

## **Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, JNU**

Course No.: WA 643

Class: Ph.D. Course

Course Title: Gulf Energy in World Politics

Teacher: Dr. Sima Baidya

Credits: Four

Instruction Method: Lectures and Tutorials

Evaluation Method: Term paper, Assignments and End Semester Examination.

Course Duration: One Semester [Second Semester of Ph.D.]

Teaching Hours: Four per week

This course aims at discussing Gulf energy and its importance in world politics. This course intends to contextualize Gulf energy in the world energy map with a comparative perspective. Energy is the lifeline of modern civilization. As per the projection, world's energy demand will reach 16.3 billion tonnes of oil equivalent by 2030. Since 2002, world primary energy consumption has increased by 8 per cent, with oil demand by 5.2 per cent. No doubt, fossil fuel will occupy the pre dominant position. Oil, gas and coal will occupy 81 per cent of energy demand. The importance of Gulf energy is well accounted. West Asia and North Africa region has 61 per cent of the world's proven oil reserves and 45 per cent of gas reserves. More specifically, Gulf region alone has more than 47 per cent of oil reserves and 37 per cent of gas reserves. The overwhelming impact of gulf energy on world politics is to be examined at length in the course. Without Gulf energy, world energy security cannot be achieved.

This course would also highlight the pertinent questions and concepts of energy crisis and energy security. World is prone to face energy crisis again and again. Thus the concept of energy security occupies global importance. Not only the reserves or production, but security of uninterrupted energy supply is the most important component of energy security. Growing Hydro-carbon energy demands come from mostly developing countries, e.g. Japan, China, India etc.—which are highly dependent on Gulf energy. Japan's over 90 per cent of energy supply comes from the Gulf, simultaneously India's more than 45 per cent and China's over 50 per cent of energy supply are also from the Gulf. Though, basically interplay of demand and supply determines the market forces or energy price. But world energy politics goes beyond demand and supply, beyond quota and swing producer, beyond non-renewable/ exhaustible energy stake. Simultaneously, how world politics is reacting towards Gulf energy is also a matter of concern. The unfolding political dynamics of world politics revolves around Gulf energy. It is indeed an interesting subject to study. The course would examine Gulf energy only in this context. Basic objective of this course is to provide a better understanding of Gulf energy and its significance in world politics.

### **Learning Outcome:**

After completing this course, students will have good understanding about the Gulf energy and its impact on world politics. This course will also make students aware of some of the important basic concepts of hydro-carbon energy, relevant in day to day life, e.g. energy efficiency etc.

## **Course Contents:**

### **I. World Energy Trends---Gulf Energy and the World -----World Energy Market**

#### **A. World Energy Trends**

A Brief Overview, Primary Energy Mix, Dominant Position of Oil and Gas, Reserve vs. Production.

#### **B. Gulf Energy and the World**

Energy Profile of Gulf Countries: Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, U.A.E., Iraq. Locating Gulf energy in World Energy map in comparison to other countries.

#### **C. World Energy Market**

Demand vs. Supply, Security of Supply, Concept of Energy Security, From Energy Security to Energy Independence. Energy Routes: Pipelines, Chokepoints, Largest Market for Gulf Energy --- Asian Energy Market.

### **II. Politics of Energy----- Politicization of Gulf Oil-----World Energy Order**

#### **A. Politics of Energy**

Beyond Demand and Supply: Case study of U.S.A., Russia and Turkey.

#### **B. Politicization of Gulf Oil**

Oil as a Weapon, Oil Cartel: OPEC, OAPEC.

#### **C. World Energy Order**

Changing Dynamics of World Energy Order: Positioning USA and Russia. Pillars of Present World Energy Order: Saudi Arabia etc.

### **III. Energy Linkages-----Energy -- Economy ----Polity**

#### **A. Energy—Economy--Polity**

Production vs. Allocation; Rentier state; Energy and Authoritarian Nature of the State; Nationalization of Oil; Conflicts between National Oil Companies and Foreign Oil Companies; Oil vs. Democracy Debate.

#### **IV. Impact on World Politics----Co-operations, Competition and Constraints: Issues and Challenges--- World Energy Security and Gulf Energy.**

##### **A. Impact on World Politics**

Dependence vs. Independence; Changing Pattern of Energy Policy: Highly Dependent Countries and Less Dependent Countries.

##### **B. Co-operations, Competition and Constraints: Issues and Challenges**

Asia vs. Europe.

##### **C. World Energy Security and Gulf Energy**

Position of Gulf Energy in World Energy Security with special reference to Japan, China and India.

#### **V. Gulf Energy and Climate Change**

Impact of Gulf Oil and Gas on the Climate Change.

#### **VI. Energy Transition in the Gulf: Measures and Challenges**

#### **Reading List:**

##### **Basic Readings:**

International Energy Agency (latest edition), World Energy Outlook [Middle East and North Africa Insights], Paris: OECD/IEA.

U.S. Energy Information Administration (latest edition), International Energy Outlook. Washington: Department of Energy/EIA.

British Petroleum (latest edition), BP Statistical Review of World Energy. London: British Petroleum Company.

Cordesman, Anthony and Al-Rodhan, Khalid R.( 2006)., The Changing Dynamics of Energy in the Middle East, vol. 1 & 2, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Security International.

Krane, Jim (2019) Energy Kingdoms: Oil and Political Survival in the Persian Gulf, USA.; Columbia University Press.

Noreng, Oystein(2002), Crude Power, New York: I.B. Tauris.

## **Suggested Reading List [Topic wise]:**

### **I. World Energy Trends-----Gulf Energy and the World ----- World Energy Market**

Goldstein, Joshua S., Huang, Xiaoming, Akan, Bureu (1997), “Energy in the World Economy, 1950—1992”, *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, (2): 241-266.

Graaf, Thjs Van de and Sovocool, Benjamin K. (2020) Global Energy Politics, UK.: Polity Press.

Haefele, Wolf (1980), “A Global and Long Range Picture of Energy Developments”, *Science*, New Series, 209 (4455): 174—182.

Hancock, Kathleen J. and Allison, Juliann Emmons (ed) (2021) *The Oxford Handbook of Energy Politics*, U.K.: Oxford University Press.

Liu, Zhenya (2015) Global Energy Interconnection, U.K.: Elsevier.

Tagliapietra, Simone (2020) Global Energy Fundamentals: Economics, Politics and Technology, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

Talmadge, Caitlin ( 2008), “Closing Time ( Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz)” *International Security*. 33 (1) Summer: 82-117.

Talmadge, Caitlin and O’neil, William D (2008-9), “Costs and Difficulties of Blocking the Strait of Hormuz”, *International Security*, 33 (3).

Verrastro, Frnk and Ladislaw, Sarah ( 2007), “Providing Energy Security in an Independent World”. *The Washington Quarterly*, 30 (4, Autumn): 95-104.

### **II. Politics of Energy-----Politicization of Gulf Oil ---- World Energy Order**

Brown, William R. (1982), “The Oil Weapon”, *Middle East Journal*, 36(3) : 301—318.

Candar, Cengiz and Fuller, Graham (2001), “Grand Geo-politics for a New Turkey”, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Winter: 22-39.

Garavani, Giuliano and Claes, Dag Harald (2022) *Handbook of OPEC and the Global Energy Order: Past, Present and Future Challenges*, USA: Taylor & Francis Limited.

Giuliano Garavani ( 2019) The Rise and Fall of OPEC in the Twentieth Century, U.K.: Oxford University Press.

Griffin, James M and Neilson, William S (1994), “The 1985-86 Oil Price Collapse and Afterwards: What does Game Theory Add?” *Economic Inquiry*, October, 33 (4):543—561.

Hall, Gegory and Tiarr, Grant (2009), “Russia, China and the Energy Security: Politics of the Caspian Sea Region after the Cold War”, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Spring, 20 (2):113-137.

Hamilton, James D (2009), “Causes and Consequences of the Oil Shock of 2007-08”, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, Spring: 215-283.

Licklider, Roy (1988), “The Power of Oil: The Arab Oil Weapon and the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan and the United States”, *International Studies Quarterly*, 32(2): 205-226.

Moran, Theodore H. (2015) Oil Prices and the Future of OPEC: The Political Economy of Transition and Stability in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, U.K.: RFF Press.

Quayat, David (2003), ‘The Russian Oil Sector and the Global Oil Economy: A Prospectus’, *SAIS Review*. Summer-Fall, .xxiii (2):1-22.

Smith, James L. (2005), “Inscrutable OPEC? Behavioural Tests of the Cartel Hypothesis”, *The Energy Journal*, 26(1): 51-83.

### **III. Energy Linkages----Energy---Economy---Polity**

Anderson, Lisa (1987), “The State in the Middle East and North Africa”, *Comparative Politics*, 20(1): 1-8.

Beblawi, Hazem and Luciani, Giacomo ( 1987/2015) The Rentier State, USA: Routledge.

Chaudhury, Kiren Aziz (1994), “Economic Liberalization and the Lineages of the Rentier State”, *Comparative Politics*, October: 1-25.

Leverrett, Flynt and Bader, Jeffrey (2005-6), “Managing China-US Energy Competition in the Middle East”. *The Washington Quarterly*, 29 (1):187-201.

Okruhlik, Gwenn (1999), “Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law and the Rise of

Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States”. *Comparative Politics*, 31 (3): 295-315.

Ross, Michael L. (1999), “The Political Economy of Resource Curse”, *World Politics*, 51 (2): 297-322.

Ross, Michael L. ( 2013) The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations, USA: Princeton University Press.

Smith, Benjamin (2004), “Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960-1999”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (2): 232-246.

Tsafos, Nikos E. ( 2007), “Big Oil and Big Talk: Resource Populism in International Politics”, *SAIS Review*, Winter-Spring, vol. xxxvii, (1) :147-157.

#### **IV. World Energy Security and Gulf Energy**

Baran, Zeyno (2007), “EU Energy Security: Time to End Russian Leverage”, *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn, 30(4): 131-144.

Braml, Joseph (2007), “Can the United States shed Its Oil Addiction?” *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn, 30 (4):117-130.

Daojong, Zha (2006), “China’s Energy Security: Domestic and Initial Issues”, *Survival*, Spring, 48,(1): 179—190.

Fuller, Graham E. and Lesser, Ian O. (1997), “Persian Gulf Myths”, *Foreign Affairs*, 76 (3): 42-52.

Manning, Robert A. (2000), “The Asian Energy Predicament”, *Survival*. Spring, 42 (3): 73-88.

Yergin, Daniel (2011) The Quest, UK.: Penguin Books.

Zweig, David and Jianhai, Bi (2005), “China’s Global Hunt for Energy”, *Foreign Affairs*, 84(5): 25-38.

#### **V. Gulf Energy and Climate Change**

Dan, Rabinowitz (2020) The Power of Deserts (Climate Change, the Middle East and the Promise of a Post-oil Era): Stanford University Press.

Luomi, Mari (2016) The Gulf Monarchies and Climate Change: Abu Dhabi and Qatar: Oxford University Press.

Yergin, Daniel (2020) The New Map: Energy, Climate and the Clash of Nations: Penguin Books Ltd.

## **VI. Energy Transition in the Gulf: Measures and Challenges**

Akhonbay, Hisham M. (ed) (2019) The Economics of Renewable Energy in the Gulf, New York: Routledge.

Wolff, Katherine and Young, Karen F. (2024) Energy Transitions in the Middle East: Challenges and Opportunities, USA: Bloomsbury.

Ulrichsen, Kristian Coates (2015) Insecure Gulf: The End of Certainty and the Transition to the Post-Oil Era, USA: Oxford University Press.

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