## **CALL FOR PAPERS**



# Three-Day Seminar



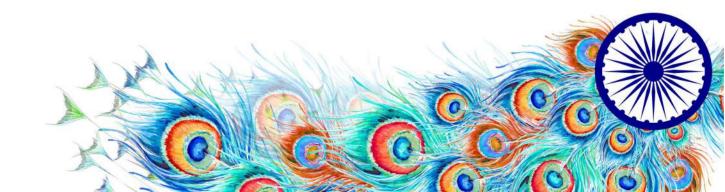
# INDIA'S STRATEGIC CULTURE

AND

# POLICY OPTIONS

February 25-27, 2019

Department of Politics & International Studies Pondicherry University, Puducherry 605014



# Pondicherry University

Pondicherry University was established in 1985 by the Government of India through an Act of Parliament. The University is located in the serene surroundings on Coromandel Coast and 12 kilometers north of Puducherry Town. The campus is spread over 780 acres of land, which is right across the beach. The University is a member of the Association of Commonwealth Universities and has signed Memorandum of Understanding with several foreign Universities and Institutions of higher learning. A recent survey reported by the UGC (University Grants Commission) and the NAAC (National Accreditation and Assessment Council) ranked this university as one of the best in the country.

## **Department of Politics and International Studies**

Started as School of International Studies in the year 1988 and redesignated as Department of Politics and International Studies in 2006. The Department is the biggest in the School of Social Sciences and International Studies in terms of students' strength and number of programmes offered.

The Department offers following programmes:

- 1. Two-year Masters in Politics and International Relations
- 2. Two-year Masters in Political Science
- 3. Five year Integrated Programme in Political Science
- 4. P.G Diploma in Human Rights
- 5. P.G. Diploma in Industrial Relations and Labour Laws
- 6. Ph D Politics and International Studies

In recognition of the teaching and research track record of the Department, the University Grants Commission had extended its prestigious Special Assistance Programme in 2011 and it got upgraded to level two in 2018.

The Department provides state-of-the-art infrastructure facilities for students on par with global standards.

The quality of teaching and learning process has been enabling our students to get placed themselves in the highest pedestals of life. Thus the Department is blessed with a vibrant alumni that could be found in all walks of life in India and abroad.

The Department is also noted in the academia with its flagship half-yearly publication *The International Journal of South Asian Studies*. The Department is also having exchange programmes with a number of foreign universities.

# Concept Note

What is the meaning of strategic culture and what is India's strategic culture? "Strategic culture is that set of shared beliefs, assumptions, and modes of behaviour derived from common experiences and accepted narratives (both oral and written), that shape collective identity and relationships to other groups, and which determine appropriate ends and means for achieving security objectives" (Jones,2006 p.4). Jones has identified the philosophical and mythological foundations as well as the instrumental implications of India strategic cultural profile and called it "Omniscient patrician strategic culture" (p.5). This strategic culture has taken its nourishments from the past civilizational values.

One of the pioneering works on India's strategic culture is by George K. Tanham(1992) titled India's Strategic Thought: An Interpretive Essay, in which he argues that virtually there is no evidence to prove that Indian elites have consistently thought about a national strategy. According to him, this lack of a coherent strategic thought can be explained by analyzing four principal factors that have conditioned the thought process of the Indian strategic community viz., geography, history, culture and the British raj(pp.1-19). These factors have contributed largely to the absence of strategic thinking (pp.50-67). From among the Indian strategic community, a few has partly, and another section has fully agreed with the arguments of Tanham. Rejecting Tanham's argument Siv Shankar Menon, former Foreign Secretary and National Security Advisor, has made a powerful intervention in the debate by stating that India possesses a strategic culture and the same has been consistently used in bilateral and multi-lateral diplomacy (Menon, 2013).

The above noted definitions and arguments of well-known scholars and strategic practitioners are based on their understanding of India's civilization, culture, colonial experience and geographic locations. It is very interesting to note that on the strength of a thorough study of India's past, Jones and Tanham arrived at two different views about India's strategic culture. It seems that India's strategic culture branches out into two viz., Plural and Secular Democratic and Hindu Nationalist. Plural & Secular Democratic strategic culture represents two streams of thought sometimes sometimes separating in certain locations and flowing merging, independently of the other for some time and then converging again. These two mutually nourishing streams of strategic culture seem to be the Nehruvian and the Gandhian. Nehruvian strategic thought is syncretic in nature and inclusive of everything that is at the point of Indian independence. The Hindu cultural ethos, Jainist and Buddhist thought systems, form the inner core of Nehruvianism which has had the supplementary nourishments of Islamic, Christian values and modern western rationality and the ethos of representative democracy. Teachings of Gita, Jainism and Buddhism influenced Gandhi and his pacifist approach to national defense. The plural and secular democratic strategic culture keeps unstinting faith in democratic institutions and international organizations in conflict transformations and its basic approach to security issues is defensive. The core values of this stream of strategic culture are strategic autonomy, faith in regional and international organizations ability to mitigate conflicts as well as the calibrated use of weapons as the last resort to ensure national security. The mandala concept of concentric circles as codified by Kautilya in Arthasastra had influenced Nehru's views on nonalignment and core value strategic autonomy.

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The Hindu nationalist tradition on the other hand advocates, according to its proponents, a more realistic foreign policy and security strategy. The cultural nourishment for this tradition derives from Brahminical Hinduism, M.S.Golvalker and other Hindu Nationalist leaders. It is exclusionary and based on a selective reading of Indian History. The Hindu nationalist strategic culture believes in hard core realism and advocates projection of India's military power beyond its borders. Instead of strategic autonomy this school advocates alignment with the lone super power to achieve national security goals. To Hindu nationalists, preemptive strikes are not anathema; and defensive strategy should be replaced with offensive advancements. Keeping in mind these two parallel streams of strategic culture, we have to approach the question of India's strategic doctrine.

#### What is Strategic Doctrine?

According to a study of ORF, the word 'doctrine' stands for many meanings, mainly religious. In strategic literature, it connotes a grand strategy of a nation. It "guides the higher purpose of a country's defense and security policies" (ORF). The strategic doctrine or grand strategy as per the Nehruvian-Gandhian tradition is that military power should be used only as the last resort. As noted above, Nehruvians and Gandhians favour strategic autonomy in the place of alliance and counter-alliances. Shivshankar Menon stated that "our primary task now and for the foreseeable future is to transform and — improve the life of the unacceptably large number of our compatriots who live in poverty, with disease, hunger and illiteracy as their companions of life. This is our overriding priority, and must be the goal of our internal and external security policies.

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Our quest is the transformation of India, nothing less and nothing more" (Menon, 2014). According to him, in the defence sector, options "range from defensive power through offensive capability to aggrandizement. With the aim settled, defence priorities are non-controversially arrived at. We need to work for a peaceful periphery. Our goal must be defence, not offense; unless offense is necessary for deterrence or to protect India's ability to continue its own transformation. We must develop the means to defend ourselves".

At the same time, it has been noticed that India does not have an officially pronounced strategic doctrine, despite the fact that the Government of India has appointed the Naresh Chandra Task Force on National Security in 2012 and the task force has reportedly submitted its recommendations. The ORF organized a workshop to highlight the need for a well pronounced strategic doctrine for the country. The authors of the background paper circulated by the Foundation identified certain policy options having a doctrinal import from the various decisions of the cabinet committee on security. According to Joshy and Mitra (2014), India's doctrine in relation to Pakistan is "strategic restraint and engagement" and the policy vis-a-vis China is "dissuasive defence"(p.3). The doctrine in respect of nuclear capabilities is "credible nuclear deterrent". However, according to Joshy and Mitra, we should have a national security doctrine with official stamp on it mainly because of our new status as nuclear weapon capable state(Joshy& Mitra, 2014,p.5). Of late, the discussion is that a Modi Doctrine is in the making. This is based on a reading of his foreign policy overtures like inviting the Tibetan Prime Minister-in-exile for his swearing-in, along with the SAARC leaders and his attempts to have strategic partnership with the US, Japan, Australia etc.

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However, from a close look at what Prime Minister Modi aims to achieve, we could see strikingly similar policy objectives pursued by his immediate predecessors Manmohan Singh and A. B. Vajpayee. Neither of them constructed a doctrine of their own, but pursued a swing policy between Indira Doctrine and Gujral Doctrine, both aimed at strategic autonomy (Hall 2015).

It is worth mentioning here that at least a powerful section in our strategic community argues that pursuance of strategic autonomy has led India to strategic reduction. For instance, Bharat Karnard(2015) has compared India's strategic autonomy with wei-qi – the template for Chinese statecraft, and he is of the view that "Wei-qi obviously scores over the less engaged Mandela infused approach (nonalignment, strategic autonomy)".

## **Themes**

- Looking back: Tracing India's strategic past
  - ▶ Strategic cultures and theoretical doctrines of the past
  - Colonial India's strategic perceptions
  - ▶ Post-Independent India's Strategic Doctrines
  - Strategic shifts in the era of liberalization
- Looking across: Towards the West
  - India and Europe
  - ▶ India and United States of America
  - India and Russia
- Looking around: Oceans and Lands
  - Indian Ocean
  - ▶ Indo Pacific
  - India and China
  - West Asia and India
  - Central Asia and India
  - Africa and India

Continued



- Looking at: Some critical challenges
  - Environmental Security
  - Energy Security
  - Cybersecurity
  - Economic Security
  - Terrorism
  - Political Economy aspects of foriegn policy making
- Looking within: The Neighbourhood
  - India and South Asia
  - ▶ Cultural, Economic and Strategic Imperatives of
  - ► India's Act EastPolicy
  - ▶ Internal Security
  - Neighbourhood Policies Continuities and Departures
- Looking forward: Constructing a Future
  - Charting a way forward: India's Strategic Culture and Strategic Doctrine

# Paper Submission

Participants willing to present paper are requested to follow the schedule and guidelines given below:

- 1. Abstract (not exceeding 300 words) should be sent through email to iscpu2019@gmail.com.
- 2. Abstract should include the name of the author(s), their affiliation and address (postal and e-mail).
- 3. One complete paper (soft copy) not exceeding 6000 words should be sent through email to <a href="iscpu2019@gmail.com">iscpu2019@gmail.com</a>.
- 4. Paper must not be previously published or currently under review for publication elsewhere.

The following style sheet should be used:

- The paper should be composed in MS-Word format, Times New Roman font with heading in Font Size 14 and the remaining text in the font size 12 with 1.5 spacing
- Papers should be formatted according to APA Style, 6th Edition

Link for Online Registration - https://goo.gl/hVLMyA

# Important Dates

Abstract submission - 15 January 2019

Full paper submission - 02 February 2019

Seminar dates - 25 - 27 February 2019

# Registration

Selected participants are required to send filled-in registration form along with registration fee, which covers conference kit, lunch, tea and snacks, by online transfer in favour of The Coordinator UGC SAP, Department of Politics & International Studies, Pondicherry University payable at Indian Bank, Pondicherry University Branch on or before January 31, 2019.

#### Registration Fee

Faculty: Rs. 2500/-

Research Scholars: Rs. 1500/-

Foreign Participants: 125 Euro/110 British Pound / 140USD

#### Account details and fee remitance

Name of bank - Indian Bank (Pondicherry University Branch)

Account number - 6020141321

IFSC - IDIB000P152

SWIFT code - IDIBINBBPON

## Accommodation

Participants will have to make their own arrangements for stay in Pondicherry.

A list of hotels available in Pondicherry is give below:

Category	A:	Luxury

- 1. Hotel Anandha Inn
- 2. Hotel Mass
- 3. Hotel Atithi
- 4. Lotus Comfort Hotel
- 5. Hotel Ashoka

#### Category B: Moderate

- 1. Hotel Surguru
- 2. Hotel Jayaram
- 3. Mango Hills
- 4. St. James Court
- 5. Soorya Intl Hotel

#### Category C: Budget

- 1. Park Guest House
- 2. New Guest House
- 3. OrissaGuest House
- 4. Tourist Home
- 5. Garden Guest House

Approximate cost in Indian Rupees

Category A: ₹ 3000-7000 /- Category B: ₹ 3000 /- and

below Category C: less than ₹1000 /-

#### Visit to India

Visa to India can be obtained at Indian Embassy / High Commission functioning in the respective country based on our invitation letter with other relevant documents prescribed in the application form. Invitation letter will be sent on the receipt and selection of the abstract.

# Organizing Committee

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