

Optional Course for M.A in International Relations and Area Studies(IRAS)
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University

Course Number	IA-524
Course Title	Ideas and Processes in Geopolitics
Course Teacher	Dr Nalin Kumar Mohapatra
Course Credits	4
Semester	Winter
Evaluation Method	Mid Semester Exam (20 Marks), Class Performance, Term Paper Presentation and Submission (10 Marks + 10 Marks) and End Semester Exam (60 Marks)
Course Duration	One Semester
Contact Hours	4 hours per week

Introduction

Ideas and Processes are the two key components to study geopolitics. This is because some of the normative frameworks like “Global Democratic Order”, “Global Commons”, “Responsibility to Protect” and “Peaceful Co-existence” and “Sustainable Security” are defining normative global geopolitical order in recent years. These “normative ideas” are however being shaped by the dynamic of geopolitical processes such as the interface between global and regional geopolitical dynamics, sustainable energy security, climate change and its geopolitical repercussions, choke points and sea lanes, political change in the framework of “democracy promotion”, matrixes of global cultures, issues relating to the evolvement of institutional processes which often are contributing to the emergence of new international regimes. These are some of the normative as well as empirical processes that need to be critically examined at length to understand the nuances of geopolitics.

While a rapid transformation is taking place at the global and regional fronts, there is a need to look at how India is going to address some of these concerns. This is more so as India is playing a major role in the global geopolitical calculus. Each module of the course will examine how India is going to look at some of these above-mentioned issues confronting global geopolitics.

Course Objectives

- a) To study the epistemological framework of geopolitics both Ideas at the normative framework and Processes at the empirical level.
- b) To highlight the geopolitical discourses affecting global politics.
- c) To understand the intellectual traditions of Indian geopolitical thinking.
- d) To provide an Indian perspective to the global geopolitical developments.

Learning Outcomes

The objective of the course is to equip them to understand the nuances of global geopolitics. The key points of the present course are:

- a) It explains the trajectories associated with global geopolitics.
- b) This course will help the students to understand the dynamic of International Relations and Area Studies through an epistemological framework of geopolitics.
- c) Geopolitics being a dynamic framework of analysis needs to be studied in the changing international milieu especially in the context of new challenges affecting the global security. The present course will provide a comprehensive understanding of the same.
- d) It will also outline a holistic perspective on India's role in global geopolitics.

Unit -I

Geopolitics, Its Intellectual Traditions and Theoretical Underpinnings

This section will offer a conceptual understanding of the epistemic framework of geopolitics, its intellectual roots along with theorising the concept in a more nuanced manner. An important aspect of this unit will be to trace out the roots of Indian geopolitical thinking. While discussing these issues four major questions the present unit will address are:

- a) Do geopolitical explanations offer a comprehensive understanding of global politics?
- b) What are the various intellectual traditions associated with the discipline of Geopolitics?
- c) Will the changing nature of international relations offer a new paradigm to study Geopolitics?
- d) What is the Indian contribution to the epistemology of Geopolitics?

Readings

Bassin, M (2004) "The Two Faces of Contemporary Geopolitics", *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 28, no.5, pp. 620–626. (Essential)

Cohen, Saul B(1991) "Global Geopolitical Change in the Post-Cold War Era", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol.81,no.4,pp.551-581. . (Essential)

Crone, G.R(1948) "A German View of Geopolitics: Review", *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 111, no. 1/3, pp. 104-108.(Essential)

Dodds, K and David Atkinson(ed) (2000) *Geopolitical Traditions: A Century of Geopolitical Thought* (London/New York: Routledge) (Suggested introductory chapter)

Dugin, Alexander(2015) "Eurasia in the War of Networks", *Journal of Eurasian Affairs*, vol.3,no.1,pp.5-14, <http://www.eurasianaffairs.net/category/journal-of-urasian-affairs-vol-3-num-1-2015/> (Suggested)

Flint, Colin (2006) *Introduction to Geopolitics, London/New York: Routledge* (chapter, 1 and 2) . (Essential)

Hagan, Charles B (1942) "Geopolitics" *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 478-490.(Essential)

Kautilya, *Arthashastra*, (English Translation by L. N. Rangarajan), (2000) (New Delhi: Penguin Books) Chapters X and Xi)

Lambeth, Benjamin, S (1999) "Air power, space power and geography", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2-3, pp. 63-82,(Essential)

Mallavarapu, S (2009) "Development of International Relations Theory in India", *International Studies*, vol.46, no, 1-2, pp. 165-183. (Essential)

Mackinder, H.J.(1919) *Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction*, (New York: Henry Holt Company) (Suggested 5 and 6)

Mahan, A.T.(1890) *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660 –1783*(Boston: Little Brown) (Suggested Chapter 1)

Pannikar, K.M.(1951) *India and the Indian Ocean: An Essay on the influence of Sea Power on Indian History* (London: Allan Unwin) (Suggested, chapter 1)

Sarkar, Benoy Kumar (1919) “Hindu Theory of International Relations”, *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 13, no.3, pp. 400-414.(Essential)

Sloan Geoffrey & Colin S. Gray (1999) “Why geopolitics?”, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, vol. 22, no.2-3, pp. 1-11.(Essential)

Spykman, N (1944) *The Geography of the Peace* (New York: Yale University Press) (Suggested chapters, 1, 4, and 6)

Tuathail, Gearóid Ó, Simon Dalby, Paul Routledgei (eds),(2000) *The Geopolitical Reader*,(London/New York: Routledge)(Essential)(Introduction, part 1,2 and 3)

Unit-2

Global and Regional Dimensions of Geopolitics

This unit will examine the interplay between global and regional geopolitics and its implications for global politics. This is assuming importance as regions are often seen as shaping the dynamics of global geopolitics. It is in this context one has to look at how India being a major global power looks at the global and regional geopolitical intricacies. The key questions this segment will discuss are:

- a) How significant are regions in global geopolitics?
- b) What is the nature of the interplay between regional and global geopolitics?
- c) To what extent does their interaction generate new geopolitical complexes?
- d) What are the Indian perspectives on global and regional geopolitical developments?

Readings

Buzan, Barry and Ole Weaver (2003) *Regions and Powers- The Structure of International Security* (New York:Cambridge University Press) (Essential Chapter 1 and 2)

Emerson, R. Guy (2014) “An Art of the Region: Towards a Politics of Regionness” *New Political Economy*, vol.19, no.4, pp. 559-577.(Suggested)

Jaishankar, S (2020) *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*, (Noida: HarperCollins) (Essential,chapters 3,6 and 8)

Kondapalli, Srikant(2021) “ United States - China Relations: Prospects during Xi - Biden Tenure”, *Vestnik Rudn , International Relations* , vol.21,no.2, 279-287, <https://journals.rudn.ru/international-relations/article/view/26777/19488>(Suggested)

Lewis, David(2018) “ Geopolitical Imaginaries in Russian Foreign Policy: The Evolution of ‘Greater Eurasia’”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol.70.no.10. pp. 1612-1637. (Suggested)

Mahapatra, Chintamani(2017) “India and Shifting Power Equations in the Indo-Pacific” *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, vol12,no.2, pp.111-118(Suggested)

Menon, Shiv Shankar(2021) *India and Asian Geopolitics*, (Gurugram: Penguin), (Chapter, 9 and 10) .

(Essential)

Muller, Martin (2018) "In Search of the Global East: Thinking between North and South", *Geopolitics*, vol.25, no.3, pp.734-755.(suggested)

Murphy, AB, M Bassin , D Newman, P. Reuber , J. Agnew (2004) "Is there a politics to geopolitics?" *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 28, no. 5, pp. 619-640. (Essential)

Naidu, GVC(2014) " 'Indo-Pacific' as a New Template of Analysis", *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, vol., 9, no.2,pp.106-111.(Essential)

Nayar, Baldev Raj(2007) *The Geopolitics of Globalization: The Consequences for Development* (New Delhi: OUP) (Essential Chapter 1)

Sidaway, James (2001) "Geopolitics: Twentieth Century Spectre", *Geography*, vol. 86, no. 3, pp. 225-234 . (Suggested)

Unit -3

Energy Security, Energy Transition, Climate Change and Geopolitics

This section of the course will offer a conceptual understanding of the notion of energy security, energy transition, climate change and how these three elements are reshaping geopolitics. The move towards renewable energy in the context of global climate change also provides a backdrop to examine the module more comprehensively. This section will also provide India's perspectives on global energy security along with issues relating to climate change. Keeping this in mind the unit will scrutinise:

- a) How does energy security shapes geopolitics?
- b) In what manner energy transition shapes global politics?
- c) Whether energy security and energy transition are complementary to each other and offer a new energy paradigm?
- d) To what extent global energy transition is having an impact on climate change?
- e) Is global climate change having an impact on geopolitical discourses and the securitisation process?

- f) What is the Indian contribution to the global energy security discourses and climate change?

Readings

Agnew, John(1994) "The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory", *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 1, no. 1 , 53-58.(Suggested)

Bazilian, Morgan, Michael Bradshaw, Johannes Gabriel| Andreas Goldthau, (2020) "Four scenarios of the energy transition: Drivers, consequences, and implications for geopolitics", *Climate Change*.pp.1-7. <https://people.unica.it/fulvioventurino/files/2020/05/-energy-transition.pdf> (Essential)

Billon, Philippe Le(2004) "The Geopolitical economy of 'resource wars'", *Geopolitics*, vol.9, no. 1, pp. 1-28.(Essential)

Chaturvedi, Sanjay(2014)"India's Arctic Engagement:: Challenges and Opportunities" *Asia Policy*, no.18, pp. 73-80.(Essential)

Cherp, A and Jessica Jewell(2014) "The concept of energy security: Beyond the four As", *Energy Policy* , vol.75, pp.415-421. (Essential)

Klare, Michael T (2008)" From Scarcity to Abundance: The New Geopolitics of Energy", *Current History*, vol. 116,no.786, pp.3-9. (Essential)

- Klare, Michael T (2001) "The New Geography of Conflict", *Foreign Affairs*, vol.80,no.3,pp. 49-61. (Essential)
- Yergin, Daniel (2006) "Ensuring Energy Security", *Foreign Affairs*, vol.85,no.2,pp.69-82. (Essential)
- Yergin, Daniel (2020) *The New Map: Energy, Climate and the Cash of Nations* (London: Allan Lane) (Essential chapters, 41 to 45)
- Dalby, Simon O (2015) "Climate geopolitics: Securing the global economy", *International Politics*, vol.52,no.4, pp.426-444. (Essential)
- Dubash, Navroz K. Radhika Khosla, Ulka Kelkar, Sharachchandra Lele(2018)" India and Climate Change: Evolving Ideas and Increasing Policy Engagement", *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, vol. 43, no.1, 395-424. (Essential)
- Dixon, Thomas Homer (2012) " Exploring the climate "mindscape" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. vol.68, no.3, pp.1-9. (Essential)
- Hommel, D. and Murphy, A.B. (2013) "Rethinking geopolitics in an era of climate change" *GeoJournal*, vol.78, no. 3, pp. 507–524. (Essential)
- Pant, Girijesh (2015) *India's Emerging Energy Relations: Issues and Perspective* (New Delhi: Springer) (Suggested, chapters 1, 2 and 18)
- Sending, Jacob Ole, Indra Overland, Thomas Boe Hornburg (2019/2020) "Climate change and international relations: a five-pronged research agenda", *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 1, pp. 183-194. (Essential reading)

Unit 4

Normative Geopolitical Discourses and Critical Geopolitics

Classical geopolitics is the dominant paradigm that is shaping the discourses of geopolitical structure. In recent years, however, critical geopolitics in the form of normative ideas like "cultural idioms", "symbols", "popular geopolitical culture", "media and information communication processes" are providing alternative prism to look at geopolitical consequences occurring both at the "cultural level" and "territorial space" as studies suggest. Because of the "contesting" nature of the disciplinary framework of Critical Geopolitics, some of these above-mentioned elements have produced a new form of normative debates in the domain of IR discipline also. Another pertinent point that needs to be addressed here is how "democracy" is also being employed as an "ideational metaphor" in the framework of critical geopolitics by global powers. It has also been observed that the "normative ideas of democracy" have also produced a new kind of alliance-building process at the global level. Some of these aspects need to be analysed in the realms of geopolitics. This section will also analyse India's role in promoting normative global order. It is in this context this module will critically examine:

- a) To what extent critical geopolitics provides an alternative paradigm to study the existing geopolitical idioms?
- b) What are the facets of critical geopolitics?
- c) Can existing global conflicts be studied in the framework of critical geopolitics?
- d) How far democracy being a normative concept is being used as a geopolitical tool?
- e) What is the fallout of "geo-democracy" on global geopolitics?
- f) What is the Indian contribution to the evolution of an alternative global normative

order?

Readings

- Bakshi, O (2000) “Values in the Study of International Politics”, *International Studies*, vol. 37, no.2, pp. 97-113. (Essential)
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew (1997)*The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy And Its Geostrategic Imperatives*(New York: Basic books)(Essential, chapters 2 and 4)
- Dodds, K (1994) “Locating Critical Geopolitics”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 12, pp.515-524.(Suggested)
- Dodds, K (2001) “Political geography III: critical geopolitics after ten years”. *Progress in Human Geography*, vol.25, no. 3, pp. 469-484.(Essential)
- Fukuyama, Francis(1989) “ The End of History?”, *The National Interest*, no.16, pp.3-18.
- Hass, Richard(2020) *The World :A Brief Introduction*,(New York: Penguin Press),(Suggested , Part Iv)
- Huntington, Samuel (1991) “ Democracy’s Third Wave” *Journal of Democracy*, vol.2,no.2,pp. 12-34.(Essential)
- Huntington, Samuel (1993) “The Clash of Civilizations?”, *Foreign Affairs*, vol.72,no.3,pp. 22-49. (Essential)
- Jaishankar, S (2020) *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*, (Noida: HarperCollins) (Essential, chapter 3)
- Kelly, Phil(2006) “ A Critique of Critical Geopolitics”, *Geopolitics*, vol.11,no.1,pp. 24-53. (Suggested)
- Koenig, Archibugi, M (2011) “Is global democracy possible?”, *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp.519–542.(Suggested)
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way.(2006) “Linkage versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change.” *Comparative Politics*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 379–400.(Suggested)
- Mansfield, Edward D, Helen V Milner and B Peter Rosendorff (2000)“Free to Trade: Democracies, autocracies, and international aide”. *American Political Science Review*, vol. 94, no. 2, 305–321. (Essential)
- McFaul, Michael (2004) “Democracy promotion as a world value”, *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 28, no,1 pp. 147–163.(suggested)
- Müller, M. (2008) “Reconsidering the concept of discourse for the field of critical geopolitics: Towards discourse as language and practice”, *Political Geography*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 322–338.(Suggested)
- Owen, John M.(1994) “ How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace”, *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 87-125 (Suggested)_
- Raja Mohan, C (2015) *Modi's World: Expanding India's Sphere of Influence* (Noida: Harper Collins) (Essential chapter 10)(Essential)
- Raja Mohan, C (2020) “Putting Sovereignty Back in Global Order: An Indian View”, *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 43,no. 3,pp. 81-98(Suggested)
- Reuber, Paul(2000) “Conflict studies and critical geopolitics -theoretical concepts and recent research in political geography”, *Geopolitics*, vol.50, no.7, pp. 37-43.(Suggested)
- Risse, Kappen T. (1995) “Democratic Peace — Warlike Democracies? A Social Constructivist Interpretation of the Liberal Argument”, *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 491-517.(Suggested)
- Tuathail, Gearóid Ó (1996) *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (London/New York: Routledge)(Essential, Chapter 2)
- Tuathail, Gearóid Ó, Simon Dalby, Paul Routledgei (eds),(2000) *The Geopolitical Reader*,(London/New York:Routledge)(Essential)(Introduction)

Wendt, Alexander(1999) *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)(Essential, chapters,4 and 7)

Wilson, Woodrow(1917) “ War Message to Congress”
https://wps.prenhall.com/wps/media/objects/107/110495/ch22_a2_d1.pdf
(Suggested)

Unit 5

Geopolitics of Global Regimes and International Institutions

Over the years the emergence of new international regimes in the global geopolitical structures is one of the key components of the present geopolitical complexity. While these regimes are providing new opportunities at the same time, they are also posing new challenges in terms of generating consensus on the decision-making processes. One interesting aspect of these regimes is that they are operating at multiple levels ranging from Responsibility to Protect to climate change and energy governance, etc. It is in this background one can see how India being a global power can contribute to the decision-making processes at the global institutional level. This section will highlight:

- a) Do international regimes create new ideational norms in global geopolitics?
- b) To what extent international regimes affect the complexity of geopolitical processes?
- c) India’s role in the global regimes and international institutions.

Readings

Graaf, Van de and T. J. Colgan (2016) “Global energy governance: a review and research agenda”. *Palgrave Commun*, 2, 15047, <https://doi.org/10.1057/palcomms.2015.47>(Essential)

Florini, Ann and Benjamin Sovacool (2011) “Bridging the gaps in global energy governance”, *Global Governance*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 57-74. (Essential)

Hira, Anil and Theodore H. Cohn(2003/2004) “ Toward a Theory of Global Regime Governance” *International Journal of Political Economy*, vol.33,no.4, pp.4-27.(Suggested)

Hurrell, A (2006) “Hegemony, liberalism and global order: what space for would-be great powers?”, *International Affairs*, vol.82, no.1, pp.1-19.(Essential)

Keohane, Robert O., and David G. Victor(2011) “The Regime Complex for Climate Change.” *Perspectives on Politics* , vol.9 , no,1, pp.7-23.(Essential)

Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye.(1977) *Power and interdependence: World politics in transition*(Boston: Little, Brown, 1977)(Essential chapters 1 and 3)

Larner, Wendy and William Walters(2002) “The Political Rationality of “New Regionalism”: Toward a Genealogy of the Region”, *Theory and Society*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 391-432.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Helen V. Milner(2010) “ The New Wave of Regionalism”, *International Organisations*, vol.83,no.3, pp. 589-627.(Essential)

Murthy, C.S.R and Gerrit Kurtz (2016) “International Responsibility as Solidarity: The Impact of the World Summit Negotiations on the R2P Trajectory”, *Global Society*, vol. 30, no. 1,pp. 38-53.(Essential)

Chaturvedi, Sachin (2018) “India's Approach to Multilateralism and Evolving Global Order”, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, vol. 13,no. 2, pp.128-135.(Essential)

Sovacool, Benjamin(2011) “ An international comparison of four polycentric approaches to climate and energy governance”, *Energy Policy* , vol. 39, pp. 3832–3844.(Essential)

Wigell, Mikael(2016) “Conceptualizing regional powers’ geoeconomic strategies: neo-imperialism, neo-

mercantilism, hegemony, and liberal institutionalism”, *Asia Europe Journal*, vol, 14, pp. 135–151.(Essential)