

DHP D265
THE GLOBALIZATION OF CENTRAL EURASIA: ENERGY, POLITICS, AND
CULTURE
THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY
SPRING 2018

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OFFICE: CABOT 102

OFFICE HOURS: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11:00 a.m. – 12:15 p.m., or by appointment.

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TEACHING ASSISTANT: Greg Ussery; Gregory.Ussery@tufts.edu

I. COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course aims to produce a structure of modern knowledge about a part of Eurasia, known as the “Strategic Ellipse”, roughly bounded in the west by Iraq and in the east by India; stretching from the Arctic in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south. Students who think about geopolitics of energy will understand immediately how this region has an importance related to oil and gas production and a geographic position capable of controlling the transportation of petroleum products from Central Eurasia to global markets. In this course, we will place a special emphasis on the regional significance of this petroleum geography because the energy demand for both China and India will dramatically increase as both China and India meet their requirements from nearby reserves. The second reason for concentrating attention on this chunk of Eurasia is that the political elites of states in this region have multiple reasons for not being satisfied with their current position in Southwest Asia and in the global political order. Collectively they represent a major threat to the stability of the flow of energy to the expanding global market for fossil fuels; and each of these states either through direct or covert actions has complicated the instability of the region by supporting non-government organizations devoted to disruption of the nation states system.

While the above reasons for becoming familiar with the unstable politics of the strategic ellipse are clear, there is an additional issue that links the petroleum resources of the Caspian Sea with the instability in the Gulf. The Gulf is a boundary between the two large divisions within Islam: the Sunni and Shii communities. This division also has an ethnic character that in a time of great transition compounds the relations between the two versions of Islam. The third general point about the importance of the Gulf is that it contains great quantities of recoverable oil and gas resources that can be transported with ease to the global markets for petroleum products. But the states surrounding these gigantic underground pools of oil and gas are Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan who are politically unstable. This makes the “Greater Middle East” a fishing ground for large powers, revolutionary organizations and ruthless organizations. This combination of geopolitical importance, raw material endowments and regional political instability, drives analysts crazy when making predictions about the near-term stability. Many tend to use “mystical” expressions such as “we might have multiple “Black Swans” to describe conditions so complex no one cannot accurately foresee even for a medium-term outcome.

This course is an open-ended affair designed to fit the multi-cultural and multi-disciplinary character of the Fletcher curriculum. Lectures, readings and classroom discussions are structured to fit various career paths. In view of the interest in development work we also will pay attention to the arguments of economic historians and developmental experts who are concerned with how social and cultural conditions might lead to the formation of a modern state and society. For most states in this region, this generally means a rejection of imperial institutions related to agricultural and commercial economies of the past: they are no longer effective in the modern period. Elites then undertake radical institutional change but this produces an opposition that tests the ability of leaders to establish a new regime of law and order. If this does not happen the continuing impact of accelerating change will yield further destabilization of political and economic events and most probably foreign intervention.

II. LECTURES

The course meets Tuesdays and Thursdays from 12:30pm to 1:45pm in C102. All of the lectures in this syllabus are “topical” in one form or another. Students should prepare for each lecture by doing the appropriate readings and in seeking a short mental answer to the big question that shapes each lecture. Each presentation has ample support in the notes to aid you in preparing.

I reserve the right to modify the sequence of lectures should we have to deal with a big event (as is happening in the Syrian and Iraq upheavals). I am committed to the use of slides, music, film and video to expand the dialogue beyond the classroom.

If the size of the course is small, I will modify the lectures to meet specific (Capstone) interests of the students; if the size is relatively large, I will conduct the course on a lecture and discussion basis.

III. EVALUATION

The final grade will be based upon the following considerations:

- 15 percent for mid-term exam
- 70 percent for the final exam
- 15 percent for class participation

IV. READINGS

All texts are on reserve in Ginn Library or posted to Canvas (<http://canvas.tufts.edu>) under the course title. Texts on the Persian speaking areas of Southwest Asia are rarely best sellers and I do not encourage students to purchase the detailed studies of specific issues unless there is a special interest in mind. Books will also be available for purchase at the Tufts University Bookstore.

I do recommend that you purchase a copy of Daniel Yergin's *The Quest* as we will use it frequently. It is an excellent book and is used in other courses at Fletcher as well so it is worth the investment.

If you have difficulty getting at the assigned readings, please see me or contact my teaching assistant Greg Ussery.

My office hours are Tuesdays and Thursday from 11:00am - 12:15pm in Cabot 603. Should these hours not work out for you, call or email my assistant, Ms. Roxanne Collins at ex. 72734 (Roxanne.Collins@Tufts.edu) to make an appointment. My teaching assistant for the 2017-2018 academic year, Greg (Gregory.Ussery@Tufts.edu) can also answer questions about the syllabus, Canvas readings or other technical questions.

The list of texts below is for those who wish to build a professional library or to develop a Capstone project.

Framing texts:

- Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James A., Why Nations Fail (New York, Crown Business, 2012)
- Barbier, Edward B., Scarcity and Frontiers (London, Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Castells, Manuel, Networks of Outrage and Hope (Malden, MA, Polity Press, 2012)
- Friedman, Thomas L., Thank You for Being Late (New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016).
- Mokyr, Joel, The Enlightened Economy (London, Yale University Press, 2009)
- North, Douglass C., Violence and Social Orders (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Naim, Moises, The End of Power (New York, Basic Books, 2013)
- Pinker, Steven, The Better Angels of Our Nature (London, England, Viking, 2011)
- Sassen, Saskia, Expulsions (Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press, 2014)
- Schmidt, Eric and Cohen, Jared, The New Digital Age (New York, Knopf, 2013)

Recent Regional Studies:

- Abbas, Hassan, The Taliban Revival (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014)
- Amanat, Abbas, Apocalyptic Islam and Iranian Shi'ism (New York, L.B.Touris, 2009)
- Barfield, Thomas, Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2010)
- Cohen, Stephen, et al, The Future of Pakistan (Washington, DC, Brookings, 2011)
- Fair, C. Christine, Fighting to the End, The Pakistan army's Way of War (New York, Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Gheissari, Ali, Contemporary Iran (New York, Oxford University Press, 2009)
- Howard, Philip N. and Hussein, Muzammil M., Democracy's Fourth Wave: Digital Media and the Arab Spring (London, Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Nasr, Vali, The Dispensable Nation (New York, Doubleday, 2013)
- Rubin, Barnett R. Afghanistan: From the Cold War Through the War On Terror (New York, Oxford University Press, 2013)

LECTURES

Jan. 18, 2018

LECTURE 1

Examining the Strategic Ellipse

Discussion Question: Why is the Strategic Ellipse important?

Assigned Reading:

- Vaclav Smil, *Energy and Civilization: A History* (Boston: MIT, 22017), pp. 385-441. ISBN 978-0-262-035774

Jan. 23, 2018

LECTURE 2

Southwest Asia and the accelerated impact of technological change (reign of Moore's Law)

Discussion Question: How does the high rate of technological change alter relationships between state and society in Southwest Asia's new nations?

Assigned readings:

- Khanna, Parag Connectography, pp., xv-60
- Manuel Castells, "The Informational Economy and the New International Division of Labor," in the New Global Economy of the Information Age, Second Edition, Martin Carnoy, ed. (University Park, PA. State Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1996), pp.15-43.
- Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen, The New Digital Age (New York: Knopf, 2013), pp.1-28 **ISBN 978-0-307-95713-9**

Jan. 25, 2018

LECTURE 3

The Collapse of Empires, Ethnic and Sectarian Segmentation.

Discussion Question: What role does large-scale ethnic and sectarian division play in the modern development of new, multi-ethnic states?

Assigned readings:

- Niki R. Keddie, "Religion, Ethnic Minorities, and State in Iran: An Overview," in Myron Weiner and Ali Banuazizi, The State, Religion and Ethnic Politics (Syracuse, N.Y., Syracuse Univ. Press, 1994), pp.157-66. **DS63.1 .S73 1986**
- Peri Pamir addresses this problem in "Nationalism, Ethnicity and Democracy: Contemporary Manifestations". This argument is available at WWW.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol2-2/pamir.htm
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Jan. 30, 2018

LECTURE 4

The recent historical entry of modern nationalism.

Discussion Question: How did modern nationalism emerge and how did it affect politics in the region?

Assigned readings:

- Abrahamian, Iran Between Two Revolutions, pp. 102-165 **DS316.6 .A27 1982;**
- Stephanie Cronin, The Army and Creation of the Pahlavi State in Iran, 1910-1926 (London, Tauris, 1997), pp. 222-234. **UA853.I7 C76 1997**

- Douglas C. North, et al., *Violence and Social Orders* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp. 1-75 **ISBN 978-0-521-76173-4**

Feb. 1, 2018

LECTURE 5

The history and development of the oil and gas industry in the Strategic Ellipse.

Discussion Question: What did the discovery of oil in this region mean for the development of modern industrial nation-states and empires?

Assigned readings:

- David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (London, I. B. Tauris, 2006) pp. 104-29.
- Willard A. Beling, ed. *King Faisal and the Modernisation of Saudi Arabia* (London, Croom Helm Ltd, 1980), pp 58-89..

Feb. 6, 2018

LECTURE 6

Turkey and the creation of a new, modern nation state over the structures of the Ottoman Empire.

Discussion Question: What were Mustafa Kemal's key reforms that helped to build modern Turkey?

Assigned readings:

- Daron Acemoglu, James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, (New York: Crown Publishers, 2012), pp.7-95. **HB74.P65A28 2012**
- Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey, Third Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 401-442. **DR583 .L48 1968**
- M. Shukru Hanioglu, *Ataturk: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2011) pp. 129-198. **ISBN 978-0-691-15109-0**

Feb. 8, 2018

LECTURE 7

Reza Shah and the modernization of Iran – Pre-World War II.

Discussion Question: What factors affected the Shah's early attempts at modernization in Iran?

Assigned readings:

- Nikki Keddie, *Religion and Politics in Iran* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 1-72. **BP192.7.I68 R44 1983**
- Lloyd Ridsdell, ed., *Religion and Politics in Modern Iran: a Reader* (New York, I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp.149-196. **ISBN 1-84511-072-7**
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Baha'is;
- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tobacco-Rebellion>;
- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Persian-Oil-Company>

Feb. 13, 2018

LECTURE 8

Modern state building in societies on the edge of oil and gas production: hard segmentation.

Discussion Question: How successful have efforts to create modern institutions in segmented societies?

Assigned readings:

- Barfield, Afghanistan, pp.164-270.
- M. Nazif Shahrani, “State Building and Social Fragmentation in Afghanistan,” in Myron Weiner and Ali Banuazizi, State, Religion and Ethnic Politics, pp. 23-74. **DS63.1 .S73 1986;**
- Barnette R. Rubin, The Fragmentation of Afghanistan (New Haven, Conn., Yale Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 45-80. **DS371.2 .R8 1995**
- TBA

Feb. 15, 201

LECTURE 9

The industrialization of colonized societies and the costs of large scale warfare in urbanizing societies of unequal strength.

Assigned readings:

- TBA

Feb. 20, 2018

LECTURE 10

The Dynamics of Globalization: The Impact of World War II, the Growth of The Oil Industry and The Cold War on Iran

Discussion Question: How did the arrival of the oil industry in Iran intensify the relationship between the state and society in Iran?

Assigned readings:

- Stephen L. McFarland, “Anatomy of an Iranian Political Crowd: The Tehran Bread Riot of December 1942,” International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (IJMES), 17/1 (Feb. 1985), pp. 51-65.
- John H. Morrow Jr., The Impact of the Two World Wars in a Century of Violence (Washington D.C., The American Historical Association, 2011), pp. 1-56. **ISBN 978-0-87229-175.**
- Daniel Yergin, The Prize, (New York, Simon & Shuster, 1991), pp. 450-60.
- Stephen Kinzer, All the Shahs Men: an American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror (Hoboken, Wiley, 2008), pp. 1-119. **ISBN 978-0-470-18549-0**
- *ARGO*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argo_%282012_film%29

Feb. 27, 2018

LECTURE 11

The US, Iran and The Globalization of Iran’s Economy

Discussion Question: Why did the White Revolution fail?

Assigned Readings:

- Ali Gheissari, Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century, (Austin, Texas, University of Texas Press, 1998) pp.74-119. **ISBN 0-292-72804-2 ;**
- Ervand Abrahamian, A History of Modern Iran, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 123-154. **ISBN 978-0-521-82139-1**
- <http://fanack.com/en/countries/iran-invisible/society-media-culture/society/urbanization/>
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/White_Revolution

March. 1, 2018

LECTURE 12

The Iranian Revolution and the Collapse of the Shah's Regime and the Backlash to Modernity in Iran: The Problem of Creating a Modern Loyalty

Discussion Question: Why did religious leaders spearhead the Iranian Revolution of 1978-79?

Assigned readings:

- Ervand Abrahamian, Khomeinism, (Berkeley, CA, 1993), pp. 1-143. **ISBN 0-520-08351-2**.
- Abbas Amanat, Apocalyptic Islam and Iranian Shi'ism, (New York: L.B.Touris, 2009), pp. 179-219.
- Andrew Scott Cooper, The Fall of Heaven: The Pahlavis and the Final Days of Imperial Iran (New York, Henry Holt, 2016), pp. 463-499. **ISBN 978-0-8050-9897-6**

March. 6, 2017

LECTURE 13

Afghanistan: The Rise of the Taliban

Discussion Question: What were the reasons for Pakistan's creation of the Taliban, how did they obtain support from Afghans and what were the regional consequences of the new Pakistan involvement in Afghanistan?

Assigned Readings:

- George Crile, Charlie Wilson's Wars (New York, Grove Press, 2003), all. **ISBN 0-8021-4124-2**.
- Steve Coll, The Ghost Wars, (New York, Penguin Books, 2004), all. **ISBN 0 14 30,3466 9**.
- Christine Faire, Fighting to the End, pp. 66-135.

March. 8, 2018

Take Home Mid Term Exam Distributed

LECTURE 14

The introduction of major international oil companies into the Strategic Ellipse.

Discussion Question: What did the movement of IOCs into the Strategic Ellipse mean for local conditions and development?

Assigned readings:

- Yergin, Daniel, The Quest, pp. 43-82.
- TBA

March. 13, 2018

LECTURE 15

The international impact of the OPEC oil embargo in 1973 and the rise of the Gulf's smaller producers.

Discussion Question: To what extent did the 1973 oil embargo change the structure and dynamics of the global energy market?

Assigned readings:

- Yergin, The Prize, pp. 588-652

- EIA, Kuwait, <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=KWT>
- EIA, UAE, <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=ARE>
- EIA, Oman, <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=OMN>

March. 15, 2018

LECTURE 16

Qatar and the growth of the gas industry.

Discussion Question: How does a weak hydrocarbon state like Qatar survive when it is located between stronger regional and global powers?

Assigned readings:

- Yergin, The Quest, pp. 310-324
- Anthony H. Cordesman, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and the UAE (Boulder, Colorado, Pakistan), pp, 213-289.
- EIA, Qatar, <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis.cfm?iso=QAT>
- EIU, Qatar, <http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=733733857>

March. 27, 2018

LECTURE 17

The breakup of the Soviet Union.

Discussion Question:? Did the collapse of the Soviet Union radically change the threat conditions for the flow of oil and gas from Russia into Eastern Europe?

Assigned readings:

- Thane Gustafson, Wheel of Fortune: The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia (Boston, Harvard University Press, 2012), pp 98-318.

March. 29, 2018

LECTURE 18

Central Asia and the Regional Struggle for Caspian Sea resources.?

Discussion Question: What is the role of international oil companies in the modern development of Caspian Sea energy and what is the major threat to foreign/international oil operations in this region?

Assigned readings:

- Steven Levine, The Oil and the Glory: Chevron in Fortune on the Caspian Sea (New York, Random House, 2007), all.

April. 3, 2018

LECTURE 19

The rejuvenation of Azerbaijan's oil industry and the creation of the BTC.

Discussion Question: Why do the Russians view the construction and use of the Baku Ceyhan pipeline as a strategic failure of major proportions?

Assigned readings:

- Robert Ebel, and Rajan Menon, eds., Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Lanham, Maryland, USA, Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), pp1-106. **ISBN 0-7425-0063-2.**

April. 5, 2018

LECTURE 20

Turkmenistan and the creation of a new gas giant.

Discussion Question: How do Turkmenistan's growing gas exports to China serve as an indicator the broader shift in global oil and gas demand?

Assigned Readings:

- Ebel and Menon, eds. Energy and Conflict in Central Asia, pp 107-144, 145-188.
- EIA, Turkmenistan, <https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/country.cfm?iso=TKM>

April. 10, 2017

LECTURE 21

India – full steam ahead!

Discussion Question: What decisions led to India's economic acceleration and how has that affected energy demand?

Assigned Readings:

- TBA

April. 12, 2017

LECTURE 22

War in the Oil Patch: From the Global War on Terror to the conflict in the center of the Strategic Ellipse.

Discussion Question: What is the impact on energy security of the combination of asymmetrical terror and great power conflict on access to the energy resources in the Gulf Region?

Assigned Readings:

- Nikolas K. Gvosdev and Christopher Marsh, Russian Foreign Policy (Washington D. C., Sage, 2014), pp. 1-121, 293-333.
- Vali Nasr, The Dispensable Nation: American Foreign Policy in Retreat, (New York, Doubleday 2013), pp. 13-59.

April. 17, 2017

LECTURE 23

The Shii Sunni Conflict Renewed and its Impact on Energy Security.

Discussion Question: Will the current bad relations between the United States and Iran threaten the flow of commerce between the Red Sea, the Strait of Hormuz and the consuming states of East Asia?

Assigned Readings:

- Ali Gheissari, Contemporary Iran, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 95-111.
- Nasr, The Dispensable Nation, pp. 95-140.
- What's Saudi Arabia playing at over oil? <https://www.cnbc.com/2016/04/21/whats-saudi-arabia-playing-at-over...>

April. 19, 2017

LECTURE 24

North African production and new discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin.

Discussion Question: How will discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean affect the region's geopolitics?

Assigned readings:

- Shearer, Gordon, “North Africa and the Mediterranean,” Energy & Security, pp. 219-240.
- Koehler, Michael, “Gas Discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean: Implications for the European Union”, The German Marshall Fund, pp.1-3
- TBA

April 24, 2017

LECTURE 25

Technological changes in the 21st century – Shale, LNG, and beyond.

Discussion Question: How has technology disrupted the global energy market and what does the future hold?

Assigned Readings:

- Yergin, The Quest, pp. 242-263, pp. 325-341
- Juckett, Donald, Foss, Michelle Michot, “Can a ‘Global’ Natural Gas Market Be Achieved?” Energy & Security, pp. 531-552.
- Grigas, The New Geopolitics of Natural Gas., pp. 270-285
- O’Sullivan, Windfall, pp. 41-63.
- The Impact of the shale gas “revolution” by Eli Waerum Rognerud of the office of Auditor General of Norway at www.wgei.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/The-shale-gas-revolution-eli-w-Rognerud-aug-2015-pdf
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April 26, 2017

LECTURE 26

Conclusion: Major Takeaways!

Discussion Question: What does this all mean?

Assigned readings:

- TBA