
From Resource to Trade Diplomacy – Revealing the Hierarchical Nature of Geopolitics

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Geopolitical discourses and practices are influencing the direction of strategic and trade diplomacies in the contemporary global order and would undoubtedly continue to do so owing to the variations in resource endowments. The geopolitical pursuits could be defined by several factors which have been broadly identified as 'enablers' in this paper which include both the geo-economic as well as geo-strategic parameters. The paper identifies and models the key enablers of geopolitics and presents its unique hierarchical framework using the Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) technique. The paper also reviews the literatures of topical relevance and presents a critical evaluation of the evolution of geopolitical thoughts. The paper advances the view of the evolving global order by arguing that the contemporary global geopolitics is not merely about supremacy through power and colonial expansion but about sustainability of state's competitiveness through co-existence and interdependence. The paper intends to develop a confluence between resources, trade and geopolitics and also to contribute to advancement in geopolitical analysis through a comprehensive, yet flexible modeling technique.

Key words: *geopolitics, resource, RTA, multipolarity, ISM.*

JEL classification: *F50, F53, F55, F59*

Introduction

The contemporary geopolitics has become a phenomenon where the geo-economic and geo-strategic pursuits of states and their multifarious inter-linkages in terms of multilateralism and region building ef-

forts are influencing human understandings. The new world order is experiencing an evolution of geopolitical thinking which emanates from congregation of states and merges within them in an effort to redefine freedom and security. Ciut (2008) observes that one of the most interesting aspects of regional security initiatives is that, while they attempt to inscribe a set of established security practices onto the regions' pattern of interaction, these security practices are not expressions of regional specificity, but tools of 'region-making'. Even the geopolitics of most Regional Trading Agreements (RTAs) reflects an urge among states to co-exist and yet be exclusively independent.

Rudolf Kjellén, a Swedish political scientist coined the term 'geopolitics' in the early twentieth century. It pertains to the spatial analysis of a state in terms of geography, politics, society and economy for the purpose of determining its stake in the evolving world order, thereby deciding its role in both power sharing as well as power balancing. The focus of this paper, however, revolves around the concept of a geopolitical paradigm which necessitates global interactions in terms with co-existence and interdependence of states and entities in the emerging world order. All the states interact diplomatically, all need to represent themselves, and all need continuously to negotiate advantageous foreign policy ends in a competitive and occasionally hostile environment (Murray 2008). The paper identifies the 'enablers (broad factors leading to) of geopolitics' and models them to prepare a hierarchy of geopolitics using the Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) technique. In order to make a systematic analysis of discourses and application of the modeling technique, the paper incorporates the following parts: a) tracing the evolution of geopolitical discourses and practices; and simultaneously identifying the 'enablers' of geopolitics, b) discussing the existing approaches to the study of geopolitics, c) reviewing the role and vitality of the enablers as to how they lead to geopolitics, d) using Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) technique to model the identified enablers and prepare the 'hierarchy of geopolitics'; and graphically represent the driving power and dependence of each en-

ablers using the MICMAC analysis, and, e) concluding and discussing the direction of future research in geopolitics.

Evolution of Geopolitical Discourses and Practices

Several theories and propositions have been put forth to explain the geopolitical disposition of the global order. These discourses on geopolitics incorporate several theories and diplomatic imperatives which suggests how states tend to behave with their neighbors and internationally. In the late nineteenth century, Fredrick Ratzel proposed the Organic State Theory which emphasized that a state needs space and resources like living organisms. Such a philosophy of state as an organic entity favored the argument of territorial expansion. Peters and Balduk (2006) argues that whereas, Ratzel applies the idea of social Darwinism to states, much of his work was served as a justification for Germany's ambitions. Thus, the Organic State Theory contributed to the development of geopolitical discourses by reflecting the following underlying tendencies – a) focus on territorial expansion as a tool for strengthening state diplomacy, b) emphasis on survival through state-sponsored imperialism and not mutual coexistence through interdependence among states, and, c) developing confluence of trade and interstate relations where it was not the trade which largely influenced interstate relations but vice-versa.

Later in the year 1899, a Swedish political scientist at the University of Goteborg and a student of Ratzel, Rudolph Kjellen, coined the term geopolitics and defined it as “the theory of the state as a geographic organism or phenomenon in space, that is, as a land, territory, area or most spatially as a country”. Kjellen, in his most important work on geopolitics *staaten som Lifform* (1916 and 1924), developed the concept of the state as an organism engaged in an inevitable struggle for survival.

Geopolitics, further, acquired a concrete dimension when Mackinder (1904), a British geographer formulated the Heartland Theory and

divided the world broadly into two regions: World Island, and, Periphery and termed the core of the World Island as 'Heartland'. This theory did find relevance during the period of the great wars and well as during the cold war era, whilst also being relevant in the contemporary world order where, for instance, the regional instability in the Middle East owes much allegiance to the fulfillment of neo-imperialist ambitions. The Heartland theory reflected the complexity of interactions among geography, polity and diplomacy, thereby crafting a way for the development of geopolitical discourses. The Heartland theory may be said to reflect following geopolitical tendencies – a) resource determines the international trading position of a state and is the locus of control in global power equations, b) the geopolitical influence of a state is determined on the basis of its resource endowments, and, c) accessibility in trade and transport is the key to polarization of the world. Though the genesis of the concept of geopolitics is well explained through this theory, its contemporary relevance still acquires a distinct orientation wherein, it's not a particular region (for example, East Europe, as mentioned) but several regions on the globe whose supremacy could be rated as parallel to each other either in terms of resource endowment or in terms of global competitiveness. Hence, in this evolving global order, contemporary global geopolitics is not merely about supremacy through power and colonial expansion but about sustainability of state's competitiveness through co-existence and interdependence. Thus, the credit for this paradigm shift in contemporary geopolitical thinking ought to be attributed to the increasing sense among nations to engage in enhanced strategic collaborations and mutual interdependence and not merely on the struggle for acquiring favorable power equations. The Heartland Theory, however, continues to be the benchmark for evolving geopolitical discourses.

Moreover, the geopolitical discourse was further extended by Karl Haushofer, a strong proponent of the German school of geopolitical thought, who was contemporary of Ratzel and Mackinder. He forwarded the theory of Organic State and advocated for comprehending

the interplay of various geographical characteristics including location of a state for ascertaining the direction of foreign policy to be followed by Germany.

Furthermore, the period before, during and after the First World War contributed immensely to the evolution of geopolitical discourses and crafted ways for practicing it in a comprehensive framework. The signing of the treaty of Versailles in 1919 led to the formal positioning of the United States as the most powerful pole on globe. And the global equation changed such that consistently, though gradually, the pressure mounted on the League of Nations rendered it to a state of functional fiasco. It would be wrong to say that because of changing nature of state interactions, the Second World War was inevitable; rather it should be attributed to be the consequence of the failure of constitutional machinery of the League of Nations. Admiral Mahan's advocacy for advancing the naval power has been quite helpful in setting the geopolitical agenda which was later pursued by the United States to sustain its stature of unipolarity and dominance. The Unipolar world had the following geopolitical consequences – a) it paved the way not for the struggle for survival and co-existence but for the struggle for supremacy among states, which was consequently evident during the Cold war period, and, b) unipolarity strengthened imperialist tendencies and made the world vulnerable to arms race and future conflicts.

By the end of the Second World War, the United States and the erstwhile USSR emerged as power centres which were supposedly destined to control the face of the globe. Several states either joined the U.S. block or the Soviet block to align their geopolitical pursuits with that of theirs. Further, the disintegration of the erstwhile USSR characterized the end of the cold war, and the strengthening of the American pole. It was believed that the bipolar world was assumably re-converted into a unipolar one, which was again prepared to drive the same geopolitical thinking which once existed in the post First World War days. But modern scholars believe that the post-cold war era can-

not be termed as a unipolar world, because the United States was, arguably, no longer the locus of control. Groom (2007) argues that in the post-cold war international state system there has been a unipolar moment, but not a unipolar system. The unipolar moment could also be argued because at the end of the cold war, the U.S. foreign policy makers faced the problem of identifying their friends and foes in the emerging international order (O'Reilly 2007). Despite such influence of unipolarity, the gravity of global issues and consensus on strengthening cooperation was stronger enough to dominate diplomatic thinking. The changes at around the time of the end of the cold war seemed to some observers to offer hope for a new world order in which international law, Great Power cooperation, international organizations and democratic political systems would all play a larger part than they had been able to do for most of the twentieth century (Robert 2008). Moreover, the post-cold war geopolitics was not merely power-dependent rather it became a source of economic standing and trading position of a state owing to increase in FDI flows and grant of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status among states. Even the 'power dynamics' prevalent thereto were not used for colonial purposes, though for imperial of course, but largely for settling conflicts and containing the rising cases of nuclear tests and possession of weapons of mass destruction. The geopolitical regime in the post cold war period was characterized by several trends including disintegration of the USSR, global mobilization against WMD resulting into war in Iraq, issues on CTBT and NPT, Middle East Roadmap for dismantling Arab-Israel conflict, region building and strengthening of trading blocks, formation of World Trade Organization, increase liberal trade practices and the consequent globalization.

In furtherance to the same, a new field of scholarship in geopolitical discourses emerged during the year 1996 when Dr. Gearoid Ó Tuathail published his book entitled 'Critical Geopolitics'. Critical geopolitics is in itself a comprehensive framework to depict the scope of geopolitical discourses and practices. This field known as the critical

geopolitics sees a nation-state as not being the only unit of geopolitical analysis. The dimensions of geopolitical analysis as stressed by the concept of critical geopolitics comprises of four key elements: a) popular geopolitics: concerned about the complexity of relations emerging out a popular culture, b) structural geopolitics: focuses on the contemporary geopolitical traditions, c) formal geopolitics: pertains to the policy prescriptions made by the think-tank and academics, and, d) practical geopolitics: describes the actual practice of the geopolitical discourses and evolution of the global geopolitical architecture.

The contemporary geopolitical architecture is a complex knitting of relatively mutually exclusive factors of regional co-existence and global security regimes. Tow (2008) argues that “the Europe, the Middle East and Asia collectively form the vortex of geopolitical rivalry and the United States, the “hyper power”, whose strategic commitments dominate and whose resource needs bestride all three regions, is increasingly strained to project effective control over how these regions will shape the evolution of international security”. It is imperative to outline now that the contemporary and futuristic global geopolitical architecture would be directed toward international concerns related to some of the phenomenal issues including, but definitely not be limited to, the following: global food security, energy security of fast developing nations like India and China, need for a gas cartel, Africa’s participation in world trade, Doha Development Agenda, climate change, Millennium Development Goals, instability in West Asia, border disputes, war against terror, the role of UNO in peace building and conflict resolution and NPT and nuclear tests, among others.

Approaches to Geopolitics

The advances in geopolitical discourses have been studied through various approaches which have necessarily streamlined the nuances of international interactions on the basis of either geoeconomic or geostrategic pursuits. Agnew and Corbridge (1989) proposed the

‘Geopolitical Economy approach’ wherein it has been argued that the geopolitical world order is the result of equilibrium between both political as well as economic processes. Further, Smith (1994) outlined three main approaches to the study of geopolitics and shaping of its discourses (Dikshit, 2000) – a) Traditional Geopolitics: It includes the tenets of Heartland Theory of Mackinder and conceptualizes on the geostrategic pursuits of states, b) The Power Relations perspective: It focused on hierarchical characteristics of state and the gravity exercised by it to influence the behavior of other state or states in the global order, and, c) The Political Economy approach: It is based on the assumption that in order to have adequate understanding of geopolitics, the dynamic changes in global economy should also be considered.

The present paper also attempts to augment the geopolitical discourse by inducing futuristic view into the nuances of global interactions. It is, henceforth, argued that geopolitics be contemplated beyond the chemistry of power equations, both in political as well as economic pursuits, to incorporate co-existence of states despite ongoing volatility in international interactions. The paper therefore argues that a mere equilibrium between political and economic processes is not sufficient but also the states need equilibrium between conflicting interests and their accommodating viewpoints with an urge to co-exist. This is what defines the dynamics of international interactions. It may, however, be mentioned that conflicting interests may carry a political, economic, social, diplomatic or a combination of two or more such dimensions; while accommodating viewpoints would serve as a directive for mature policy decision on interstate relations, thereby affecting contemporary and evolving geopolitical regimes. Moreover, the fast developing landscapes of the world like China, India and Brazil can also identify their respective enablers based on their global assertions and use the ISM technique to ascertain their geopolitical positioning.

Enablers of Geopolitics

The logical coherence heretofore entails helps in the outlining of the following enablers to discuss their viability for the purpose of preparing a hierarchy of geopolitics using the Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) technique:

1. Geographical Characteristics and Location: The geographical characteristics and location of a state and its spatial relationship with other state, regional entity or international organization plays a pivotal role in the evolution of its geopolitical ideologies. Modern geopolitics does not necessarily talks about power equations alone but largely concentrates on the co-existence of nations through their mutual interdependence. The emergence of such trends which necessitates socio-economic and diplomatic interdependence among states denotes that the regional congregation of nations is best possibly rendered by geographical proximities. It is imperative to understand that a country's geographical position in the world is one of the components of geopolitics which comprises of characteristics like territorial size, length of land and sea borders, access to seas, oceans and seas resources, terrain relief and climatic and hydrological conditions (Prants 2004). For instance, the Siachen glacier owing to its geographic location has acquired an immensely strategic position and has been characterizing the ongoing geopolitical tensions in South Asia. Even the issue of Golan Heights between Israel and Syria depicts the congruence between geographical and geopolitical behavior of states (Repko 2007). Even Ciut (2008) argues that when geopolitics is understood as a set of perennial laws, the region's existence as well as its meaning is independent, objective and geographically bound. This profoundly explains the notion that geographical characteristics of a state lead to the emergence of geopolitical interactions on the global arena. Even climate change can have drastic geopolitical implications as well.

2. Oil, Gas and other Resources: The natural resources endowments in the Middle East and CIS comprising predominantly of oil and gas has been influencing the dynamics of geopolitical equations which has driven the global order in the past and continues to do so. It has

played a major role in redefining the ways in which the international communities behave and the means through which they tend to interact. The geopolitics of oil and gas acquires larger significance owing to the fact that they are an important strategic good. Among other resources, water occupies a critical position, for instance, the dispute involving Sea of Galilee is another such issue of discord between Israel and Syria over the distribution of water supply (Repko 2007). Furthermore, energy and resources among others are potentially affected by the shift of power and are then indicated as possible sources of tension (Subacchi 2008). It is imperative to comprehend that the geopolitics of oil and gas is able to acquire larger significance because even when the number of wars and conflicts overall on a global scale is falling in general; yet the oil-producing states make up a growing fraction of the world's conflict-ridden countries (Ross 2008).

3. Formation of international Economic Integration Agreements: Regions can be defined as units or 'zones', based on groups, states or territories, whose members display some identifiable patterns of behavior (Fawcett 2004). The concepts of regional identity, region building, regional cooperation, regional integration and regionalism have been widely used by researchers (Watts 1988; Corbridge 1996; Reuber 2000; Fawcett 2005 and Ciut 2008), to redefine the vitality and connotations of a region. Even the international trading rules have been more tolerant of trading blocks or integration of groups of countries – a policy not viewed as inconsistent with global free trade (Ramsaran and Hosein 2008). It, therefore, implies that as part of international trade activity, regionalism bears the full nature of trade, which is a multifaceted issue that encompasses economics, domestic politics, national security and geopolitical factors (Wang 2004). Baier et al (2008) argues that an important phenomenon in the world economy over the past twenty years has been the enormous growth in the number of international Economic Integration Agreements (EIAs), comprising both of regional or preferential trade agreements. And as economies tend to integrate further, they enter into a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in or-

der to enhance their geopolitical positioning in the new economic order.

4. Dynamic changes in foreign trade policy: The states or regional congregation of nations also, through their evolving foreign trade policies, influences international interactions. This largely depends upon their political and economic gravity and leads to geopolitics at all levels, be it bilateral, regional or multilateral. The nuclear tests by India and Pakistan in 1998, led the United States to impose sanctions on the two countries. India faced the Glenn Amendment sanctions as well as other non-statutory sanctions, while Pakistan faced more sanction including those made by the Symington and Pressler Amendments as well. Such sanctions do not make a long-term effect but leaves a long-term impact on their ability, may be either positive or inverse, to co-exist. Moreover, the economic sanctions in case of Iraq imposed during President Clinton's regime, too, had serious consequences on the foreign trade policy of several states. Even, the dynamic changes in foreign trade policies of states toward China has been the result of the fact that China is now a hub economy for a wide range of Asian countries, has interests and trading relationships across several countries and is a well-recognized factor of transformation in the world economy, with an impact felt in the realms of politics and foreign policy (Subacchi 2008). The granting of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status and preferential treatment to a state by another state and the WTO's Doha Round is also making a significant impact on the nature of foreign trade policy being pursued by states.

5. Enhancement of International Trading Position of a Country: The international trading position of a state is enhanced when any or a combination of the following criteria are met: a) it becomes a signatory to any international Economic Integration Agreement (EIA), b) it's Balance of Trade (BoT) goes on increasing, c) it receives the Most Favored Nation (MFN) status by an economically and politically stronger state, d) it ranks higher in the Global Competitiveness Index., amongst others. A glimpse of the enhancement of international trad-

ing position of a state can be had from the argument put forth by that at the height of the Industrial Revolution, Britain was called ‘the workshop of the world’, and this title surely belongs to China today (Zakaria 2006). Such abilities of a state is reflected from the fact that competition among businesses are becoming fiercer and fiercer both within country boundaries and internationally and even globalization has shed a new kind of light on the role of the nation state in influencing competition (Chikina 2008).

6. Growth of Multipolarity: The disintegration of the USSR in the year 1991 did mark an end of the bipolar world but the evolving world order theretofore paved unfathomable scope for the emergence of regional hegemony. The geopolitical gravity being exercised by the developed and fast developing states strengthened their growth trajectory to lead the world onto a path of regional congregation. The pace has been considerate, yet continuous and has contributed to the growth of multipolarity in a world where it is not the individual states but their regional congregations which is destined to shape the face of the globe. A multipolar structure captures the complexity of the new world and provides an accurate description of the pattern in which economic power is distributed among players (Subacchi 2008). Socio-economic and political interdependence within a region, and the ability of a developed or fast developing states to apparently control diplomatic endeavors in its region have contributed to the growth of multipolarity as a geopolitical phenomenon.

7. Regional Instability: The identification of ‘regional instability’ as an enabler is a geopolitical necessity. Dynamic interactions may lead to regional instability while regional instability may also lead to evolution in interstate relations. Such phenomenon merits geopolitical attention. The conflicts of oil, water and territory has rendered the Middle East, an unstable entity for several years now. The Indian sub-continent is another example of regional instability caused due to the issues of Kashmir, Siachen and Indo-Pak cold war. Regional instability also

culminates because of the nature of foreign policy and strategic interventions pursued by the fast developing landscapes.

8. Arms Race, Conflict or Nuclear Use: The levels of interactions among global players have more often made conflicts inevitable. Cold War era may be cited as one of the finest examples of arms race which the world community in general has witnessed. More recently, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are compelling enough to believe the dichotomy between geoeconomic and geostrategic pursuits of a state. Critical forms of counter-factual reasoning can be used to explore alternative worlds and to consider how, for instance, contemporary geopolitical circumstances do indeed prevail such as the U.S. occupation of Iraq (Dodds 2008). France has also signed the nuclear agreement with the United Arab Emirates and pledged more with other Arab states thereby triggering speculations of proliferation risks. However, the recent India-U.S. nuclear deal seems to be a step forward to contain such geopolitical tendencies, which prevailed during and before the cold war era, and thereby culminate the contemporary geopolitical architecture of co-existence and interdependence of states.

9. Global War against Terror: The emergence of an international alliance against terrorism is the newest feature of the international security system both at the regional and the global level (Budania 2003), which gained eminence in the post 9/11 era. The war against terrorism has compelled many states to consistently revise their foreign policy, thereby causing a concern which merits international attention. With an urge to strengthen the world security architecture, the war against terrorism was launched as an international acclaim. Moreover, introspection into the reason how this war influenced global geopolitical suggests that a major chunk of any state's foreign policy was no longer dedicated to strengthening interstate relations but on their role in this global war.

10. Evolutionary changes in Interstate Relations and Foreign Policy: Foreign policy is a state matter but owing to increasing regional influ-

ence on states, and because of the formation of regional congregations thereto; the direction of foreign policy at times is governed by the trading blocks themselves. Aggestam and Hill (2008) argues that though the European Union carries no prerogative to conduct foreign policy on behalf of its members, yet they has done so in parallel with their own for nearly forty years, thereby complicating, replicating and sometimes amplifying the dilemmas which its members face in international relations. Such evidences further contribute to evolutionary changes in the interstate relations of a member state with the outside world. Moreover, on a wider arena, the war on Iraq and Afghanistan, increasing role of IAEA, the Middle East roadmap, U.S. interests in the Gulf, Western investments in West Asia, GCC's 'look East' policy, India's rising strategic role in GCC, the emergence of China as a powerful geo-strategic and geo-economic entity, the issue of Northern Ireland, Kashmir issue, global war against terrorism, and the like have been responsible for shaping the course of international interactions especially in the twenty-first century. The global war against terrorism has been responsible for bringing about evolutionary changes in the foreign policies of the states across the globe. Before the 9/11 attacks, the Bush presidency had been expected to place new emphasis on the concept of 'national interest', turning renewed attention to Great-Power politics and perhaps the rise of China; but 9/11 distracted the administration's focus toward addressing the problems of terrorism and WMD which assumed a more urgent character (Quinn 2008). Such evolutionary changes in interstate relations and foreign policy have definitely redefined geopolitical priorities of the states that are now looking for a larger role in diplomatic assertions though through economic interdependence, thereby culminating the rise of imperialist tendencies.

11. Rise in Imperialist Tendencies: The cold war has ended but the tendencies continue. Control of territory seems to be a former, if not an obsolete concept in exhibition of imperialist tendencies, which has now assumed the form of economic imperialism. It may be acknowl-

edged that the enhancement of international trading position of a state would lead to rise in urge to grab such resources which are of strategic importance, thereby contributing to regional instability. For instance, the expressions of geopolitical reasoning regarding Iraq were carefully calculated to advance particular strategic and business interests including securing oil interests in the wider Middle East and Central Asia. (Dodds 2008). Moreover, it has always been argued that the aim of the governments of the home countries of larger multinationals is to have open access to the world resources and potential markets; a belief which is strong enough to conceptualize such tendencies of stronger states.

Modeling the Enablers

The enablers of geopolitics have been modeled using the Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) technique, which is a process that enables interactive learning through structuring a set of different and related elements into a comprehensive systemic model (Warfield 1974; Sage 1977). Moreover, since it also helps in ascertaining the interrelationships among the variables and in manifestation of the direction of complex interactions, this paper uses it to prepare a 'hierarchy of geopolitics', the first of its kind. Geopolitics is dependant on various variables, both apparent and latent, and therefore, makes up complex phenomenon in itself. It involves not only the processes of resource-driven diplomatic initiatives but also the dynamics of emerging world order which reflects a higher degree of global interactions. The variables of geopolitics are in themselves a complex phenomenon and therefore establishing their level of interaction in the emerging global order necessitates the use of ISM technique. This paper includes 12 solicitous enablers (including 'geopolitics' itself) which are vital and of utmost significance in deciphering the nuances and determining the direction of international interactions. ISM has been used by several researchers to develop clarity of approach for complex phenomenon in various fields at both micro and macro levels like Vendor Selection (Mandal and Deshmukh 1994), Strategic Decision-making Groups

(Bolanos *et al* 2005), Knowledge Management effectiveness and organizational performance (Anantatmula, 2007), Agile Manufacturing (Kumar *et al* 2008), amongst others.

ISM Methodology and Model Development: The identification of enablers has been undertaken using clue from literature reviews, seeking expert opinion and then brain storming by academics and researchers to narrow down to a conclusion wherein twelve concrete enablers (including ‘geopolitics’ itself) have been chosen to be modeled. ISM technique involves the following steps:

Step I: Developing a Structural Self Interaction Matrix (SSIM) to this indicates pair-wise relationship between the chosen enablers (Table 1).

Step II: Preparing the Initial Reachability Matrix (Table 2).

Step III: Incorporating transitivity to derive a Final Reachability Matrix and ascertaining the ‘dependence’ and ‘driving power’ of each enablers (Table 3).

Step IV: Making enabler-level iteration to determine the enabler to be placed at first level in the hierarchy (Table 4); and then make successive iterations to determine the pace of all other enablers to be incorporated in the hierarchy (Table 5).

Step V: Preparing the ‘Hierarchy of Geopolitics’ (Figure 1) as per the level decided in Table 5.

Step VI: Representing the enablers graphically through MICMAC analysis (Figure 2) using their dependence and driving power as ascertained in Step III.

I. *SSIM (Structural Self Interaction Matrix):* To begin the modeling process, first and foremost a structural self-interaction matrix (SSIM) of all the enablers is developed which indicates pair-wise relationship (assuming i and j to make a pair) among them in a system by comparing a pair of enablers and asking “will leads to” type questions. This will help conclude whether i will lead to j or vice-versa. The symbols used

to establish contextual relations among the enablers i and j are as follows:

V = variable i will lead to variable j

A = variable j will lead to variable i

X = both variables i and j will lead to each other

O = any of the variables i or j will either not lead to the other or are unrelated

To understand the use of symbols V, A, X and O in SSIM as depicted in Table 1, the following statements may be considered:

- Assigning V: Presence of oil, gas and natural resources (2) will lead to Geopolitics (12); hence, V is assigned to the cell obtained by intersecting row of presence of oil, gas and natural resources (2) and column of geopolitics (12).
- Assigning A: Enhancement of international trading position of a country (5) will lead to dynamic changes in foreign trade policy (4); hence, A is assigned to the cell obtained by intersecting row of dynamic changes in foreign trade policy (4) and column of enhancement of international trading position of a country (5).
- Assigning X: Arms race, conflict and / or nuclear use (8) will lead to rise in imperialist tendencies (11) and vice-versa. Therefore, the symbol X is assigned to the cell obtained by intersecting row of arms race, conflict and / or nuclear use (8) and column of rise in imperialist tendencies (11).
- Assigning O: The symbol O is assigned to the cell obtained by intersecting the row and corresponding column of any two enablers which will either not lead to the other or are unrelated.

II. *Initial Reachability Matrix*: The Reachability Matrix (Table 2) indicates the relationship between enablers expressed in binary form. It is derived from the already prepared SSIM. The relationships as depicted by the symbols V, A, X and O in SSIM shall now be replaced with the binary digits 0 and 1 in this matrix, as per the following guidelines:

- If the (i, j) entry in the SSIM is V, then the (i, j) entry in the reachability matrix becomes 1 and the (j, i) entry becomes 0.
- If the (i, j) entry in the SSIM is A, then the (i, j) entry in the reachability matrix becomes 0 and the (j, i) entry becomes 1.
- If the (i, j) entry in the SSIM is X, then the (i, j) entry in the reachability matrix becomes 1 and the (j, i) entry also becomes 1.
- If the (i, j) entry in the SSIM is O, then the (i, j) entry in the reachability matrix becomes 0 and the (j, i) entry also becomes 0.

III. *Final Reachability Matrix*: The final reachability matrix is obtained by inducing the transitivity in the initial reachability matrix. Transitivity is a relationship among three elements viz. i , j and k in such a way that if i leads to j and j leads to k , then i will also lead to k . Table 3 shows the final reachability matrix wherein transitivity has been marked with 1^t. Further, for each enabler the table shows the ‘driving power’ and ‘dependence’ which shall be used in the MICMAC analysis incorporated in this paper (Figure 2). Driving power of an enabler is the total number of enablers, including itself, to which it leads to. While, dependence is the total number of enablers, including itself, which it leads to.

Table 3. Final Reachability Matrix

S. N.	Enablers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Driving Power
1	Geographical Characteristics and Location	1	1	1	1 ^t	1 ^t	1 ^t	0	0	0	1	1 ^t	1	9
2	Presence of Oil, Gas and other Resources	0	1	1	1	1	1 ^t	1 ^t	0	0	1	1	1	9
3	Formation of international Economic Integration Agreements	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1 ^t	0	1	1 ^t	1	8
4	Dynamic changes in Foreign Trade Policy	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3
5	Enhancement of International Trading Position of a Country	0	0	0	1	1	0	1 ^t	0	0	1	1	1	6
6	Growth of Multipolarity	0	0	0	1 ^t	0	1	1 ^t	1	0	1	1	1	7
7	Regional Instability	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	3
8	Arms Race, Conflict or Nuclear Use	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	6
9	Global War against Terror	0	0	0	1 ^t	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
10	Evolutionary changes in Interstate Relations and Foreign Policy	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3
11	Rise in Imperialist Tendencies	0	0	0	1 ^t	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	6
12	Geopolitics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Dependence	1	2	3	10	4	4	7	5	1	11	8	12	

IV. *Partitioning the Reachability Matrix*: After making the final reachability matrix, its partitioning is done to establish the hierarchical representation of enablers. The reachability and antecedent set for each enabler can be obtained from final reachability matrix (Warfield, 1974). The reachability set includes the enabler itself as well as other enablers which it leads to. While, the antecedent set consist of enabler itself and other enablers which leads to it. Then, the intersection between reachability set and antecedent set is obtained. Finally, if the members in reachability set and antecedent set of any of the enablers are the same, then that enabler is assigned the first place in hierarchy, as evident in Table 4. Similarly, all other enablers are assigned their hierarchical ranking (Table 5).

Table 4. Enabler Level Iteration

Enablers	Reachability Set (R)	Antecedent Set (A)	X*
1	1,2,3,4,5,6,10,11,12	1	
2	2,3,4,5,6,7,10,11,12	1,2	
3	3,4,5,6,8,10,11,12	1,2,3	
4	4,10,12	1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11	
5	4,5,7,10,11,12	1,2,3,5	
6	4,6,7,8,10,11,12	1,2,3,6	
7	7,10,12	2,5,6,7,8,9,11	
8	4,7,8,10,11,12	3,6,8,9,11	
9	4,7,8,9,10,11,12	9	
10	4,10,12	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11	
11	4,7,8,10,11,12	1,2,3,5,6,8,9,11	
12	12	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12	12 I

* X denotes the value of Set (R) intersection Set (A)

Table 5. Enabler-level Iteration (Levels II to VIII)

Iteration	Enabler	Reachability		X*	Level
		Set (R)	Antecedent Set (A)		
ii	4	4,10	1,2,3,4,5,6,8,9,10,11	4,10	II
ii	10	4,10	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11	4,10	II
iii	7	7	2,5,6,7,8,9,11	7	III
iv	8	8,11	3,6,8,9,11	8,11	IV
iv	11	8,11	1,2,3,5,6,8,9,11	8,11	IV
v	5	5	1,2,3,5	5	V
v	6	6	1,2,3,6	6	V
v	9	9	9	9	V
vi	3	3	1,2,3,6	3	VI
vii	2	2	2,5,6,7,8,9,11	2	VII
viii	1	1	3,6,8,9,11	1	VIII

* X denotes the value of Set (R) intersection Set (A)

V. *Preparation of Hierarchy of Geopolitics*: The hierarchical levels as decided in Table 4 and 5 are then placed to prepare the 'hierarchy of geopolitics' (Figure 1). It shows the interplay of each enabler and depicts as to how they lead to geopolitics.

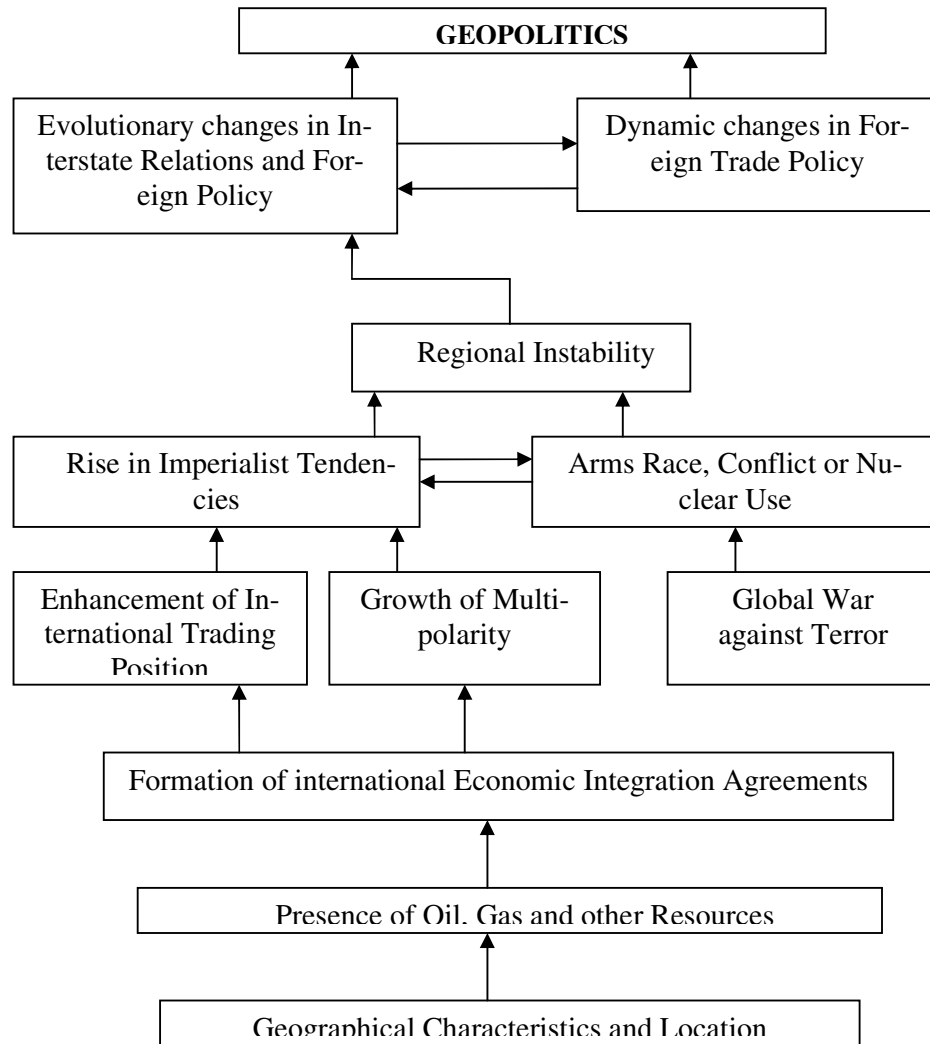


Figure 1: The Hierarchy of Geopolitics

VI. *MICMAC Analysis*: The purpose of MICMAC analysis is to analyze the driving power and the dependence of the enablers. The enablers are classified into four clusters (Figure 2). The first cluster consists of the ‘autonomous enablers’ that have weak driving power and weak dependence (Enabler No. 5 and 8). Cluster II consists of the ‘dependent enablers’ having weak driving power but strong dependence (Enabler Nos. 4, 7, 10, 11 and 12). Cluster III has the ‘linkage enablers’ having both strong driving power and strong dependence. The fourth cluster includes the ‘independent enablers’ having strong driving power but weak dependence (Enabler Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6 and 9).

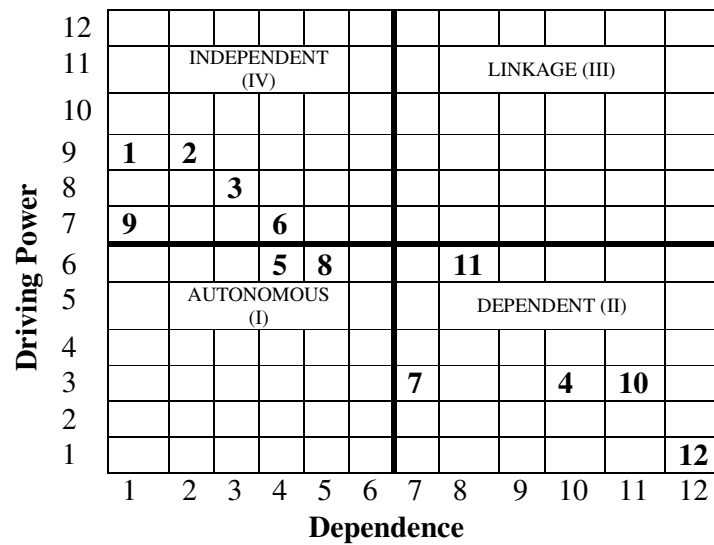


Figure 2. MICMAC Analysis

Conclusion and Future Research

Geopolitics is not a concept but a phenomenon which merits international attention in an evolving world order owing to its hierarchical nature caused by the resource endowments of states. Since the modern corridors of power lie not in the hand of individual states, if not holistically, but with their congregations; the geopolitical discourse should now acquire a dimension of co-competitive existence of states. Socio-economic and political interdependence of states is deemed to craft its own way in determining the horizon of futuristic geopolitical thinking. This duly implies that it's not merely the 'struggle for supremacy' which drives the diplomatic philosophy but probably the 'welfare of the citizens' which ought to craft the state's urge to compete globally, and the lead could feasibly be taken by fast developing landscapes of the world. Moreover, geo-economic and geo-strategic pursuits are becoming so dynamic and consistently progressive that they are unbelievably contributing to the re-evolution of world order that is driven by economic growth, regional security and human development. The paper opens the scope for identification of more enablers including 'welfare economics', for instance as one, in contributing to geopolitical discourses for determining the direction of international interactions in days to come.

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