1 (2001), 99-118.

D. Keen, ‘Incentives and Disincentives for Violence’ in M. Berdal & D. Malone (eds.), *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Lynne Rienner, 2000).

John Tirman, ‘Civil wars, globalization, and the ‘Washington Consensus’’, in Edward Newman, Ramesh Thakur and John Tirman eds., *Multilateralism Under Challenge? Power, International Order, and Structural Change*, Tokyo, UNU Press, 2006.

Center for Systemic Peace (University of Maryland): www.systemicpeace.org/. In particular, see the ‘Global Report’ published in 2011.

Session 4 The Rise of India and China: Regional and Global Security Perspectives

Dr. Pradeep Taneja

This session will examine the rise of China and India and the responses from regional and global actors to the re-emergence of great Asian powers. It will explore the economic, political and security dimensions of the growing economic and political weight of the Asian giants. We will begin by looking at the characterisation of their rise both internally and externally, trying to understand the meanings of terms such as ‘peaceful rise’, ‘peaceful development’ and the ‘China threat theory’. Then we look at the threat perceptions of the rise of China and India. Is China’s peaceful rise possible? How have the other Asian countries adjusted/responded to the rise of China and India? What are the implications for the United States, EU and Australia of the rise of China and India? These are some of the questions that we aim to ponder in this session.

Required reading

- D. Edelstein (2002), ‘Managing uncertainty: beliefs about intentions and the rise of great powers,’ *Security Studies*, Vol.12, No. 1, 2002.
- Alastair Iain Johnston (2003), ‘Is China a status quo power’, *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 5–56.
- H. V. Pant (2009), ‘A Rising India’s Search for a Foreign Policy’, *Orbis*, Vol. 53, No 2, Spring, pp. 250-264.

Further reading

S. Ganguly and Manjeet S. Pardesi (2012), ‘Can China and India rise peacefully?’, *Orbis*, Vol. 56, No. 3, Summer, 470-485.

D. Shambaugh (2011), ‘Coping with a conflicted China’, *The Washington Quarterly*, 34:1 pp. 7-27.

C.W. Hughes (2012), ‘China’s Military Modernization: U.S. Allies and Partners in Northeast Asia’, *Strategic Asia 2012-13: China’s Military Challenge*, Seattle, WA: National Bureau for Asian Research.

E. Goh (2005), *Meeting the China Challenge: the US in Southeast Asian regional security strategies*, Honolulu: East West Centre, Policy Studies No. 16.

S. S. Tan and Amitava Acharya (eds.) (2004), *Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation: National Interest and Regional Order*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Session 5 Gender, Conflict and Security in South Asia

Professor Navnita Chadha Behera, University of Delhi

This session will focus on the feminist perspectives in conflict and peace studies and, alternative ways of understanding the changing character of security. It will address both its theoretical aspects and empirical dimensions in the South Asian context, where most of the IR literature is predominantly shaped by the Realist paradigm and the feminist scholars are only beginning to make their presence felt. It will consider a range of debates on issues such as correcting the male bias in data collection and analysis in conflict studies and interrogating the stereotypes of women as ‘passive victims of armed conflict’ by understanding their role as actors and active participants in conflict and peace processes at the community, sub-national and national levels. It will also discuss how feminist writings have questioned the state-centric conception of security that makes security effectively synonymous with ‘citizenship’, which they argue is historically and conceptually not a gender-neutral phenomenon and how they try to shift the gaze of threats from ‘outside’ the state boundaries towards the structural violence of ethnic, religion, class and gender hierarchies within nations.

Required reading

- Behera, Navnita Chadha (2006)(ed.) ‘Introduction’ in *Gender, Conflict and Migration*, London: Sage.
- Manchanda, Rita (2005) ‘Women's Agency in Peace Building: Gender Relations in Post-Conflict Reconstruction’ *Economic and Political Weekly*,40(44/45): 4737-4745
- Manchanda, Rita (2001) ‘Redefining and Feminising Security’ *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36(22): 1956-1963
- Rajagopalan, Swarna (2010) ‘Gender Violence, Conflict, Internal Displacement And Peacebuilding’ *Peace Prints: South Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 3(1): 1-15.

Suggested further reading

Manchanda, Rita, “Redefining and Feminising Security.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 36:22, 2-8 June 2001, pp. 1956-1963.

Manchanda, Rita, (ed.), *Women, War and Peace in South Asia: Beyond Victimhood to Agency*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001.

Banerjee, Paula (ed.), *South Asian Peace Studies: Women in Peace Politics*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2008.

Chenoy, Anuradha M., *Militarism and Women in South Asia*, New Delhi: Kali for Women Publication, 2002.

Chenoy, Anuradha M. “A Plea for Engendering Human Security,” *International Studies*, 42:2, 2005, pp. 167-179.

Chenoy, Anuradha M. and Vanaik, Achin, "Promoting Peace Security and Conflict Resolution: Gender Balance in Decision Making," *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (ed.) Inger Skjelsbæk, Dan Smith, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001.

Behera, Navnita Chadha, "The Long Road Ahead: Engendering Conflict Analysis in South Asia," *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 2004, 11:1, pp. 95-103

Faizal, Farah and Rajagopalan, Swarna (eds.) *Women, Security, South Asia: A Clearing in the Thicke*,. New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2005.

Menon, Ritu, Cartographies of Nations and Identities: A Post-Partition Predicament, *Interventions: The International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 1:2, March 1999, pp. 157-166.

Jeffery, Patricia and Basu, Amrita (eds.), *Resisting the Sacred and the Secular: Women's Activism and Political Religion in South Asia*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1999.

Session 6 Challenges of terrorism/counter-terrorism in the South Asian context
Cdr (Ret) Uday Bhaskar

Terrorism – for purposes of this lecture is seen as premeditated, politically or ideologically motivated violence, perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to instill ‘terror’ - so as to influence the object of such acts – usually the state. More often than not, the subjects who have been attacked may have no direct linkage with the principal interlocutor – the object. South Asia offers a complex domain for such interrogation and given its post colonial trajectory, it is necessary to recall the manner in which nascent post colonial South Asian states undertook their respective consolidation of identity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and the subsuming of ethnic and linguistic diversities.

The linkage between domestic insurgencies and those which took recourse to terror as means varies in individual states. State sponsorship of terror has a distinctive South Asian characteristic and includes the phenomenon of NWET (nuclear weapon enabled terror). This lecture will focus in the main on the post 9-11 phenomenon of religious extremism - particularly the distortion of Islamic tenets – and the emergence of jihadi terror and the many tentacles that have been nurtured. The current dynamic in the extended South Asian region is affected by the post 9-11 developments in the Af-Pak continuum and the terror attack on Mumbai in November 2008 is illustrative of the virulence of the challenge that is abiding.

Required readings

- W. Maley (2003), “The ‘War against Terrorism’ in South Asia”, *Contemporary South Asia* 12(2): 203-217.
- S. Nadarajah & D. Sriskandarajah (2005), ‘Liberation struggle or terrorism? The politics of naming the LTTE’, *Third World Quarterly* 26(1): 87-100.
- J.A. Piazza (2009), ‘Economic development, poorly managed political conflict and terrorism in India’, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 32(5): 406-419.

Suggested further reading

P.R. Kumaraswamy (2007), ‘Terrorism in South Asia: The changing trends’, *South Asia* 30(1): 2-24.

A.K. Cronin, ‘Behind the curve: Globalization and international terrorism’, *International Security* 27(3) (2002/03): 30-58.

R. Jackson, ‘An argument for terrorism’. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 2(2) (2008): 25-32.

M. Beeson and A.J. Bellamy. ‘Globalisation, security and international order after 11 September’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 49(3) (2003): 339-354.

A. Roberts, “The ‘war on terror’ in historical perspective”, *Survival* 47(2) (2005): 101-130.

K. Bajpai (2003), ‘Crisis and conflict in South Asia after September 11, 2001’, *South*

Asian Survey 10(2): 197-213

S. Gordon (2008), 'Policing terrorism in India', *Crime, Law and Social Change* 50: 111-124.

V. Schofield (2008), 'Kashmiri separatism and Pakistan in the current global environment', *Contemporary South Asia* 16(1): 83-92.

R.G. Wirsing (2007), 'Unholy alliance: Religion and political violence in South Asia', *South Asia* 30(1): 25-42.

W. Hussain (2007), 'Ethno-nationalism and the politics of terror in India's Northeast', *South Asia* 30(1): 93-110.

D. Srivastava (2009), 'Terrorism & armed violence in India: An analysis of events in 2008'. IPCS Special Report, May, Delhi: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies. www.ipcs.org

N. DeVotta (2009), 'The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the lost quest for separatism in Sri Lanka', *Asian Survey* 49(6): 1021-1051.

G. Samaranayake (2007), 'Political terrorism of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka', *South Asia* 30(1): 171-183.

A. Stack-O'Connor (2007), 'Lions, tigers, and freedom birds: How and why the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam employs women', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19: 43-63.

C. Van de Voorde (2005), 'Sri Lankan terrorism: Assessing and responding to the threat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)', *Police Practice and Research* 6(2): 181-191.

Session 7 The Security Challenges of Forced Migration

Dr. Nasreen Chowdhory, University of Delhi

Session outline

Refugees tend to challenge prevalent norms of belonging and rights which nation-state bestows to its members. Refugees and internally displaced persons are generally direct consequences of 1) conflict 2) development programs/ agenda of state apparatus and 3) natural disasters, or a combination of all of these. Irrespective of what might have caused a flow of refugees, there is no doubt that displaced populations need protection and assistance, but rather than viewing refugees as mere 'consequence and helpless victims', the session will interrogate the impact of refugees' presence in the host country, especially in protracted situations. In this context the session will explore forced migration as an important aspect in the international security agenda and examine why refugees are viewed in the dyad of security and humanitarian issues.

Required reading

- Edward Newman and Joanne van Selm, eds., *Refugees and Forced Displacement: International Security, Human Vulnerability, and the State*, pp-3-50, UNU Press, 2003.
- Paula Banerjee and Ranabir Samaddar, *Migration and Circles of Insecurity in Re-visioning and Engendering Security: gender and Non-traditional aspects of security in South Asia*, (WISCOMP) Rupa and Co, 2010.
- Nasreen Chowdhory, "Assessing 'Belonging' and Claims of 'home' Among Refugees: A Note on Repatriation in South Asia" in Paula Banerjee ed., *Peace Prints, Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace* (WISCOMP), 2012.
- Howard Adelman, 'Why Refugee Warriors are Threats', *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, vol.18, no.1, 1998.

Further reading

Sarah Kenyon Lischer, *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*, Cornell University Press, 2005.

Stephen John Stedman and Fred Tanner, eds., *Refugee Manipulation: War, Politics and the Abuse of Human Suffering*, Brookings Institution, 2003.

Fiona Terry, *Condemned to Repeat: The Paradoxes of Humanitarian Action*, Cornell University Press, 2002.

Session 8 The Environment, Natural Resources and Security

Dr. Devika Sharma, University of Delhi

This session explores the linkages between ‘security’, environmental and climate change, and natural resources. It outlines different approaches to understanding the relationship between the changing natural environment, conflict, and security, such as the security implications of climate change and the impact of war and the military on the environment. It then examines the relationship between natural resources, conflict and security, including competition, conflict and cooperation over access to and exploitation of key resources such as oil, water and arable land. Included in this discussion will be the growing problem of energy security in a rapidly developing world in which resource scarcity and competition are emerging as crucial dynamics in global security. A *critical* analysis of ‘flashpoints’ from the South Asian region will be weaved into this session; from the prospect of climate change-induced migration from Bangladesh into India, growing resource competition with China, the possibility of water disputes increasing within South Asia and beyond.

Questions to consider

- What is the relationship between environmental change and security?
- What are the security implications of climate change?
- How are resources and security interlinked? Is resource scarcity or resource surplus likely to lead to conflict? Are we likely to see increasing international competition or cooperation over natural resources in the future?
- What are the contours of conflict that are emerging in South Asia in the context of environmental insecurity, climate change and resource scarcity? To what extent are these contours real and/or drummed up?
- What would be the central elements of an effective strategy to mitigate the effects of environmental and resource insecurity? What is the scope for cooperation in South Asia in the context of resource and environmental insecurity?

Required reading

- Charles K. Ebinger (2011), ‘Introduction to a region on edge’, in his *Energy and Security in South Asia: Cooperation or Conflict?*, 1-14. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Simon Dalby (2009), ‘Securing precisely what? Global, environmental, and human security’, in his *Security and Environmental Change*, 36-55. Cambridge, UK, and Malden, MA: Polity.
- Brahma Chellaney, ‘From Arms Racing to “Dam Racing” in Asia: How to Contain the Geopolitical Risks of the Dam-Building Competition’, Transatlantic Academy Paper Series, Transatlantic Academy, Washington, May 2012.

Suggested further reading

Environment

Daniel Deudney (1990), 'The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security', *Millennium* 19(3): 461-476.

Maria Julia Trombetta (2008), 'Environmental Security and Climate Change: Analysing the Discourse', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 21(4): 585-602.

Nils Petter Gleditsch (1998), 'Armed Conflict and The Environment: A Critique of the Literature', *Journal of Peace Research*, 35(3): 381-400.

Nicole Detraz (2009), 'Environmental security and gender: Necessary shifts in an evolving debate', *Security Studies* 18(2): 345-369.

Simon Dalby (2003), 'Environmental Insecurities: Geopolitics, Resources and Conflict', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38(48): 5073-5079.

Thomas Homer-Dixon (1994), 'Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases', *International Security* 19(1): 5-40.

Val Percival and Thomas Homer-Dixon (1998), 'Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict: The Case of South Africa', *Journal of Peace Research*, 35(3): 279-298.

Climate Change

Alan Dupont (2008), 'The Strategic Implications of Climate Change', *Survival* 50(3): 29-54.

Erik Gartzke (2012), 'Could Climate Change Precipitate Peace?', *Journal of Peace Research* 49(3): 177-192.

Jon Barnett and W. Neil Adger (2007), 'Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict', *Political Geography*, 26: 639-655.

Joshua Busby (2008), 'Who cares about the Weather: Climate Change and U.S. National Security', *Security Studies* 17(3): 468-504.

Nicole Detraz and Michele M. Betsill (2009), 'Climate Change and Environmental Security: For Whom the Discourse Shifts', *International Studies Perspectives*, 10, 303-320.

Nils Petter Gleditsch (2012), 'Whither the Weather? Climate Change and Conflict', *Journal of Peace Research* 49(3): 3-9.

Rafael Reuveny (2007), 'Climate Change-Induced Migration and Violent Conflict', *Political Geography*, 26: 656-673.

Vally Koubi, Thomas Bernauer, Anna Kalbhenn and Gabriele Spilker (2012), 'Climate Variability, Economic Growth, and Civil Conflict', *Journal of Peace Research* 49(3): 113-127.

Resources

B.G. Verghese (1997), 'Water Conflicts in South Asia', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 20: 185-194.

Brahma Chellaney (2011), *Water: Asia's New Battleground*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

David G. Victor and Linda Yueh (2010), 'The new energy order: managing insecurities in the twenty-first century', *Foreign Affairs* 89: 61-73.

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Session 9 Regional Security Governance

Dr. Pradeep Taneja

This concluding session explores the theory, nature, prospects and limits of regional security governance. It examines the general role of regional organisations and institutions in managing tension and conflict between states and in promoting broader cooperation. The session then turns specifically to examine regional security governance in South Asia, and in particular the main regional organisation, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). It considers whether or not the conditions exist for a more integrated and cohesive form of regional security governance in South Asia and what the implications of this might be for security in the volatile region.

Required reading

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Further reading

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Session 10 Student group presentations

All teaching staff

SESSION LEADERS

Navnita Chadha Behera is Professor of International Relations at the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi. She has earlier served as Professor at the Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia. She has been a Visiting Fellow at several institutions including University of Uppsala (2012), University of Bologna and the Central European University, Budapest (2010) The Brookings Institution (2001-2002) and University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. (1997-1998). She has authored, co-authored and edited ten books and contributed to national and international research journals. Her research interests include International Relations theory, gender and critical perspectives on international security and international politics of South Asia specially issues of war, conflict and political violence particularly with reference to the Kashmir Conflict.

Commodore C. Uday Bhaskar is a Visiting Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation, (NMF) New Delhi, having retired from the Indian Navy in early 2007 after 37 years service. He was till recently Director, National Maritime Foundation (2009 - 2011) and earlier with the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi from 1989 where he served as a Senior Fellow, Deputy Director (1996-2004) and later Director of the Institute till late 2005. Subsequently he was appointed Member-Secretary of the Government of India Task Force on 'Global Strategic Developments' - a report submitted to the PM of India. He was Editor, Maritime Affairs and Strategic Analysis; and is on the Editorial Board of Contemporary Security Policy. He has edited books on nuclear, naval/maritime and international security related issues; and has contributed over 60 research articles to journals in India and abroad. He is a Guest Lecturer at the Indian National Defence College and other military colleges.

Nasreen Chowdhory is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, Delhi University. She received her Ph.D from McGill University in the Department of Political Science with a focus on Comparative Politics and South Asia. Her dissertation "Belonging in Exile and 'Home': The Politics of Repatriation in South Asia," examines the question of belonging among refugee communities in South Asia. She completed her M.Phil and M.A. from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Before joining Delhi University, she taught at Concordia University, Montreal, Canada. Her research interests include forced migration and refugee studies, ethno-politics, state-formation, and citizenship.

Edward Newman is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Birmingham, UK. His work focuses upon security studies, including critical approaches and human security; civil war, armed conflict and political violence; and peacebuilding and reconstruction in conflict-prone and post-conflict societies. Before joining the University of Birmingham Dr. Newman was Director of Studies on Conflict and Security in the Peace and Governance Programme of the United Nations University, based in Tokyo (1998-2007). He has held teaching and associated positions in Japan at Shumei University, Aoyama Gakuin University and Tokyo University, and he is currently an International Associate of the Program for Peace and Human Security of the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris ('Sciences Po') and a member of the Advisory Panel of the University of Kent's Conflict Analysis Research Centre. His recent publications include *A Crisis of Global Institutions?*

Multilateralism and International Security (Routledge, 2007), *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding* (co-edited with Roland Paris and Oliver Richmond, UN University Press, 2009), and articles in journals such as *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *Review of International Studies*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Global Society*, *Security Dialogue* and *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. He is editor-in-chief of the journal *Civil Wars*, founding executive editor of *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, and an editorial board member of *Ethnopolitics*.

Rajesh Rajagopalan is a Professor at the Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. His publications include two books, *Second Strike: Arguments about Nuclear War in South Asia* (New Delhi: Penguin/Viking, 2005), and *Fighting Like A Guerrilla: The Indian Army and Counterinsurgency* (New Delhi, India and Abingdon, U.K.: Routledge, 2008). His articles (some jointly authored) have appeared in a number of academic journals such as *The Washington Quarterly*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *India Review*, *Contemporary South Asia*, *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, *South Asia*, *South Asian Survey*, and *Strategic Analysis*.

Devika Sharma is Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi where she teaches papers on International Security, Indian Strategic Thought and co-teaches papers on Theories of International Relations and International Political Economy. She is also Book Reviews Editor with the *South Asian Survey*. Dr. Sharma has worked in several research organisations, such as The Energy and Resources Institute, the Confederation of Indian Industry and the Observer Research Foundation, where over a period of seven years she has worked on issues ranging from energy security and climate change, India's trade and geopolitical relations, and China's Western Development Strategy in Xinjiang and Tibet. She received her Doctorate in International Politics from JNU. Dr. Sharma's thesis looked at the idea of space and territory in international politics and what deviations from 'Westphalian territoriality' have and could mean for the configuration of international politics.

Pradeep Taneja joined the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne in January 2006. He teaches primarily in the following areas: Chinese politics, political economy and international relations in the Asia-Pacific region. Born and largely educated in India, he lived and worked in China for more than six years during the 1980s and 90s, and the geographical focus of much of his work is on China. However, he continues to maintain teaching and research interests in Indian politics and foreign policy, and regularly writes about it. During 2002-2004, he lived and worked in Bangkok as part of a multinational team to help set up the graduate program at a new Thai university. Earlier he was Director of International Programs in the Graduate School of Management at La Trobe University. His professional career has combined teaching, consultancy and research activities across various fields. Pradeep is frequently interviewed by Australian and foreign media on developments in the Asia-Pacific region. In addition to Hindi, his mother tongue, he is also fluent in Mandarin. His current research interests focus on: Sino-Indian relations; the rise of China as a regional and global power; the political implications of China's energy security policy; and, the relationship between politics and business in China. He has also written on China's relations with the European Union and continues to have an interest in the subject.