IGA 412: The Geopolitics of Energy
Professor Meghan L. O’Sullivan
Harvard University’s Kennedy School
Fall 2016

Draft Syllabus as of 1 August 2016

PLEASE DO NOT USE THIS SYLLABUS FOR ASSIGNMENTS;
THE FINAL SYLLABUS WILL BE RELEASED ON SHOPPING DAY

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**SECTION 1: Contact Information**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty:</th>
<th>Professor Meghan L. O’Sullivan</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faculty Office:</td>
<td>Littauer 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty Telephone:</td>
<td>(617) 496-4308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty Email:</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Meghan_OSullivan@hks.harvard.edu">Meghan_OSullivan@hks.harvard.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty Assistant:</td>
<td>Nikoleta (Nika) Sremac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA Office:</td>
<td>Belfer 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA Telephone:</td>
<td>617-496-8238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA Email:</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Nikoleta_Sremac@hks.harvard.edu">Nikoleta_Sremac@hks.harvard.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Hours:</td>
<td><strong>Tuesdays from 11am-12pm and 2pm to 2:45pm</strong> (starting September 6th). Please sign up on sheet posted on door of L329; new sheet posted every Tuesday at 445pm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course Assistants:</td>
<td>Toby Cremer and Sara Mansur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA Email:</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Tobias_Cremer@hks17.harvard.edu">Tobias_Cremer@hks17.harvard.edu</a> <a href="mailto:Sara_Mansur@hks17.harvard.edu">Sara_Mansur@hks17.harvard.edu</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Times:</td>
<td><strong>Mon and Wed from 2:45 – 4:00 PM</strong> in L-230 Gundle Family Classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion Group Sessions (voluntary)</td>
<td>To continue class discussions; to discuss careers; to bring additional voices to class discussion. Roughly held every other week, at varying times to allow as many students as possible to participate. Times and dates subject to change but will be confirmed in class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assignment Submissions:</td>
<td>Canvas Assignments Section</td>
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SECTION 2: Course Description

Energy has long been a major factor in the formulation of country strategies, the exercise of national power, and in shaping international politics and security. Given on-going concerns about energy security and increasing pressures to reduce carbon emissions, countries are grappling to situate their energy policies in the broader context of their grand strategies. Recent tensions between Israel, Turkey, Cyprus, and Lebanon over natural gas findings in the Mediterranean Sea, China’s recent economic slowdown and its implications for global energy, and recently-suspended sanctions on oil exports from Iran due to its nuclear pursuits demonstrate the nexus between international politics and energy needs. Amidst these developments, a revolution in unconventional oil and gas is occurring in North America, the geopolitical implications of which are being felt by countries from Europe to Japan.

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 and tight oil 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 pursuits 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, with a major focus on the unconventional revolution; 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 a deep dive into the unconventional revolution, 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 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? The last section
of the class focuses on new energy, asking how future developments in energy innovation will affect the nature of politics and security.

All sections of the course seek to be as interactive as possible given its size. As detailed in section 3 and 4 of this syllabus, the course will use simulations, debates, and outside of class “oil investment game” to help ensure students are engaging with the material in a dynamic way.

**SECTION 3: Course Policies, Assignments, and Grading**

IGA 412 is a graduate level course appropriate for those with an interest in energy and international security 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 expect to arrive on time and be prepared to actively participate in class. No laptops will be permitted in the classroom except for those of students who are making presentations. Cell phone use is also not allowed during class. Students will be held to the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity.

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/Assignment</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>• Participating in class debates as structured around the “Take a Position” assignments.</td>
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<td>• Participation in group exercises and simulations.</td>
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<td>• Potentially presenting your group project to the class; participating in the group project of others.</td>
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<tr>
<td>➢ <strong>Write two of the six proposed policy memos:</strong> Students can choose which memos to write.</td>
<td>35% (17.5% each)</td>
<td>Various days throughout the semester, indicated below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Memos should be 3 pages in length (more will not be read, less is not recommended), single-spaced, 12pt times new roman font, with one-inch margins</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Memos area due by 9pm the evening before the day the topic will be discussed in class.</td>
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</table>
- Memos should **NOT** have footnotes or formal citations, but you should still give credit to a particular source in the body of the memo if you are borrowing directly from it; a list of references (and charts/graphs) may be included at the end of the memo and will not count against the page limit.
  
  Please name your files according to the convention: “Last Name, First Name – Policy Memo Option N” where N is the option number; Please be sure to include your name and the assignment name/number in the body of your file as well.

### Address two of the seven “Take a Position” propositions delineated in the class schedule below.

Again, students can choose which ones of those offered they will address. Students will be asked to argue for or against the proposition by submitting a view of **no more than 350 words 9pm the evening before the day the topic will be discussed in class.**

Please name your files according to the convention: “Last Name, First Name – Take a Position N” where N is the option number; Please be sure to include your name and the assignment name/number in the body of your file as well.

| 20% (10% each) | Various days throughout the semester |

### Group Project.

Each student will work with a small team (ideally 5 members) to construct an “interactive learning tool” of its choosing. The purpose of this exercise is to work with others to create a fun, innovative and creative means of exploring a topic at the intersection of energy and international politics and security. While the course will cover a wide range of topics, it cannot cover every topic, and this assignment will give teams ownership over what they learn and the opportunity to share their findings with classmates in a format that they think would help them best grasp the chosen topic. Some of the teaching tools used throughout the semester will help teams envision what their group project might be; they might consider writing a case study, creating a simulation or negotiation, or devising a game on or off line. Teams are really only limited by their imagination as to what they might do and creativity is encouraged! Teams will be given a list of possible topics to explore that have not been examined in depth in class.

| 25% | Due November 10 by 4pm |
(for instance: Pakistan’s energy crisis and how it relates to the country’s national security problems and foreign policy; the border dispute between Chile and Bolivia and its energy dimensions; or the potential for Turkey to become an energy hub). Yet, they have the ability to propose any topic for exploration. At the mid-point in the semester, groups will be required to submit a one pager on their proposal for approval and feedback. At the end of the semester, we will devote two classes to experiencing the best interactive learning tools created by the class. Those who created the tool will be asked to take the lead in the class (with whatever support is needed from Professor O’Sullivan or the course assistants). Group projects will be graded on the quality of research and the quality of the final product as a learning tool. Those whose projects are selected for use at the end of the semester will receive extra credit.

SECTION 4: 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. In rare instances, we might drop a topic from the syllabus in order to accommodate an extraordinary speaker. We will do our best to give you plenty of advance notice.

Please also note that there are two days (October 13th and 17th) when classes will not be held; classes will instead be held on October 21st and November 3rd. Please make a note of those two dates now, as they are considered required classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Main Questions</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNIT 1: ENERGY AS A DETERMINANT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND SECURITY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tuesday August 30</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>Date</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
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<td>August 31</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Energy as a Determinant of International Politics and Security</td>
<td>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? Be prepared to talk about one historical (not contemporary) example where energy has had an impact on foreign policy or national security – or vice versa.</td>
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<td>September 2</td>
<td>Friday</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 does supply and demand depend on geopolitical factors? In preparation for class, hone in on either future demand or supply. Think about what the big determinants of energy demand or supply will be in the future and be prepared to give your view about the trajectory of one of them – and its possible slope.</td>
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<td>September 5</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Labor Day Holiday</td>
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<td>Week</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>The Unconventional Revolution in Oil and Gas in North America</td>
<td>What accounts for the massive uptick in production of shale gas and tight oil in the United States? What are the uncertainties surrounding the trajectory of this revolution – environmental, geological, political? Through what mechanisms will this unconventional revolution affect geopolitics?</td>
<td>Oil Investment Game: As will be explained in the previous classes, you will need to decide by this class what your initial position will be with the oil and financial assets you are allocated to invest over the course of the semester.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>The Potential for the Unconventional Revolution to Go Global</td>
<td>What was the perhaps unique set of factors – beyond technology and geology – that led to the explosive growth in unconventional production in the United States? How likely is it that other countries will enjoy the same benefits from their unconventional resources?</td>
<td>Take a Position Option 1: The revolution in unconventional energy in the United States will not be replicated abroad.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Resource Nationalism: Evaluating New Prospects in Mexico and Iran</td>
<td>What is resource nationalism and how has it waxed and waned over the decades? How does</td>
<td>SIMULATION During class time, you will meet in small groups and simulate a meeting</td>
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the unconventional revolution in energy create new incentives or disincentives for NOCs and resource nationalism? What changes has Mexico made to its constitution and what kind of success is it having in attracting foreign investment? How do these opportunities compare to those that Iran may be newly offering?

of an oil and gas firm contemplating whether to submit an offer in the bidding for Mexico’s upcoming round – or to participate in Iran’s anticipated bid process. You will be assigned a role before class and will need to prepare in advance to emphasize the interests of your player in the meeting. You will report back to the CAs after class on your decision whether to submit a bid for Mexico, Iran, both, or neither.

<p>| Wednesday September 14 5:00-6:30 PM | Class Happy Hour | Daedelus, 45 Mount Auburn St Cambridge (TBC) | Come join your classmates, course assistants, and me in an informal setting! |
| 7 | Monday September 19 | <strong>Guest Speaker:</strong> Colin Davies, Vice President, Head of Corporate Strategy, Hess Corporation | How do international oil companies decide whether or not to invest in foreign countries? How might companies being looking at Mexico’s prospects? How do they compare to those being prepared in Iran? We will begin class with each group reporting on the results of their meeting in the earlier simulation. Mr. Davies will then explain how actual oil and gas companies evaluate such prospects and discuss how these companies are seeing the overall global environment and related investment opportunities. |
| 8 | Wednesday September 21 | <strong>The Resource Curse</strong> | What are the components of the alleged “resource curse”? Is the resource course inevitable? How does the discovery and exploitation of resources affect the development of a country’s political institutions and economic structure? What is the relationship between oil and democracy? Will a decline in the price of oil help or hinder political reform? Have the revolutions in the Arab world told us anything about the |</p>
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<tr>
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<td>resilience of regimes reliant on oil</td>
<td><strong>UNIT 3: ENERGY AS A MEANS OF NATIONAL POWER: Using</strong></td>
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<td>revenues?</td>
<td><strong>Energy to Project Power</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Take a Position 3:</strong> The unconventional revolution revives</td>
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<td>the ability of the international community to use energy</td>
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<td>sanctions to good effect.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Consumer Power: Can Consumers Use</td>
<td>Under what circumstances have consumer countries been able to</td>
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<td>September</td>
<td>Energy as a Foreign Policy Tool?</td>
<td>use energy as a foreign policy tool? Do sanctions on oil exports</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>– such as those on Iran – constitute a formidable foreign policy</td>
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<td>tool? To what extent has China leveraged its weight as the</td>
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<td>world’s largest energy consumer to advance its foreign policy</td>
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<td>agenda?</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>GROUP EXERCISE OPEC Today: How to</td>
<td>Students will be assigned a country to represent and an “OPEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>September</td>
<td>meet the challenge of unconventional</td>
<td>group” of which to be part. On the day of class, you will break</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>supply?</td>
<td>into your OPEC groups and seek to come up with a common</td>
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<td>assessment and strategy for dealing with the extra supply</td>
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<td>generated from the unconventional</td>
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<td><strong>Pre Exercise Task:</strong> Prepare a one-page memo about your</td>
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<td>assigned country and your proposed objectives and strategy in</td>
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<td>the simulation. Please submit this memo to Canvas by Sunday 9</td>
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<td>PM.</td>
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<td>Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>October 3</td>
<td>Cartelization: OPEC</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? What accounts for OPEC’s recent decline in influence – and is it permanent or temporary? Should consumer countries hope for OPEC’s collapse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>October 5</td>
<td>Cartelization: Gas Exporting Countries Forum</td>
<td>What are the differences between natural gas and oil? How have the global markets for natural gas traditionally been structured? To what extent have recent developments challenged this structure? What are the prospects for natural gas going forward? What are the prospects for producer countries collectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monday October 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Columbus Day Holiday</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wednesday October 12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Make up Class Scheduled for Friday, October 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monday October 17</td>
<td></td>
<td>Make up Class Scheduled for Thursday, November 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>October 19</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Implications of Iraq’s Energy for its Political Future</td>
<td>Iraq, as a country, is in an existential crisis. To what extent does Iraq’s energy prowess mitigate or exacerbate the country’s problems? How important is energy in fueling ISIS coffers? Does energy offer the Iraqi government – or its component parts – options for pursuing particular political outcomes? Policy Memo Option 3: As a Kurdish nationalist, you have decided to write a memo to the Prime Minister of the Kurdish Regional Government of Iraq, setting forward a plan for how he can use the region’s energy wealth to advance its political ambitions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRIDAY OCTOBER 21</td>
<td>Make Up Class for October 12 REQUIRED</td>
<td>Russia and its Prospects in the New Energy Environment</td>
<td>How will Russia’s ability to use energy as a foreign policy tool be affected by current energy trends? To what extent will Policy Memo Option 4: As an outside consultant, you have been asked to assess Gazprom’s plan to capture the Asian energy market</td>
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</table>
## UNIT 4: ENERGY AS AN END TO FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY STRATEGIES:
The Use of Power to Protect and Secure Energy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Monday, Oct 24</td>
<td>Resource Mercantilism; China’s Quest for African Energy</td>
<td>What are the connections between energy and politics in China? How does China expect to meet its future energy needs? What is the “going out” approach and how has it fared? What are the implications of China’s strategy for other countries, including the United States? <strong>Policy Memo Option 5:</strong> As one of his closest advisors, you have decided to write a memo to President Xi Jinping evaluating China’s “going out” strategy in Africa and recommending any changes to it you think are needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Wednesday, Oct 26</td>
<td>The United States in the Gulf</td>
<td>What is the “true” cost of oil in the United States? Why does the United States maintain a military presence in the Gulf? How valid are claims that the 1991 and 2003 wars against Iraq were about oil? How does the fact that... <strong>Policy Memo Option 6:</strong> Write a memo to National Security Advisor Susan Rice outlining the implications of the unconventional energy revolution for U.S. policy in the Middle East and making any recommendations necessary to bring...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>Activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>The United States will no longer need to import Middle Eastern oil affect U.S. foreign policy toward that region of the world?</td>
<td>U.S. policy in line with these new realities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>What are the consequences of global warming for the Arctic? What sort of energy opportunities open as a result of greater access to the Arctic? What governance challenges arise and are the institutions currently in place adequate to manage them?</td>
<td>Take a Position Option 4: Russia is becoming a serious threat to other Arctic nations and their interests in the region.</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>What would it take to make nuclear power more viable as an alternative to fossil fuels? What would be the geopolitical repercussions if these obstacles were surmounted?</td>
<td>Take a Position Option 5: The geopolitical risks associated with the growth of nuclear power are not worth the contributions that nuclear power can make to meeting</td>
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**UNIT 5: ALTERNATIVE, RENEWABLE, AND NEW ENERGY AND GEOPOLITICS**

- **Monday, October 31**
  - *Class Simulation on a Crisis in the Arctic*

- **Wednesday, November 2**
  - *Geopolitics in the Arctic*

- **Thursday, November 3**
  - Make Up Class for October 17
    - *Geopolitical Consequences of a Shift to Nuclear Power*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
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| 20       | Monday November 7  Geopolitics and Climate Change: The U.S.-China Climate Agreement | Geopolitics and Climate Change: The U.S.-China Climate Agreement  
  **Guest Speaker:**  
  Kelly Sims Gallagher, Professor of Energy and Environmental Policy, Tuft Univ; former Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Science and Technology Policy, The White House  
  What are the implications of climate change for national security?  
  To what extent are efforts to manage climate change and energy security complementary or in conflict?  
  To what extent has the unconventional revolution affected climate policies?  
  How geopolitically significant are recent climate agreements?  
  **Take a Position Option 6:** Climate change should be considered a national security threat on par with terrorism and nuclear proliferation |
| 21       | Wednesday November 9  GROUP EXERCISE  Geo-Engineering and International Institutions | GROUP EXERCISE  Geo-Engineering and International Institutions  
  What happens if the world fails to meet the challenge of changing its behavior sufficiently to prevent potentially catastrophic climate change?  
  What are some of the politically complicated realities around geo-engineering?  
  Are current international institutions well suited to managing its use?  
  We will use class time to break into groups to develop proposals for an international mechanism for managing the use of geo-engineering.  
  Give this some thought before you come to class. We will convene as a class for the last 30 minutes to hear the various proposals. |
<table>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>10 November</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Interactive Learning Tool Group Projects Due by 4pm</td>
<td>Hard Copy Turned In; Electronic Copy Submitted to Canvas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 November</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>The Geopolitics of Renewable Energy: Solar, Wind, and Hydro</td>
<td>To what extent is the development of renewable energies shaped by geopolitical considerations? What sorts of geopolitical improvements or complications may arise when renewables reach a critical mass in the energy mix?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Take a Position Option 7: Renewable energies such as solar and wind are subject to the same geopolitical complications as oil and gas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 November</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>UNIT 6: YOUR CREATIONS (Group Projects) AND FINAL THOUGHTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 November</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>We will use one of the interactive learning tools created by you or your classmates to address an issue at the nexus of energy and geopolitics not considered earlier in class.</td>
<td>Preparation for the class dependent on learning tool. Assignments will be given in advance of class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 November</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>We will use one of the interactive learning tools created by you or your classmates to address an issue at the nexus of energy and geopolitics not considered earlier in class.</td>
<td>Preparation for the class dependent on learning tool. Assignments will be given in advance of class.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 November</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Thanksgiving Recess</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The CAs and I will accept predictions about energy and geopolitics in advance of class. Those volunteering them will be asked to present them and the class will vote on the extent to which it thinks they are likely.

### CLASS WRAP UP and PREDICTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

**Monday November 28**

CLASS WRAP UP and PREDICTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

**Wednesday November 30**

Class topic to be decided at a later date.

### SECTION 5: Required Texts and Reading List

**Required Texts:**


- Andreas Goldthau (eds.), *The Handbook of Global Energy Policy* (John Wiley & Sons, 2013). – Harvard students can access the e-book with their Harvard ID and pin at [http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:WOB_9781118326275](http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:WOB_9781118326275); Cross-registrants can access the e-book through guest computers in the HKS Library (and MIT cross-registrants should also be able to access the e-book through their MIT online catalogue). Please consult an HKS Librarian for additional guidance.

**Optional Texts:**


*Copies of the required books and all of the readings not available online will be held on reserve in the HKS Library.*
UNIT 1: ENERGY AS A DETERMINANT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Class 1: Tuesday, August 30
Topic: Shopping Day

Required:


Class 2: Wednesday, August 31
Topic: Energy as a Determinant of the International System

Required:

- Be sure to have read the required readings from September 1 (above).


Optional:


Class 3: Friday, September 2
Topic: The Global Energy Landscape: Demand, Supply, and Price

Required:


Optional:


Monday, September 5 – Labor Day Holiday

Class 4: Wednesday, September 7
Topic: The Unconventional Revolution in Oil and Gas in North America
Required:


Optional:


Class 5: Monday, September 12

**Topic: The Potential for the Unconventional Revolution to Go Global**

**Assignment:** Take a Position Option 1, 9pm the night before class

Required:


Optional:


UNIT 2: RESOURCE REALITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 6: Wednesday, September 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic:</strong> Resource Nationalism: Evaluating New Prospects in Mexico and Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class Simulation</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Required:


Optional:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 7: Monday, September 19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic:</strong> Resource Nationalism: Evaluating New Prospects in Mexico</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 8: Wednesday, September 21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic:</strong> The Resource Curse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assignment:</strong> Policy Memo Option 1, due 9pm the night before class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Required:**


**Optional:**


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**UNIT 3: ENERGY AS A MEANS OF NATIONAL POWER: Using Energy to Project Power**

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**Class 9: Monday, September 26**

**Topic: Consumer Power: Can Consumers Use Energy as a Foreign Policy Tool?**

**Assignment:** Take a Position Option 3, due 9pm the night before class

---

**Required:**


Optional:


Class 10: Wednesday, September 28
Topic: OPEC Today: How to meet the challenge of unconventional supply?
Assignment: Post-exercise task

Required:


Optional:

http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/bc23bc7a-581a-11e3-82fc-00144feabdc0.html

(5 pages) Gal Luft, “To Drill or Not to Drill,” Foreign Policy, 04-JUN-2013.
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/05/27/to_drill_or_not_to_drill_saudi_arabia_united_states_oil

Class 11: Monday, October 3

Topic: Cartelization: OPEC

Assignment: Take a Position Option 2, due 9pm the night before class

Required:


Paul Stevens, “Deja Vu for OPEC as Oil Prices Tumble,” Chatham House, (December 1, 2014).
http://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/16368#

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/energy/11310312/Russia-faces-oil-export-catastrophe-snared-in-Opec-price-trap.html


Optional:


Class 12: Wednesday, October 5
Topic: Cartelization: Gas Exporting Countries Forum
Assignment: Policy Memo Option 2, due 9pm the night before class

Required:


  http://www.dailyfinance.com/2013/07/09/is-vladimir-putin-building-a-new-opec/

- (2 pages) Ezra Levant, “Putin’s New OPEC?” National Post, 14-May-2014


Optional:

  http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Events/2015/03/25-brookings-doha-energy/En-Tamimi-PDF.pdf?la=en
Monday, October 10 – Columbus Day Holiday

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Make up Class Scheduled for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 12</td>
<td>NO CLASS</td>
<td>Friday, October 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 17</td>
<td>NO CLASS</td>
<td>Thursday, November 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 13: Wednesday, October 19

**Topic: The Implications of Iraq’s Energy for its Political Future**

**Assignment: Policy Memo Option 3, due 9pm the night before class**

**Required:**


- (3 pages) Anjli Ravel and David Sheppard, “Kurds defy Iraq to establish own oil sales,” *Financial Times*, 23 August 2015, [http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/aeae33e4-45ae-11e5-af2f-4d6e0e5eda22.html#axzz3kCtVk8Nc](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/aeae33e4-45ae-11e5-af2f-4d6e0e5eda22.html#axzz3kCtVk8Nc)


- Those writing the memo will want to consult IraqOilReport and Al Monitor Iraq Pulse for up to date information.

**Optional:**


• (2 pages) “Iraq Embraces China’s growing Oil Dominance,” *Reuters*, 30-OCT-2013 [http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/30/iraq-oil-china-idUSL5N0IK25420131030](http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/30/iraq-oil-china-idUSL5N0IK25420131030)


• (1 page) Alex Lawler and Peg Mackey, “Iran, Iraq Put OPEC on Notice of Big Oil Increases,” *Reuters*, 03-DEC-2013 [http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/03/opec-iran-idUSL5N0JI32X20131203](http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/03/opec-iran-idUSL5N0JI32X20131203)


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**Class 14: FRIDAY OCTOBER 21 – MAKE UP CLASS FOR OCTOBER 1**

**Topic:** Russia and its Prospects in the New Energy Environment

**Assignment:** Policy Memo Option 4, due 9pm the night before class

**Required:**


Optional:


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**UNIT 4: ENERGY AS AN END TO FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY STRATEGIES:**

The Use of Power to Protect and Secure Energy

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**Class 15: Monday, October 24**

**Topic:** Resource Mercantilism: China’s Quest for African Energy

**Assignment:** Policy Memo Option 5, due 9pm the night before class

**Required:**


• (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 16: Wednesday, October 26

**Topic: The United States in the Gulf**

**Assignment: Policy Memo Option 6, due 9pm the night before class**

**Required:**


Optional:


**Class 17: Wednesday, October 28**

**CLASS SIMULATION – CRISIS IN THE ARTIC**

• Team Assignments and Simulation Preparation to be Distributed in Advance
Class 18: Wednesday, November 2  
Topic: The Geopolitics of the Arctic  
Assignment: Take a Position Option 4, due 9pm the night before class

Required Readings:


Optional:

- Ingrid Lundestad and Øystein Tunsjo, “The United States and China in the Arctic,” *Polar Record*, 16 May 2014, pp 1-12.

UNIT 5: ALTERNATIVE, RENEWABLE, AND NEW ENERGY AND GEOPOLITICS

Class 19: THURSDAY NOVEMBER 3 – MAKE UP CLASS FOR OCTOBER 17  
Topic: Geopolitical Consequences of a Shift to Nuclear Power  
Assignment: Take a Position Option 5, due 9pm the evening before class

Required:


Optional:


Class 20: Monday, November 7
Topic: Geopolitics and Climate Change: The U.S.-China Climate Agreement
Assignment: Take a Position Option 6, due 9pm the evening before class

Required:


Optional:


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### Class 21: Wednesday, November 9

**Topic:** Geo-Engineering and International Institutions

**Assignment:** In-Class Group Exercise

**Required:**


Optional:


  http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2012/05/14/120514fa_fact_specter?currentPage=all


| Thursday November 10 | NOVEMBER 10
Interactive Learning Tool Group Projects Due by 4pm
Hard Copy Turned In; Electronic Copy Submitted to Canvas |

Class 22: Monday, November 14


Assignment: Take a Position Option 7, due 9pm the evening before class

Required:


Optional:


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**UNIT 6: YOUR CREATIONS (Group Projects) AND FINAL THOUGHTS**

---

**Class 23: Wednesday, November 16**

We will use one of the interactive learning tools created by you or your classmates to address an issue at the nexus of energy and geopolitics not considered earlier in class. Readings and preparation for class to be assigned closer to class date, dependent upon project selected.

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**Wednesday, November 23 – Thanksgiving Recess**
<table>
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<th>Class 25: Monday, November 28</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Class Wrap Up and Predictions for the Future</strong></td>
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<td>The CAs and I will accept predictions about energy and geopolitics in advance of class. Those volunteering them will be asked to present them and the class will vote on the extent to which it thinks they are likely.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Class 26: Wednesday, November 30</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic: To be decided at a later date</strong></td>
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</table>