

**School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
Centre for Indo Pacific Studies**

Course:	M.A. (IRAS) Winter Session
Course No:	IA 529
Course Title:	Western Indian Ocean Region: Geopolitics and Maritime Security
Course Type:	Optional
Semester:	Winter
Course Teacher and Contact Details:	Name: Dr. M. Venkataraman Room No: 108 SIS 1 Email: drvenkat65@gmail.com Telephone:
Credits:	4
Contact Hours:	4 hours per week
Class Schedule and Room No:	Mondays and Wednesdays Time: 11.00 a.m. to 1.00 noon
Tutorials: (for difficulties and discussion)	

Course Statement

The Western Indian Ocean Region (WIOR) has attained quite a lot of significance of late owing largely to the rise in economic power by countries such as India and China and their profound and competing interests exhibited in this region for both geopolitical and maritime security reasons. The presence of littoral states in WIOR has added even more challenges in the form of stability issues with potentials of spillover effect and thereby inviting the intervention from extra regional powers. Besides, the marine assets of the Western Indian Ocean are also under threat owing to several inter-related factors such as rapid development and exploitation, vulnerabilities due to climate change, and population growth. Notwithstanding the historical salience of this region for India the region is in fact within the extended realm of Indo Pacific construct and hence is even more crucial for India to politically reach out to secure its maritime security interests. The region holds some of the major choke points providing major shipping route for international trade and hence added security dimension as well. The course will therefore aim to address these issues and bring to light the differing perceptions of the major powers and littoral states situated in the Western Indian Ocean Region with a theoretical clarity that would help unravel the geopolitical and maritime security complexities present in the region.

Course Objectives: The Objectives of the course is as follows:

1. Introduce the salience of Western Indian Ocean region within the larger Indo-Pacific construct
2. Provide a theoretical knowledge that underpins maritime security dynamics in the region
3. Outline the historical connections and significance of major powers that encompass the region
4. Analyze the geo-political, economic and maritime security interests of regional and extra-regional powers
5. Assess the regional and multilateral policy measures toward integration from a comparative perspective

Learning Outcomes: After the successful completion of the course students will be able to:

1. Appreciate the strategic significance of Western Indian Ocean region in the larger Indo-Pacific construct
2. Understand the theoretical underpinnings that define the maritime space
3. Analyze the national security complexities of major powers of the region
4. Reason out the ways and means by which cooperative mechanisms could be established within and between the larger Indo-Pacific region that is fraught with economic development and security-oriented challenges
5. Gain a broader perspective that would help orient themselves with niche areas of research and innovation on Western Indian Ocean region for knowledge dissemination

Evaluation Methods:

Attendance	: 10%
Book Reviews/Assignments/term papers	: 40 %
Final Examination	: 50%

Note: The SIS Research Manual should be consulted to avoid plagiarism issues and help produce independent work. The SIS Research Manual should be used as a guide for book reviews, assignments and term papers. The manual is available at:

https://www.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/SIS_Research_Manual_0.pdf

Course Outline

Module I: Western Indian Ocean – An introduction

- Geo-strategic significance of the Western Indian Ocean region in contemporary Indo-Pacific construct
- Locating the countries of the region – economic potentials of littoral states – power status – capabilities and interests –
- Economic and marine assets – over population and resource exploitation due to urban migration, climate change impacts on food security (as a global security threat)

Module II: Theoretical issues

- Realists Vs. Liberal perspectives
- Naval Strategy and Maritime Strategy - A.T. Mahan vs. Julian Corbett
- Theory of Blue Economy and Sustainable Development

Module III: Issues and Interests in WIOR

- Geo-political and economic - securing sea lanes of communication
- Economic interests of major powers in the region
- Economic vulnerabilities of the littoral states and issues of stability and its repercussions

Module IV: Security Interests

- Competing role and interests of major powers in WIOR – India, China, Japan, EU, US and Russia
- Non-traditional security issues – piracy, illegal and unregulated fishing and maritime terrorism; small arms smuggling
- Effects of conflicts in the littoral states of WIOR on regional stability and challenge of infrastructure building

Module V: Regional integration efforts

- Cooperative efforts, regional and sub-regional initiatives – IORA, IONS, Indian Ocean Commission etc.,
- Trilateral Dialogue on the Indian Ocean (TDIO)
- Comparative assessment of IORA and ASEAN

Module VI: India's Role and Interests

- India as a major stake holder - historical - ancient Indian thought and practice
- Contemporary linkages and interests: economic and strategic
- Assessing policy initiatives and capabilities – SAGAR, SAGARMALA and Project Mausam.

Readings

Module 1: Western Indian Ocean – An introduction (Week 1 & 2)

Readings:

Darshana M. Baruah, Nitya Labh, and Jessica Greely. 2023. Mapping the Indian Ocean Region. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace working paper. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Baruah_IO_final_6-28.pdf

Frederic Grare and Jean Loup Samaan. 2022. *The Indian Ocean as a New Political and Security Region*. London, Palgrave Macmillan

Sunil Amrith. 2028. *Unruly Waters: How Mountain Rivers and Monsoons Have Shaped Asia's History*. New York. Basic Books.

Sanjay Chaturvedi (2022) Growing focus on the Western Indian Ocean: evolving equations, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, 18:1, 1-5, DOI: [10.1080/19480881.2022.2090128](https://doi.org/10.1080/19480881.2022.2090128)

Robert D. Kaplan. 2010. *Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power*. New York. Random House.

Additional Readings

Taylor, S.F.W., Roberts, M.J., Milligan, B. *et al.* Measurement and implications of marine food security in the Western Indian Ocean: an impending crisis?. *Food Sec.* 11, 1395–1415 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-019-00971-6>

Marty Smits, Douglas Beal, Adrien Portafaix, and Taz Chaudhry. The Economic Imperative to Revive Our Oceans. <https://www.bcg.com/publications/2017/transformation-sustainability-economic-imperative-to-revive-our-oceans>

Western Indian Ocean marine ecoregion <https://wwfeu.awsassets.panda.org/downloads/westernindianocean.pdf>

E- Journals (JNU Library) http://lib.jnu.ac.in/Online_Journals

Module II: Theoretical issues (Week 3 & 4)

Readings:

Ruxandra-Laura Bosilica, Susana Ferrieria and Barry J. Ryan. 2022. *Routledge Handbook of Maritime Security*. London. Taylor and Francis.

Peter Hough, Shahin Malik, Andrew Moran and Bruce Pilbeam. 2015. *International Security Studies Theory and practice*. London. Routledge.

A.T. Mahan. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. Boston. Little Brown and Company.

Voyer, Michelle et.al. (2018), “Maritime Security and the Blue Economy: Intersection and Interdependence in the Indian Ocean”, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, 14(1): 28-48

David W. Blagden, et.al. (2011), “Sea Power, Continental Powers, and Balancing Theory”, *International Security*, 36 (2): 190-202

Julian Corbett. “Some principles of maritime strategy” In *Strategic Studies*, pp. 132-144. Routledge, 2008.

“Theorist of Maritime Strategy : Sir Julian Corbett and His Contribution To Military and Naval Thought” ‘<https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/9590563>’

Additional Readings

Daisuke Sekine. “Review of From Mahan to Corbett?” Research paper by the Research Fellow of the OPRF ‘https://www.spf.org/oceans/analysis_en/c1202.html’

E- Journals (JNU Library) http://lib.jnu.ac.in/Online_Journals

<https://www.theblueeconomy.org/en/>

<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/13692WWF2.pdf>

Module III: Issues and Interests in WIOR (Week 5, 6 &7)

Readings:

Sankalp Gurjar and Ankita Dutta. 2021. *Evolving Geopolitics of the Western Indian Ocean: A Primer from India*. ICWA Sapru House Working Paper.

Christian Bueger, Timothy Edmunds, Robert McCabe. 2021. *Capacity Building for Maritime Security: The Western Indian Ocean Experience*. Palgrave Macmillan. Switzerland

BUYS, A. (2018). *CHINA, JAPAN, INDIA AND THE EAST AFRICA BLUE ECONOMY*. South African Institute of International Affairs. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25986>

Butt, K. M., & Siddiqui, S. J. (2021). Growing Chinese Presence in the Indian Ocean: Prospects and Challenges. *Strategic Studies*, 41(2), 64–81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48732275>

Daly J. C. (2020). Russian naval base in Sudan: Extending Moscow’s influence in Middle East and North Africa. *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 17(168). <https://jamestown.org/program/russian-naval-base-in-sudan-extending-moscows-influence-in-middle-east-and-north-africa/>

Defense World. (2020, 4 August). Russia seeks to establish military bases in 6 African nations. *Defense World*. https://www.defenseworld.net/news/27582/Russia_seeks_to_Establish_Military_Bases_in_6_African_Nations#.YEK81JMzanT

World. https://www.defenseworld.net/news/27582/Russia_seeks_to_Establish_Military_Bases_in_6_African_Nations#.YEK81JMzanT

Fazl-e-Haider S. (2020, 17 January). *The strategic implications of Chinese-Iranian-Russian naval drills in the Indian Ocean*. Jamestown Foundation: <https://jamestown.org/program/the-strategic-implications-of-chinese-iranian-russian-naval-drills-in-the-indian-ocean/>

Additional Readings

Reviving the Western Indian Ocean Economy. 2017. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/13692WWF2.pdf>

Yashvi Barot. 2023. Understanding the Increasing Engagement of the Extra-Regional Powers with the Island States in the Western Indian Ocean Region. Indian Council for World Affairs. Sapru House. New Delhi. https://www.icwa.in/show_content.php?lang=1&level=3&ls_id=9791&lid=6266

Majuto C. Manyilizu. A decade of the Blue Economy concept in the western Indian Ocean region: research and technology perspectives. *Western Indian Ocean Journal of Marine Science*. Vol. 22. No.2 October 2023. <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0393-7782>

Alex Midlen. Enacting the blue economy in the Western Indian Ocean: A ‘collaborative blue economy governmentality’. *Journal of Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*. 2023 <https://doi.org/10.1177/25148486231198010>

E- Journals (JNU Library) http://lib.jnu.ac.in/Online_Journals

Module IV: Security Interests (Week 8, 9 & 10)

Readings:

Sankalp Gurjar and Ankita Dutta. 2021. Evolving Geopolitics of the Western Indian Ocean: A Primer from India. ICWA Sapru House Working Paper.

Isaac B. Kardon. 2023. Geo-Strategic Competition for Military Basing in the Indian Ocean Region. Foreign Policy Briefing. Brookings Institute

Brewster, David (ed.), 2018. *India and China at Sea: Competition for Naval Dominance in the Indian Ocean* Oxford Academic

Klein, Natalie (2011), *Maritime Security and the Law of the Sea*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Vivek Mishra and Sarvani Gooptu. 2020. *The Regional Great Game in the Indian Ocean and India's Evolving Maritime Strategy*. New Delhi. KW Publishers.

Burger, Christian and Edmunds, Timothy (2017), "Beyond Seablindness: A New Agenda for Maritime Security", *International Affairs*, 93(6): 1293-1311

Levy and Thompson (2010), "Balancing on Land and at Sea: Do States Ally against the Leading Global Power?", *International Security*, 35 (1): 7-43

Christian Bueger & Jan Stockbruegger (2022) Maritime security and the Western Indian Ocean's militarisation dilemma, *African Security Review*, 31:2, 195-210, DOI: [10.1080/10246029.2022.2053556](https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2022.2053556)

Melvin N. (2019). *The foreign military presence in the Horn of Africa Region*. SIPRI. <https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/2019-04/sipri1904.pdf>

Additional Readings

HANGZO, PAU KHAN KHUP. "NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION." Edited by SAM BATEMAN, JANE CHAN, and EUAN GRAHAM. *ASEAN AND THE INDIAN OCEAN: The Key Maritime Links*. S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05921.9>.

Alsawalqa, R. O., & Venter, D. (2022). Piracy and Maritime Security in the North-Western Indian Ocean: From the Gulf of Oman to the Waters off the Somali Coast. *Insight on Africa*, 14(1), 88-103. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09750878211049224>

Maritime Safety and Security. Indian Ocean Rim Association. <https://www.iora.int/en/priorities-focus-areas/maritime-safety-and-security#:~:text=The%20Indian%20Ocean%20region%20faces,fisheries%20sector%20such%20as%20IUU>

Djibouti Code of Conduct. Combating maritime security threats in western Indian Ocean and Gulf of Aden. <https://dcoc.org/combating-maritime-security-threats-in-western-indian-ocean-and-gulf-of-aden/>

Module V: Regional integration efforts (Week 11, 12 & 13)

Readings:

Rana, P. B. (2017). Potential and Policies to Deepen Economic Integration in IORA. In S. Bateman, R. Gamage, & J. Chan (Eds.), *ASEAN AND THE INDIAN OCEAN: THE KEY MARITIME LINKS* (pp. 74–79). S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05888.13>

https://www.irsea.ro/custom_images/A04.07.2022%20ASEAN%20IORA.pdf

Journal of International Affairs Maritime Security Sector Reform, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/154082.pdf>

IORA and ASEAN Exchange Views : New Perspectives in South-Southeast Asian Cooperation?<https://www.iora.int/en>

Additional Readings

Wignaraja, G., Collins, A., & Kannangara, P. (2019). Opportunities and Challenges for Regional Economic Integration in the Indian Ocean. *Journal of Asian Economic Integration*, 1(1), 129-151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2631684619829958>

Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IORARC). Ministry of External Affairs Government of India. <https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/IORARC.pdf>

Kelegama, S. (1998). Can Open Regionalism Work in the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation? *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 15(2), 153–167. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25773522>

Moses Onyango Ogutu (2021) The Indian Ocean Rim Association: Lessons from this regional cooperation model, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 28:1, 71-92, DOI: [10.1080/10220461.2021.1915863](https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2021.1915863)

<https://www.commissionoceanindien.org/en/>

Module VI: India's Role and Interests (Week 14, 15 & 16)

Readings:

Das, C. (2019). India's Maritime Diplomacy in South West Indian Ocean: Evaluating strategic partnerships. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 12(2), 42–59. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26696259>

Abishek Mishra. 2019. India-Africa Maritime Cooperation: The Case of Western Indian Ocean. ORF Working Paper

Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury. "India's burgeoning engagements with Africa" The Economic Times 'https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/india/indias-burgeoning-engagements-with-africa/articleshow/85121299.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst'

Delhi Continues Strategic Investment in the Indian Ocean Region. 2022. Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative. Centre for Strategic and International Studies. <https://amti.csis.org/delhi-continues-strategic-investment-in-the-indian-ocean/#:~:text=In%20the%20last%20decade%2C%20India,2019%2C%20many%20projects%20were%20ongoing.>

Vice Admiral Pradeep Chauhan and Captain (DR.) Gurpreet S. Khurana. 2019. Ed. Maritime Perspectives: 2018. National Maritime Foundation. New Delhi.

K. M. Panikkar. 1945. *India and the Indian Ocean: An Essay on the Influence of Sea Power on Indian History*. New York. Macmillan.

K. M. Panikkar, 1953. *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History*. London. George Allen and Unwin.

Ruchita Beri. 2017. (ed). *India and Africa: Common Security Challenges for the Next Decade*. Pentagon Press.

Ministry of Defence, Government of India, Annual Reports, https://mod.gov.in/sites/default/files/AR_0.pdf

Additional Readings

Gayathri Aiyer and Abishek Mishra. Can the Western Indian Ocean Region be a game changer for India? Observers Research Foundation. <http://20.244.136.131/expert-speak/can-western-indian-ocean-region-be-a-game-changer-for-india-48913>

Lischi, S., Odelli, E., Perumal, J.L. *et al.* (2020). Indian Ocean trade connections: characterization and commercial routes of torpedo jars. *Herit Sci* **8**, 76 <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-020-00425-9>

"[Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy 2015.](#)" Indian Navy, *Naval Strategic Publication (NSP) I.2*, (October 2015).

Indian Maritime Security Strategy 2015 Report, <https://www.indiannavy.nic.in/content/indian-maritime-security-strategy-2015>

<https://maritimeindia.org/maritime-affairs-journal/>
