



**Energy Studies Programme**  
**School of International Studies**

Course	:	<b>Ph.D.</b>
Course No.	:	<b>EG602N</b>
Course Title	:	<b>Energy Security and International Relations</b>
Course Type	:	<b>Core</b>
Course Teacher	:	<b>Dr. Nalin Kumar Mohapatra</b>
Credits	:	<b>2</b>
Semester	:	<b>Monsoon</b>
Contact Hours	:	<b>2 hours per week</b>
Evaluation Method	:	<b>Mid Sem Exam / Term Paper Presentation, End Sem Exam</b>

**Course Rationale:**

Energy is going to shape the nature of International Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The uneven demand and supply of the same accentuate growing insecurity for world politics. Some of the major developments in the annals of international relations like the First World War, the Second World War or more recent conflicts in Africa, Central Asia and Caspian region, Indo-Pacific, Latin America and West Asia are primarily rooted in the need for energy. The present course attempts to look at issues confronting energy security and its implications for global politics from four distinct theoretical approaches in International Relations, namely, Realism, Neorealism, Social Constructivism and Neoliberalism.

It has been observed that in the realist framework of International Relations, states are treated as 'rational actors' in global politics. They seek to promote their own 'national interests' vis-à-vis others in securing natural resources like energy. The competition often assumes the form of 'zero-sum' and could appear at various moments as 'relative gains. The rivalry among these state actors to secure access to the same and thereby expand their

leverage in global politics is contributing to new forms of 'security dilemmas' both in terms of 'resources securitization' and 'resources maximization'. This can be observed from some of the major developments that are currently underway in Africa, the Caspian region, Latin America, West Asia and also in the newly emerging Arctic region.

Since there is growing uncertainty of access to energy, the 'structure' of the international system in a neo-realist framework is generating 'fear' for both energy-producing and consuming states. In the light of processes associated particularly with 'resources securitization' the non-state actors like oil industries are also playing a critical role in shaping and influencing the institutional mechanisms of some of the resources-rich states like Azerbaijan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Kuwait, Sudan, South Sudan, Nigeria or as in Kazakhstan. This results in weakening of the polity of some of these above-mentioned energy rich states.

Energy Security in international relations not merely involves energy producing and energy supplying states; even transit states play an important role. This brings into focus the geopolitics of pipeline diplomacy in the forefront. For instance, due to the laying of Baku Tbilisi Ceyhan pipeline route there has been a growing conflict in the Caspian region among the regional actors of the region. Similar trends may be witnessed in the South China Sea region and the Hormuz Strait.

The present course shall also critically examine the interaction between energy security and 'societal security from the perspective of 'Constructivism' in international relations. In recent years more such societal conflicts are taking place in hydrocarbon-rich regions like Nigeria, Azerbaijan, Sudan, South Sudan, Colombia, Iraq, Kazakhstan and Russia. To a great extent, the growing mismatch between 'resources distribution' and 'mobilization of masses' based on 'primordial loyalty' in the energy resources-rich region is contributing to state weaknesses. This, in turn, impacts the growing societal conflict and adversely affects the security of the adjoining regions through spillover effects.

The Neo-liberal Institutional perspective of International Relations provides another framework for studying the institutional structure of energy security. Since energy security is a complex issue to address, often states (both energy-producing as well as importing states) resort to the policy of cooperating with each other, which in turn contributes to the growing regionalization of global politics. Increasing focus on energy issues in the bilateral and multilateral forums and their institutionalization process resulted in the

emergence of institutional regimes which are playing an equally important role in formulating policies.

Over the years, India has been playing a pivotal role in the global energy security dynamics as well as protecting the interest of the Global South and promoting the development of new institutional norms both in the arena of energy security discourses as well as in climate negotiation. Similarly, it is pertinent to highlight the contribution of India to the formation of the International Solar Alliance (ISA), which in turn provided an institutional framework for harnessing solar energy. This process helped to smoothen the global energy transition process and facilitated evolution of an alternative normative geopolitical framework for studying energy transition.

**Course Objectives:**

- a. Highlights the nature of the interaction between energy security and its impact on international relations.
- b. Explains how energy is acting as a structural factor in shaping the discourses of International Relations.
- c. Examines the nature of both global and regional conflicts in the context of the energy securitization process.
- d. Highlights how energy security shapes the dynamics of global geopolitics.
- e. Underlines the evolving nature of global and regional regimes in addressing the question of energy governance.
- f. Explains India's role in the global energy structure, especially in providing an alternative voice to the energy discourses.

**Learning Outcomes:**

- a. To provide a comprehensive understanding of the disciplinary framework of IR and its significance in studying the geopolitical contours of energy security.
- b. To understand the dynamics of international relations being shaped by energy security structure.

- c. To provide a framework to understand the geopolitics of energy security and its impact on global conflicts.
- d. Provides a comprehensive analysis of the geopolitics of maritime chokepoints and pipeline diplomacy in shaping global and regional energy security dynamics.
- e. Highlights the dynamic nature of energy regimes and international institutions in shaping the norms of energy governance.
- f. Provides an Indian perspective on the global energy structure and discourses.

Keeping the theoretical framework in mind, the present course will examine the following themes systematically:

**Unit-1**

Energy Security and International Relations: Historical Perspectives

**Unit-2**

Energy Security: Realist and Neo-Realist Perspectives

**Unit-3**

Energy Diplomacy: Pipeline Politics and Role of State and Non-State Actors

**Unit-5**

‘Societal Conflict’ and Energy Resources Distribution: A Social Constructivist Approach

**Unit-6**

Regional Cooperation and Energy: A Neo-Liberal Institutional Perspective

**Unit-7**

India’s Approach to Global Energy Structure and Processes

## Readings

Agnew John and. S Corbridge (1995), *Mastering space: hegemony, territory and international political economy*. Rutledge: London.

Alter, Karen J., and Sophie Meunier( 2009), 'The Politics of International Regime Complexity. Symposium' *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (1): 13-24.

Auty, Richard M.(2004.) 'Natural Resources and Civil Strife: A Two-Stage Process', *Geopolitics* 9(1): 29-49 . Billon Philippe(ed), (2005), *The Geopolitics of Resource Wars, Resource Dependence, Governance and Violence*, London: Frank Cass

Bradshaw, Michael J(2010) 'Global energy dilemmas: a geographical perspective', *The Geographical Journal*,176(4): 275–290

Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilder(1997), *Security: A New Framework of Analyses*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Buzan, Barry and Ole Waever (2003), *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Collier, Nicholas Sambanis,(2005), *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*, Vol. 1—Africa , Washington: World Bank

\_\_\_\_\_,(2005), *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*, Vol. 2--Europe, Central Asia, and Other Regions, Washington: World Bank

Deese, David A. (1979) 'Energy: Economics, Politics, and Security', *International Security*,4(3):140-153 Donnelly, Jack,( 2004) *Realism and International Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunning Thad and Leslie Wirpsa (2004) 'Oil and the political economy of conflict in Colombia and beyond: a linkages approach', *Geopolitics*, 9(1) 81-108

Elbadawi Ibrahim(2008) 'The Aftermath of Civil War', *Journal of Peace Research*, 45( 4) 451-459

Gilpin, Robert(2001) *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Harvey, David (2003) *The New Imperialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hudson Valerie M. And Christopher S. Vore.(1995), 'Foreign Policy Analysis Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow', *Mershon International Studies Review* 39(2)1113-1123.

Huysmans, Jef (2002) 'Defining Social Constructivism in Security Studies: The Normative Dilemma of Writing Security', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 27( 41):41-62

IEA(2021) *India Energy Outlook 2021*, IEA: Paris, <https://www.iea.org/reports/india-energy-outlook-2021>

IRENA (2022) *Geopolitics of Energy Transformation: The Hydrogen Factor*, International Renewable Energy Agency: Abu Dhabi

Kaldor Mary, Terry Lynn Karl and Yahia Said(ed), (2007), *Oil Wars*, London: Pluto Press

Karl, Terry Lyn, (1997) *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro States*, Berkeley: University of California Press

Ktzenstein, Peter J. (1977) 'Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States', *International Organization*, 31( 4):587-606.

Keohane, Robert O, (1984), *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Kissinger Henry A. (1966), 'Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy', *Daedalus*,95(2):503-529.

Klare, Michael T (2008) *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planets: The New Geopolitics of Energy*, New York : Metropolitan Books

Le Billon, P. (2004). 'The geopolitical economy of 'resource wars'. *Geopolitics*, 9(1), 1-28.

Legro, Jeffrey W. and Andrew Moravcsik(1999) 'Is Anybody Still a Realist?', *International Security* 24(2): 5–55

Liberman, Peter (1996) 'Trading with the Enemy: Security and Relative Economic Gains', *International Security*, 21( 1):147-174.

Maugeri Leonardo (2006) *The age of oil : the mythology, history, and future of the world's most controversial resource*, Westport: Praeger Publisher.

McPherson, Hugo, W. Duncan Wood and Derek M. Robinson eds., (2005) *Emerging Threats to Energy Security and Stability*, Dordrecht: Springer

Mearsheimer, John J. (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York: Norton

Milner, Helen, V. and Robert O. Keohane.(1996) *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press.

Morgenthau, Hans J. ( revised by Kenneth W. Thompson), (2007)*Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*,New Delhi: Kalyani Publisher

Mohapatra, Nalin Kumar (2019) " Why the International Solar Alliance is geopolitically significant", <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/energy/why-the-international-solar-alliance-is-geopolitically-significant-64080>

Nye, Joseph S. and Robert O. Keohane (1971). 'Transnational Relations and World Politics: A Conclusion.' *International Organization*, 25(3): 721-748.

Pant, Girijesh (2015) (eds), *India's Emerging Energy Relations: Issues and Challenges*, New Delhi: Springer

- Putman, Robert D. (1988), 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games', *International Organization*, 42(2): 427-460.
- Rose, Gideon (1998) 'Neoclassical Theories of Foreign Policy', *World Politics*, 51(1): 144-73
- Ross, Michael L. (2004) 'What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?' *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(3):337-356
- \_\_\_\_\_(2004) 'How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases', *International Organization*, 58:35-67
- Shane Joshua Barter (2008) 'Resources, religion, rebellion: the sources and lessons of Acehese separatism', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 19(1): 39-61
- Smil, Vaclav (2003) *Energy at the Crossroads: Global Perspectives and Uncertainties*, London: The MIT Press
- Van de Graaf, T., & Colgan, J. (2016). 'Global energy governance: a review and research agenda'. *Palgrave Communications*, 2(1), 1-12.
- Waltz, Kenneth(1979) *Theory of International Politics*,
- Wendt, Alexander, (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Wilson, J. D. (2019). 'A securitisation approach to international energy politics. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 49, 114-125.
- Yergin, Daniel (2020) *The New Map: Energy, Climate, and the Clash of Nations*, New York: Penguin Press.
- Snidal, Duncan (1991) 'Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation' *The American Political Science Review*, 85( 3): 701-726
- Stanislaw, Joseph and Daniel Yergin(1993). 'Oil: Reopening the Door', *Foreign Affairs*, 72(4): 81-93.



Stegen, Karen Smith(2011) 'Deconstructing the "energy weapon": Russia's threat to Europe as case study', *Energy Policy*, 39(10): 6505–6513.

Stein Arthur A. (2006) 'Constraints and Determinants: Structure, Purpose, and Process in the Analysis of Foreign Policy' in Harvey Starr (eds), *Approaches, Levels, and Methods of Analysis in International Politics: Crossing Boundaries*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tarock, Adam(1999) 'The Politics of the Pipelines: The Iran and Afghanistan Conflict', *Third World Quarterly*, 20(4):801-819.

Tuathail, Gearoid Ó(1996) *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space*, London:Routledge.

Walt Stephen M. (1991) 'The Renaissance of Security Studies'. *International Studies Quarterly*, 35 (2): 211-239. Waltz Kenneth N.(1979) *Theory of International Politics*, Sidney: Addition Wesley

\_\_\_\_\_. (2000), 'Structural Realism after the Cold War', *International Security*, 25(1):5-41.

Watts, Michael(2007) 'Petro-Insurgency or Criminal Syndicate? Conflict & Violence in the Niger Delta', *Review of African Political Economy*, 34( 114):637-660.

Wendt, Alexander (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press  
Yergin, Daniel, (1991) *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*, New York:Simon & Schuster.

Yergin, Daniel(2011) *The Quest: Energy Security and Remaking of the Modern World*, New York: Penguin Press.