IGA 412: The Geopolitics of Energy  
Professor Meghan L. O’Sullivan  
Harvard University’s Kennedy School  
Fall 2012

Syllabus as of First Day of Classes 5 September 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty: Professor Meghan O’Sullivan</th>
<th>Faculty Assistant: Leah Knowles</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office: Littauer 329</td>
<td>FA Office: Littauer 376A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telephone: (617) 496-4308</td>
<td>FA Telephone: (617) 496-2737</td>
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<tr>
<td>Email: <a href="mailto:Meghan_OSullivan@hks.harvard.edu">Meghan_OSullivan@hks.harvard.edu</a></td>
<td>FA Email: <a href="mailto:Leah_Knowles@hks.harvard.edu">Leah_Knowles@hks.harvard.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Hours: Tuesdays from 2-4pm. Please sign up on sheet posted on door of L329.</td>
<td>Course Assistant: Alia Avidan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures: Mon and Wed from 1:10-2:30 PM in Littauer 130</td>
<td>CA Contact Info: <a href="mailto:Alia_Avidan@hks.12.harvard.edu">Alia_Avidan@hks.12.harvard.edu</a></td>
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**Course Description**

Energy has long been a major factor in the formulation of country strategies, the exercise of national power, and in determining the shape of the international system. As both concerns about oil supply and pressures to reduce carbon emissions intensify, countries are grappling to situate their energy policies in the broader context of their grand strategies. Recent tensions between Israel and Lebanon over new natural gas findings in the Mediterranean Sea, China’s seemingly relentless global quest for natural resources, and sanctions on oil exports from Iran due to its nuclear pursuits demonstrate the nexus between international politics and energy needs.

The Geopolitics of Energy will examine this intersection between international security, politics, and energy issues. The course takes energy security as its launching point, exploring not only how countries shape their grand strategies to meet their energy needs, but also how such actions have implications for other countries and the international system. It looks at new technologies and innovations – such as those making the extraction of shale gas economical – and how they are changing patterns of trade and could shape new alliances. Finally, while acknowledging that oil and gas will be dominant for the next 20-40 years, the course considers the consequences of a successful shift away from petroleum based economies to anticipate how a new energy order will alter global politics in fundamental ways.

Four objectives define the course. Students can expect to 1) gain a greater understanding of the energy security concerns of producer and consumer countries; 2) identify and analyze how countries have altered their foreign policies, domestic efforts, and military strategies in light of such concerns; 3) examine shifting trends in the energy realm; and 4) anticipate new patterns and structural shifts in the international environment in light of these trends.
The course begins with an introductory section examining how energy has been a major determinant of the international system in the past and exploring the current landscape in terms of markets, governments, businesses, and international institutions. It then turns to examine resource realities, including the question of whether global supply has peaked, the rise of resource nationalism, and the nature of the resource curse. The course then examines a number of ways – in the past, present, and possibly, in the future – how energy has been used as a means to project power; we look at how America, OPEC, Russia, and others have used energy to advance broader national security aims. The next section then explores the reverse: how countries and entities have used their more conventional military, political, and economic power to protect and secure energy; how should we view the U.S. presence in the Gulf or China’s actions in Africa? After a brief examination of national security strategies and their geopolitical implications, the class concludes with a section on new energy, asking how future developments in energy innovation will affect the nature of politics and security.

In addition to engaging in class discussions about topics as varied as whether the United States should seek to emulate China’s strategy to secure energy to whether low energy prices are good for political reform in Iraq, students will be required to adopt and represent the perspective of one country throughout the course.

**Course Expectations and Requirements**

IGA 412 is a graduate level course appropriate for those with an interest in energy and international politics and strategy. There are no prerequisites for the course. The focus of the readings, lectures, class conversations and projects will be more political and strategic than technical in nature. Students must be able to attend all classes; absence from more than one class may be reflected in a student’s grade. They should also be prepared to actively participate in class. No laptops will be permitted in the classroom except for those of students who are making presentations.

Student evaluation will be based on a variety of inputs as outlined in the box below. There will be no final exam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage of Grade</th>
<th>Date due</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>General class participation:</strong> The class participation grade involves several components:</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Being part of the general class conversation; the course schedule indicates specific questions that will be addressed in class; students should be prepared to discuss them and to be cold-called.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Representing the views and interests of one country throughout the course; students will chose/be assigned to a country early in the term.</td>
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<td>- Participating in class debates.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>One memo, 3 pages, single-spaced, to the leader of the</strong></td>
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</table>
country you will be representing throughout the course on the energy situation in the country.

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<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Date</th>
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| One policy memo, 3-4 pages, single-spaced in length, either:  
  - To the leader of a country (either Afghanistan, Peru, or Uganda) facing new energy finds and wanting to avoid the resource curse; OR  
  - To the U.S. national security advisor on the implications of China’s quest for energy resources abroad and implications for U.S. policy. | 15% | September 26 or October 22 |
| 20-25 page Regional Energy and Security Strategy for a region related to the country each student is representing throughout the course; this will be written by a group where all members will get the same grade. | 30% | November 7 |
| Construction of an Energy Security Index. Students will be paired with one or two other students to construct a proposal (with some test piloting of it) for an index measuring national energy security. | 20% | November 28 |

*All papers should be single spaced, use Times New Roman 12 font, and have one inch margins.*

## Class Schedule

Please note that the schedule below may change in small respects – in terms of the sequence and possibly timing of certain classes – to accommodate guest speakers or exciting opportunities as they arise. We will do our best to give you plenty of advance notice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Main Questions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Shopping Day: Introduction; Overview of Course and Requirements</td>
<td>What is the geopolitics of energy? How has the idea of energy security evolved?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>September 5</td>
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</table>
| 2     | Friday     | Energy as a Determinant of the International System | How have energy transitions transpired in the past? What is a strategic commodity?  
  How has energy, as a strategic commodity shaped the international system in the past?  
  To what extent has energy determined alliances, the outcomes of wars, the pace of development, and the rise and fall of empires? |
|       | September 7|                                               |                                                                               |
### UNIT 2: ENERGY AS A MEANS OF NATIONAL POWER: Using Energy to Project Power

**September 17: Short Policy Memo Due on Your Country’s Energy Situation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>The Global Energy Landscape: Demand, Supply, and Price</td>
<td>What are the factors influencing global energy markets and the major trends on today’s energy landscape? What factors are driving the fundamentals (demand, supply, and price)? What are the projections for demand and supply – what challenges do they portend? To what extent do supply and demand depend on geopolitical factors? What is the role of governments in moving away from oil and gas toward alternative energies today and in the future?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>NO CLASS</td>
<td>Make up class to be scheduled according to guest speaker’s schedule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>1970 Power Shift: America Relinquishes the Oil Weapon to OPEC</td>
<td>How, in the past, did the United States use its status as a major global producer to advance its national security objectives? What changed in 1970 and how did this curtail U.S. power? What was behind the formation of OPEC and what allowed it to exert such influence in the crises of 1973 and 1979?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>New Energy Innovation: Government and the Private Sector Guest Speaker: Andy Karsner, Andy Karsner, President of Manifest Energy, former Assistant Secretary for Renewable Energy</td>
<td>What are the prospects for renewable energy today? What are the U.S. and other governments doing to encourage the move away from a fossil fuel dependent economy? What is the role of the private sector?</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>GROUP EXERCISE OPEC Today: Waxing or Waning?</td>
<td>To what extent does the formation of cartels produce strategic advantage to its participants? How has OPEC wielded political influence over the decades – and are the constraints on OPEC internal or external? Is OPEC still a force to be...</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 26</td>
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<td><strong>POLICY MEMO</strong>&lt;br&gt;The Resource Curse</td>
<td>What are the components of the alleged “resource curse”? How does the discovery and exploitation of resources affect the development of a country’s political institutions? Is the resource course inevitable? What policy advice would you give President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, or President Ollanta Humala of Peru – leaders of three countries who recently discovered potentially significant amounts of natural resources?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>POLICY MEMO&lt;br&gt;The Resource Curse</td>
<td>How have the political changes in the Arab world affected energy markets so far? What are reasonable expectations for the future? Should the world be more confident of the ability of the Middle East to help meet global energy needs – or more skeptical? What are the mechanisms through which the politics of the Arab revolutions will affect energy in the months and years ahead?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>The Arab Revolutions and their Implications for Energy</td>
<td>What is the energy relationship between Russia and Europe? Is European reliance on Russian natural gas a threat to European prosperity or security? If so, what could be done to mitigate this threat and what is the role of diplomacy in realizing such outcomes?</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Russia and Europe&lt;br&gt;Guest Speaker: Daniel Freifeld, former Senior Advisor for Energy to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, current President of Permian Inc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>NO CLASS</td>
<td>Columbus Day Holiday</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 9</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>MAKE UP CLASS from September 12</td>
<td>How significant are the recent gas findings in the Eastern Mediterranean? What opportunities do they provide Israel to meet economic needs and advance other non-economic interests in the region? What obstacles must be overcome to realize these benefits? Do other situations of contested resources provide suitable models?</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 10</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Consumer Leverage and the Use of Sanctions: The Case of Iran</td>
<td>What sort of leverage do consumers of energy have? Under what circumstances have consumer countries been able to use energy as a weapon? When are sanctions most likely to succeed? What has been the cost of sanctions on energy producing states? How are current U.S., UN, and international sanctions on Iran affecting energy interests?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 15</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>CASE STUDY The Geopolitical Implications of Iraq’s National Energy Strategy</td>
<td>How can Iraq translate its energy wealth into domestic prosperity and influence in the region? What is the energy strategy of Iraq, a strategic producer country, and what are the geopolitical implications of this strategy?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>UNIT 3: ENERGY AS AN END TO FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY STRATEGIES: The Use of Power to Protect and Secure Energy</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 17</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>CLASS DEBATE China’s Rise and Thirst for Energy: Is great power conflict inevitable?</td>
<td>Proposed Motion: <em>China’s rise and thirst for energy will eventually lead to international military conflict.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 22</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>CASE EXERCISE and POLICY MEMO Resource Mercantilism; China in Africa</td>
<td>What forms does energy mercantilism take? How has China sought to secure the energy it needs to develop? What are the implications of China’s strategy for Africa? For the United States? What new power alliances could or are emerging as a result of the trend toward energy mercantilism?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Topic</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>October 24 Wednesday</td>
<td><strong>CASE EXERCISE</strong></td>
<td>The Geopolitical Implications of Pakistan’s National Energy Strategy</td>
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<td>What is the link between energy and security in Pakistan? What strategy should Pakistan adopt to address its immediate and long term energy needs? What choices does Pakistan have in seeking to address its energy challenges – and what are the various geopolitical implications of these choices?</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>October 29 Monday</td>
<td><strong>CLASS DEBATE</strong></td>
<td>The United States in the Gulf</td>
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<td>Proposed Motion: The United States should cease fighting wars for oil in the Persian Gulf and withdraw from the region.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>October 31 Wednesday</td>
<td><strong>The U.S. Military and Energy</strong></td>
<td>How much energy – and what kind – does the United States military use? How does this reliance on energy shape the U.S. footprint overseas, combat operations, and other military realities? What sorts of innovations are being pursued to lessen this dependence and what would be their consequences?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>November 5 Monday</td>
<td><strong>Geopolitical Consequences of Moving Toward a Post-Petroleum World</strong></td>
<td>What would the world look like if the United States and other great powers were successful in reducing their dependence on fossil fuels by 50% by 2025? Would it bring about positive political change elsewhere in the world? Would the United States be more secure as a result of being more energy independent?</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>November 7 Wednesday</td>
<td><strong>Geopolitical Consequences of a Shift to Shale Gas</strong></td>
<td>What are the prospects for natural gas in the coming years? To what extent has shale gas been a “game changer”? What are the environmental and political obstacles to it reaching this status? What</td>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 12</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>NO CLASS</td>
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<td>November 12</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Veterans Day Holiday</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 14</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Presentation of Regional Strategies</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 14</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Teams will be selected at random for presentation of regional strategies</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 19</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Presentation of Regional Strategies</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 19</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Teams will be selected at random for presentation of regional strategies</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 21-23</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Thanksgiving Holiday</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 26</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Geopolitical Consequences of a Shift to Nuclear Power</td>
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<td>Guest Speaker: Professor Matt Bunn, Director of Managing the Atom, HKS</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 26</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>What would be the geopolitical repercussions if these obstacles were surmounted? Is nuclear power a viable option in the Middle East and North Africa?</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 28</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>CASE STUDY Geopolitical Consequences of Solar Energy: The Case of DESERTEC</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 28</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>What is the potential for solar in solving some of the energy dilemmas of Europe and North Africa? What geopolitical issues come into play when one considers the development and export of solar-powered electricity? Are their similarities and differences than the issues associated with oil and gas? What obstacles need to be surmounted for DESERTEC to be realized?</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 3</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Presentation of Energy Security Indices</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 3</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Is it possible to create an energy security index that allows one to measure and rank on a comparative scale the energy security or insecurity of most countries? What would be the elements of such an index and how best to present and weigh them?</td>
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</table>
Required Texts:


Course Packets:

Course packets will be prepared for additional readings. Links will be provided for all required readings available online. When readings are available on line or on the course page, they will not be replicated in a course packet.

There will be copies of the required books and all the non-online reading held on reserve in the HKS Library.

READING LIST

Class 1: Wednesday, September 5:

Shopping Day

Required:


Class 2: Friday, September 7:

**Energy as a Determinant of the International System**

**Required:**

- *Be sure to have read the required readings from September 5 (above).*


**Optional:**


Class 3: Monday, September 10:

**The Global Energy Landscape: Demand, Supply, and Price**

**Required:**


Optional:


UNIT 2: ENERGY AS A MEANS OF NATIONAL POWER: Using Energy to Project Power

Wednesday, September 12:  NO CLASS, Make up class on Tuesday October 9 in the evening.

Class 4 and Class 6:

JOINT READINGS for Class 4 AND 6: Monday, September 17 AND Monday, September 24

September 17: 1970 Power Shift: The United States Relinquishes the Oil Weapon to OPEC

September 24: CLASS GAME: Simulating OPEC Today You will be assigned to represent a country in OPEC before the in-class game.

Required:


Optional:


Class 5: Wednesday September 19

**New Energy Innovation: Government and the Private Sector**

**Guest Speaker:** Andy Karsner, President of Manifest Energy, former Assistant Secretary for Renewable Energy


Class 6: Wednesday, September 24: SEE ABOVE (readings listed with September 17)

Class 7: Wednesday, September 26

**POLICY MEMO: The Resource Curse**

**ASSIGNMENT FOR THE RESOURCE CURSE MEMO:** BY 9AM THE DAY OF CLASS, turn in a three page policy memo addressed directly to either:
1. Afghan President Hamid Karzai
2. Ugandan President Yoweri Musevani
3. Peruvian President Ollanta Humala

about the risks his country faces in developing new energy finds and how it might avoid or mitigate them. You can take the role of his chief domestic advisor. NOTE: You will need to go beyond the material in the syllabus and do some additional research to both identify the specifics of your country’s case and to devise sensible prescriptions. You should post your memo to the course page and leave a hard copy in the box outside of Professor O’Sullivan’s office at L329.

**Required:**

- Watch: In Focus, “Peru’s Petroleum Play,” http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Opg7KsZUEmk&playnext=1&list=PLBCC2E10AC59021A3&feature=results_video

Optional:


Class 8: Monday, October 1:

The Arab Revolutions and Their Implications for Energy


• (11 pages) F. Gregory Gause, Saudi Arabia in the New Middle East, Council on Foreign
Relations Special Report No. 63, December 2011, pp. 3-14.


Class 9: Thursday, October 3:

**Russia and Europe**

**GUEST SPEAKER:** Daniel Freifeld, former Senior Advisor for Energy to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, current President of Permian Inc.

**Required:**


**Optional:**
• (11 pages) Katinka Barysch, “Should the Nabucco pipeline project be shelved?” Centre for European Reform Policy Brief, 5 May 2010.  
http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/pb_Nabucco_5may10.pdf


Monday, October 8:  NO CLASS   Columbus Day Holiday

Class 10:  **TUESDAY**, October 9: MAKE UP CLASS FROM SEPTEMBER 12

CASE EXERCISE

**Natural Gas Finds in the Eastern Mediterranean**

http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/03/22/eastern-mediterranean-gas-factor-for-stability-or-conflict/a4ia


Optional:


Class 11: Wednesday, October 10:

**Consumer Leverage and the Use of Sanctions: The Case of Iran**

**Required:**


**Optional:**


Class 12: Monday, October 15:

**CASE STUDY:** *The Geopolitical Implications of Iraq’s National Energy Strategy*

**Required:**


**Optional:**


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UNIT 3: ENERGY AS AN END TO FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY
STRATEGIES: The Use of Power to Protect and Secure Energy

Class 13: Wednesday, October 17:

CLASS DEBATE: China’s Rise and Thirst for Energy: Is great power conflict inevitable?

Proposed Motion: China’s rise and thirst for energy will eventually lead to international military conflict.

Required:


Class 14: Monday, October 22:

POLICY MEMO and CASE: Resource Mercantilism: China in Africa

ASSIGNMENT FOR STUDENTS WHO CHOOSE IMPLICATIONS OF CHINA’S QUEST FOR ENERGY MEMO: BY 9AM THE DAY OF CLASS, turn in a three page policy
memo to addressed directly to U.S. National Security Advisor Tom Donilon about China’s national energy strategy in Africa and what implications it has for the United States. You should take the role of Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council. You should post your memo to the course page and leave a hard copy in the box outside of Professor O’Sullivan’s office at L329.

**Required:**

- CASE (2 pages) Meghan L. O’Sullivan, “How to Respond to Chinese Energy Activities in Africa,” *Geopolitics of Energy Case #5*, April 2012. (Posted on course page.) Read the case and be prepared to discuss the questions posed in detail in class.

- (3 pages) “Africa and China: This house [The Economist] believes that China’s growing involvement in Africa is to be welcomed”, *The Economist debates*, 27 August 2011. (Read opening remarks from The Economist’s moderator, professor Calestous Juma and professor George Ayittey) [http://www.economist.com/debate/overview/165](http://www.economist.com/debate/overview/165)


**Optional:**


Class 15: Wednesday, October 24:

**CASE STUDY: The Geopolitical Implications of Pakistan’s National Energy Strategy**

Required:


• (2 pages) “Energy Starved Pakistani Eyes Solar Power,” Agence France Press, 26 March 2012. [http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iQqyeNGff_uL2m4W-XHuCkHeBfBuw?docId=CNG.e90177df7bc765b1db36a47bff406c5.411](http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iQqyeNGff_uL2m4W-XHuCkHeBfBuw?docId=CNG.e90177df7bc765b1db36a47bff406c5.411)


• CASE (10 pages) Francisco Aguilar, “Meeting Pakistan’s Energy Needs,” Case Prepared for IGA 412, *Harvard Kennedy School of Government*, October 2011. (10 pages). Read and examine the accompanying spread sheet. Think about possible solutions to this case for you to propose/discuss in small groups in class. (Material on course page.)

Optional:

2007, pp. 17-34 and pp. 93-104.
http://wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/Asia_FuelingtheFuture_rptmain.pdf


  http://www.heritage.org/Research/Reports/2008/05/The-Proposed-Iran-Pakistan-India-Gas-Pipeline-An-Unacceptable-Risk-to-Regional-Security

Class 16: Monday, October 29:

CLASS DEBATE: The United States in the Gulf

Proposed Motion: The United States should cease fighting wars for oil in the Persian Gulf and withdraw from the region.

Required:


Class 17: Wednesday, October 31:

**The U.S. Military and Energy**

Required:


Optional:


**UNIT 4: ALTERNATIVE, RENEWABLE, AND NEW ENERGY AND GEOPOLITICS**

Class 18: Monday, November 5:

Geopolitical Consequences of Moving toward a Post-Petroleum World

Required:


Optional:


Class 19: Wednesday, November 7:

**Geopolitical Consequences of a Shift to Shale Gas**

Required:


• (2 pages) “Russia Gas: Bearish Implications,” *The Economist*, 8 September 2011.

Optional:


Class 20: Wednesday, November 14:

**Presentation of Regional Strategies**

Class 21: Monday, November 19:

**Presentation of Regional Strategies**
Class 22: Monday, November 26:

Geopolitical Consequences of a Shift to Nuclear Power
Guest Speaker: Professor Matt Bunn, Director of Managing the Atom, HKS

Required:


Optional:


Class 23: Wednesday, November 28:

CASE STUDY: Geopolitical Consequences of Solar Energy: The Case of DESERTEC

Required:


Optional:


Class 24: Monday, December 3:

Presentation of Energy Security Indices
Class 25: Wednesday, December 5:

Wrap Up/Looking Ahead