

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL
OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
SPRING TERM 2007 – First Session**

**Energy, Terrorism, Security, and Regime Stability:
DRAFT Syllabus**

Public Affairs WWS594s (half-term course)
Wednesday, 7-10 pm

Christopher Boucek

Email: cboucek@princeton.edu
Office: 324 Aaron Burr Hall
Tel: (609) 258-1082
Office Hours: TBD

Reading Note: Please come to the first session prepared to discuss (at least) the readings listed under Week 1.

Course Description

This course will examine issues of terrorism, security, and regime stability in hydrocarbon producing and exporting states in the Middle East and Central Asia. Attention will be given to episodes of terrorism directed against energy infrastructure, terrorist motivations, and other sources of political instability. Potential threats and their implications will be explored, as will their impact on global energy supplies. These topics will be studied in the relation to developments in both the Middle East (Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, Iran, possibly Libya, and to a lesser extent Iraq) and Central Asia and the Caspian (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan). Special consideration will be given to potential ramifications of these issues for American strategic and regional policies.

The greatest challenges to continued access to Middle Eastern hydrocarbons at reasonable market prices are the dual threats of terrorism and regime stability. The region extending from the Arab world through to post-Soviet Central Asia is both the location of the majority of the world's known easily-recoverable hydrocarbons and the site of intense geopolitical volatility. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict, the gathering threat posed by a nuclear-armed Iran, and the peril of international Islamist terrorism all contribute to the dangerous instability prevalent throughout the region. Coupled with stagnant political and social development, calcified and rogue regimes, and moribund non-oil economic and commercial growth, the region is fraught with uncertainties at a time when global energy consumption is rapidly stretching supply.

Al-Qaeda directed or inspired organizations have repeatedly targeted the region's oil infrastructure. Numerous attacks in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Iraq have brought home the reality of the danger posed to energy sector resources in the Middle East. The

intention is clear, and the effects have been severe with the potential to be even more devastating. The danger to energy infrastructure in the Middle East is enduring and one that will continue to threaten the ability of regional governments to produce and export their hydrocarbon resources. Much of the focus of the ability of Middle Eastern governments to continue to meet global energy demands can be addressed through the prism of counter-terrorism and security—malicious intent and violent action is today perhaps the only eventuality capable of taking offline significant energy resources.

A second major challenge confronting global access to regional energy supplies arises from the future stability of regional governments in the Middle East and Central Asia. Several factors account for this concern, including ageing leaderships, an absence of clear lines of succession, and a scarcity of political opposition. The lack of any serious and significant civil society and political participation is unfortunately endemic throughout most of the region's oil and gas producing countries.

Course Requirements

All seminar members will be expected to participate in weekly discussions. If you will be unable to attend a session for any reason, please contact me ahead of time. The readings include both required reading and recommended reading for those planning to do more in-depth research. I'll also provide more details on further recommended readings as the course progresses. Working in study groups to share the reading and collectively discuss the materials before class may be helpful—this is something we'll discuss at the first session.

Each class will begin with a short presentation by one or two students (depending on the size). Presentations will be focused on the topic of that day's class or a related issue; we'll also discuss these at the first session. The goal of the presentations will be to initiate a discussion of that session's topic, and to raise points and issues to discuss.

Performance will be evaluated on the basis of class participation, an in-class presentation and a policy paper due the end of the seminar. Participation will count for 25%; your presentations will count for 25%; and a policy paper will count for 50% of the grade. More information about the policy paper assignment will be provided at the first session.

Course Materials

I intend to have all the readings for the course either on reserve or available electronically. In a few cases readings will only be available in hard copy, which I'll provide as the course progresses. I'll also give you a list of some other sources which I'd recommend you consult during the course once class begins.

Course Outline

Session 1: Geopolitics of oil; introduction to energy markets and transport issues

Introduction to hydrocarbon resources and the global petroleum market; overview of extraction, refining, and transport, as well as a short discussion of emerging recovery technologies. How has the United States traditionally approached the geopolitics of energy? What are the implications for American foreign policy and national security planning? What are the potential challenges that lie ahead, and how best can the United States approach these developments?

Required readings:

- Ian Rutledge, *Addicted to Oil: America's Relentless Drive for Energy Security*, chap 1-4: pp 1-50 [HD9566 .R85 2005, electronic at <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/princeton/Doc?id=10133005>]
- *The Middle East*, chapter 5 "Mideast Oil," pp 133-168 [ISBN number 1933116137]
- Patrick Clawson and Simon Henderson, *Reducing Vulnerability to Middle East Energy Shocks*, executive summary and pp 3-6; 30-35
<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/PolicyFocus49.pdf>
- *BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2006* [mostly graphs and charts]
http://www.bp.com/liveassets/bp_internet/globalbp/globalbp_uk_english/reports_and_publications/statistical_energy_review_2006/STAGING/local_assets/downloads/pdf/oil_section_2006.pdf
- Neal Adams, *Terrorism and Oil*, chapter 2 "Mechanics of Oil Supply," pp 15-27 [HD9560.6 .A27 2002]
- Information on chokepoints, available through
http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/World_Oil_Transit_Chokepoints/Background.html
- Anthony H. Cordesman, *Energy developments in the Middle East*, chapter 3, "Political, Economic, and Demographic Pressures and Middle East Energy Production," pp 107-150 (about 11 pages of text in total, the rest is graphs and charts) [HD9576.M52 C67 2004]

Recommended Additional Readings:

- Matthew Yeomans, *Oil: anatomy of an industry*, chapter 4, "Boom and Bust: The Price of Oil and How Much Remains," pp 95-118 [HD9560.5 .Y46 2004]
- Gawdat Bahgat, *American oil diplomacy in the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea*, chap 1 "US Energy Security," pp 1-23 [HD9576.P52 B34 2003]
- Herman T. Franssen, "Oil supply Security Through 2010," in *Global markets and national interests : the new geopolitics of energy, capital, and information*, Lincoln P. Bloomfield Jr., editor, pp 58-66 [HD9560.6 .G55 2002]
- Peter C. Fusaro, "Future Importance of Oil: Geopolitical Lynchpin or Common Commodity?" in *Global markets and national interests : the new geopolitics of*

energy, capital, and information, Lincoln P. Bloomfield Jr., editor, [HD9560.6 .G55 2002]

Session 2: Terrorism, security, and energy infrastructure

Overview of emerging threat of terrorism directed against energy infrastructure and assets; review of previous events; discussion of the threat, impact, and preventative actions. Discussion of terrorist motivations and other sources of political instability; exploration of potential threats and impact on global energy supplies. Discussion of security scenarios.

Required Readings:

- Tamara Makarenko, "Terrorist threat to energy infrastructure increases," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, June 2003. [5.5 pp]
- Brynjar Lia and Åshild Kjøk, *Terrorism and Oil—An Explosive Mixture? A Survey of Terrorist Attacks on Petroleum Infrastructure 1968-1999*, Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, 10 September 2001, pp 7-40. [Available at <http://rapporter.ffi.no/rapporter/2001/04031.pdf>]
- Michael Scheuer, "Al-Qaeda and the Oil Target," *Saudi Arabian Oil Facilities: The Achilles Heel of the Western Economy*, pp 7-12 [<http://www.jamestown.org/docs/Jamestown-SaudiOil.pdf>]
- Neal Adams, *Terrorism and Oil*, "Historical look at oil industry terrorism," pp 5-13, and chapter 6 "Oil as a Target," pp 101-115 [HD9560.6 .A27 2002]
- John Daly, "The Global Implications of Large-Scale Attacks on Saudi Oil Facilities," *Saudi Arabian Oil Facilities: The Achilles Heel of the Western Economy*, pp 25-35. [<http://www.jamestown.org/docs/Jamestown-SaudiOil.pdf>]
- Clawson and Henderson, *Reducing Vulnerability to Middle East Energy Shocks*, "Middle East Shock Scenarios," pp 7-12, available at [<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/PolicyFocus49.pdf>]
- Shaykh Abdullah bin Nasser al-Rashid (aka Abdelaziz bin Rashid al-Anzi), al-Qaida in Saudi Arabia: excerpts from *The Laws of Targeting Petroleum-Related Interests* (6 page English translation from Arabic) [Available at <http://www.globalterroralert.com/pdf/0306/oiljihad0306.pdf>]
- John Daly, "Saudi 'Black Gold:' Will Terrorism Deny The West Its Fix?" *Terrorism Monitor*, volume 1, Issue 7 (4 December 2003). [Available at [http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=391&issue_id=2880&article_id=23425]
- Justin Blum, "Terrorists Have Oil Industry in Cross Hairs," *The Washington Post* (27 September 2004). [Available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A52810-2004Sep26.html>]
- Gal Luft and Anne Korin, "Terror's next target," *Journal of International Security Affairs* (December 2003). [Available at <http://www.iags.org/n0111041.htm>]

- Richard Hubbell and Guy Martelle, “An Innovative Solution to Pipeline Security,” *RUSI/Jane’s Homeland Security & Resilience Monitor*, September 2004.

Session 3: Saudi Arabia and the Gulf

Regional security issues and concerns in the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf, and American foreign policy and national security policy towards the region. What are the present challenges confronting American policy in the region, and how does access to energy resources factor? What are the rising regional challenges to American national security architecture? How can the United States best engage the region?

Required Readings:

- Michael Knights, “Attack on Abqaiq highlights growing focus on oil targets,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, May 2006. [5 pp]
- Anthony Cordesman and Nawaf Obaid, *National Security in Saudi Arabia*, chap 7, “Saudi Energy Security,”: pp 305-324. [UA853.S33 C664 2005]
- Stephen Ulph, “Saudi Arabia’s Islamist Insurgency,” *Saudi Arabian Oil Facilities: The Achilles Heel of the Western Economy*, pp 13-24. Available at <http://www.jamestown.org/docs/Jamestown-SaudiOil.pdf>
- Knights, *Troubled Waters: Future US Security Assistance in the Persian Gulf*, Part 1: Threats to Future Gulf Security, pp 1-48 [UA832 .K55 2006]
- Anthony H. Cordesman, *Energy developments in the Middle East*, pp 158-171 [HD9576.M52 C67 2004]
- John Daly, “Saudi ‘Black Gold’: Will terrorism deny the West its fix?” *Terrorism Monitor*, volume 1, Issue 7 (4 December 2003). Available at http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?volume_id=391&issue_id=2880&article_id=23425
- John Daly, “The Threat to Iraqi Oil,” *Terrorism Monitor*, volume 2, Issue 12 (17 June 2004). [Available at <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2368122>]
- John Daly, “Saudi Oil Facilities: al-Qaeda’s Next Target?” *Terrorism Monitor*, volume 4, Issue 4 (23 February 2006). Available at <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369910>
- Chris Heffelfinger, “Al-Qaeda Oil Attack Thwarted in Yemen,” *Terrorism Focus*, volume 3, Issue 37 (26 September 2006). Available at <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2370143>
- Michael Knights, “Yemen Oil Attacks Display Intent but Little Capability,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, November 2006. [Available at http://www4.janes.com/subscribe/jir/doc_view.jsp?K2DocKey=/content1/janesdat/mags/jir/history/jir2006/jir10038.htm@current&Prod_Name=JIR&QueryText=]

Recommended Additional Readings: FURTHER SUGGESTED READINGS FORTHCOMING

Session 4: Iran

The US-Iranian relationship; Iran's increasingly assertive foreign policy; Iran's role in regional events and Iran's role in the global energy market; the looming showdown over Tehran's nuclear program. Implications for US policy in the region and beyond post Operation Iraqi Freedom. The potential for conflict and the potential for rapid escalation of hostilities. How can the United States best deal with Iran? How can the United States engage Iran? What do these issues mean for American energy security? For US policy in the region?

Required Readings: MORE WILL BE ADDED SHORTLY

- Ken Pollack, *The Persian Puzzle* [E183.8.I55 P58 2004] [Available at <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/princeton/Doc?id=10126193>]
- Anthony H. Cordesman, *Energy developments in the Middle East*, pp 186-195 [HD9576.M52 C67 2004]
- EIA Iran country analysis brief, available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Iran/Background.html>
- EIA Iran oil section, available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Iran/Oil.html>

Session 5: Central Asia and the Caspian

American foreign policy concerns in Central Asian and the Caspian basin; access to and investment in emerging energy sources. Great power rivalry and competition for influence in the region (Russia and Iran; China and India). Regional security concerns (extremism; terrorism; crime; drugs; succession). Challenges to US policy looking forward; the ongoing war in Afghanistan. How can American best approach this area? What are the implications of policy failure? What does resurgent Russian interests and recent Chinese policy towards the region mean for US policy objectives?

Required Readings:

- Ian Rutledge, *Addicted to Oil: America's Relentless Drive for Energy Security*, chap 8: pp 102-119. [HD9566 .R85 2005, electronic at <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/princeton/Doc?id=10133005>]
- Stephen Blank, "Energy, economics and security in Central Asia: Russia and its rivals," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 14, no. 3, 1995. [D471 .C46]
- Energy Information Administration, US Department of Energy, sections for the Caspian basin and the Central Asian republics. Check out the country analysis briefs, as well as the oil and gas sections, available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Caspian/Background.html>,
- Rosemarie Forsythe, *The Politics of Oil in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, Adelphi Paper, No 300, May 1996. [U162 .A3 no.300]

- Lester W. Grau, “Hydrocarbons and a New Strategic Region: The Caspian Sea and Central Asia,” *Military Review*, May-June 2001. [<http://leav-www.army.mil/fmso/documents/hydrocarbons/hydrocarbons.htm>]
- Daniel Kimmage, “Energy-hungry countries line up for Central Asian reserves,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, December 2006. [Available at http://www4.janes.com/subscribe/jir/doc_view.jsp?K2DocKey=/content1/janesdata/mags/jir/history/jir2006/jir10065.htm@current&Prod_Name=JIR&QueryText=]

Recommended Additional Readings:

- Nancy Lubin, “Turkmenistan’s Energy: A Source of Wealth or Instability?” in *Energy and conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, chapter 6, pp 107-121 [HD9576.C372 E53 2000]
- Terry Lynn Karl, “Crude Conditions: OPEC Lessons for the Caspian Region,” in *Energy and conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, edited by Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, pp 29-49 [HD9576.C372 E53 2000]

Session 6: US policy looking forward

Discussion of US policy choices and constraints. Policy toward so-called ‘rouge regimes’ and the possibility of the reintegration of problem states such as Libya. What does this mean for US policy looking forward? What are the implications for US policy planning? How can the United States best address the issues of energy, terrorism, security, and stability in the Middle East and Central Asia? What’s at stake, and how can US policy prepare to manage the consequences of the issues raised in this course?

- Daniel Yergin, “Ensuring Energy Security,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2006. [Available at <http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20060301faessay85206/daniel-yergin/ensuring-energy-security.html>]
- Ian Rutledge, *Addicted to Oil: America’s Relentless Drive for Energy Security*, chap 10: pp 133-157. [HD9566 .R85 2005, electronic at <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/princeton/Doc?id=10133005>]
- “US Challenges and Choices in the Gulf: Energy Security,” policy brief of the Atlantic Council, Middle East Institute, Middle East Policy Council, and the Stanley Foundation. [Available at http://www.acus.org/docs/020510-U.S._Challenges_Choices_Gulf_Energy_Security.pdf]
- Clawson and Henderson, *Reducing Vulnerability to Middle East Energy Shocks*, “Middle East Shock Scenarios,” pp 13-34. Available at <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/PolicyFocus49.pdf>
- Anthony H. Cordesman, *Energy developments in the Middle East*, chapter 6 “Geopolitics, Domestic Development, and the Future of Energy,” pp 279-288 [HD9576.M52 C67 2004]