MGIMO University School of Government and International Affairs

 $\begin{array}{c} \textit{Syllabus approved} \\ \textit{Dean, The MGIMO School of Government and International Affairs} \\ \textit{Mikhail Troitskiy} \\ \textit{ \ast} & \textit{ \ast} & \textit{ $2020} \\ \end{array}$

GLOBAL POLITICS OF ENERGY

Undergraduate Course Syllabus

Instructor Dr. Sergei V. Golunov

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This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor Program in International Affairs.

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PART 1: INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION, COURSE DESCRIPTION AND TEACHING METHODS

1.1. General information

Full course title: Global Politics of Energy.

Type of course: Compulsory.

Level of course: BA. Year of study: 2.

Number of ECTS credits allocated: 3.

Academic hours: 126 hours

Lectures: 16 hours. Seminars: 16 hours.

Name of lecturer: Dr. Sergei V. Golunov

Professor, Lead Researcher of the Institute of World Economy and International

Relations

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1.2. Course aims and learning outcomes

The main objective of the course is to provide students with a comprehensive idea of diverse and multidimensional political impacts of energy issues at the global scale. Also, the course should develop the ability to analyze political dimension of energy issues at the global and regional scale, taking into account historical, economic, logistical, social, domestic and external political, ecological, and cultural context. The course builds upon such related disciplines, as Economic Theory, Theory of International Relations, World History, Contemporary Russian Politics, Global Economic and Social Development, History of International Relations, Russian Economy, and World Economy.

Learning outcomes:

By the end of the course students should:

- be familiar with major energy-related issues affecting global and regional politics;
- understand international mechanisms of energy governance, limitations and vulnerabilities of these mechanisms;
 - have a comprehensive idea of regional agendas of energy politics;
 - be able to analyze prospective trends of political agendas related to energy issues;
 - Be able to do case study research on particular politically relevant energy issues.

1.3 Course requirements and grading plan

Course requirements:

Students are required to attend no less than 90% of classes, to be prepared for class discussions, and to be familiar with compulsory reading materials.

During the semester, each student should make one or two presentation(s) (depending on the size of a group) at a seminar and to pass through three in-class rating tests based on lectures and assigned reading materials.

<u>In-class tests</u> to be based on lectures, seminars, and assigned reading materials and will cover topics already covered by lectures and seminars. Each test will last approximately 30 minutes and will contain questions requiring short responses. Some of these questions to be devoted to key concepts and definitions and some to major phenomena typically involving ambiguous factors (to be listed in a short response). A test typically will consist of 4 to 6 questions.

<u>Seminar presentations</u> should fit a particular seminar topic. A topic for presentation should be either chosen among suggested ones or be proposed by a student. In both cases a presentation topic should be confirmed by the lecturer. A presentation typically should last no longer than 10 minutes (unless duration is not modified by the lecturer). The presenters are required to outline problems

discussed, to consider problems from diverse perspectives of major actors involved, to outline divergent viewpoints if any, and to present her or his argumented opinion about problem issues. Any instance of utilizing somebody else's texts should be duly acknowledged (by referring to the author and the year of publication immediately after citation and by providing a list of literature in the end of presentation). Presentations containing evident and major instances of plagiarism to be evaluated at 0 points.

Each presentation should be sent to the lecturer's and to the group's (or to each student's) email addresses at least two days before the seminar.

Each presentation to be followed by discussion (asking questions and providing comments). Participants of discussion to be awarded with points depending on the value of their questions and comments. Any sharp criticism of a presentation by students will not affect the score to be given for a presentation: the lecturer will disregard this criticism while making his decision.

The course ends with a written exam.

Grading Plan:

Class attendance – 10% In-class tests – 45% (15% each) Presentations – 30% (15% each) Participation in discussions – 15%

Written exam to be graded separately at the end of the course. The exam to be held during the last class and will contain 5-8 questions. Most of these questions (about key definitions, concepts, and phenomena, defining a statement as a true or false) will require short responses while one or two questions (analyzing a phenomenon, offering a solution for a specific practical situation) will require more detailed response.

To be admitted to the exam, a student should have a score 60% or higher. Those who fail to gain this score will have to pass through additional in-class test summarizing contents of the course.

PART 2: COURSE CONTENT

2.1. Course schedule

Week	Lecture	Seminar
	Part I. Major is	sues
1	Energy demand and supply	
2		Social and political issues related to energy
3	Upstream, midstream, and downstream sectors	
4		Pipeline politics
5	Energy governance	
6		Energy and political conflicts
7	The role of renewables	
8		Energy and political dimension of environmental debates
	Part II. Regional a	ngendas
9	Russian and Eurasian energy issues	
10		Central Asian and Caspian energy geopolitics
11	European Union's energy issues	
12		Russia-EU energy relations
13	Energy issues in Africa, Asia, and Australia	
14		Major Asian energy consumers: China, India, and Japan
15	Energy and politics in Americas	
16		Summary and conclusions

2.1. Course content and reading

PART I. MAJOR ISSUES

Lecture 1

Energy demand and supply

Summary: Primary and secondary energy resources. Energy security. Global energy markets. Strategies of energy exporters and importers. Future development scenarios.

Reading:

API, 'Understanding Crude Oil and Product Markets,' http: https://www.api.org/~/media/Files/Oil-and-Natural-Gas/Crude-Oil-Product-Markets/Crude-Oil-Primer/Understanding-Crude-Oil-and-Product-Markets-Primer-High.pdf/

International Energy Agency, 'Key World Energy Statistics,' 2020, https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/4093?fileName=Key_World_Energy_Statistics_2020.pdf/

Further reading:

BP Global, '60 Years. BP Statistical Review of World Energy.1951–2011', http://www.bp.com/60yearsstatisticalreview/

Andreas Economou, Paolo Agnolucci, Bassam Fattouh, and Vincenzo De Lipis, 'A Structural Model of the World Oil Market: The Role of Investment Dynamics and Capacity Constraints in Explaining the Evolution of the Real Price of Oil,' *The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, December 2017, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/A-Structural-Model-of-the-World-Oil-Market-Insight-23.pdf/

Federal Energy Regulation Commission, 'Energy Primer. A Handbook of Energy Market Basics,' November 2015, https://www.ferc.gov/market-oversight/guide/energy-primer.pdf/

International Energy Agency, 'Outlook for Natural Gas,' 2018, https://webstore.iea.org/world-energy-outlook-2017-excerpt-outlook-for-natural-gas/

International Energy Agency, 'World Energy Balances 2020. Overview,' https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/4035/

The Corner House, 'Energy Security For Whom? For What?' February 2012, http://www.thecornerhouse.org.uk/resource/energy-security-whom-what/

Thijs Van de Graaf and Aviel Verbruggen, 'The oil endgame: Strategies of Oil Exporters in a Carbon-Constrained World,' *Environmental Science & Policy* 54 (2015), pp. 456–462.

Bassam Fattouh, 'Oil Price Paths in 2018: The Interplay bertween OPEC, US Shale and Supply Interruptions,' *The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, February 2018, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/publications/oil-price-paths-2018-interplay-opec-us-shale-supply-interruptions/

<u>Internet resources:</u>

International Energy Agency, http://www.iea.org/

Seminar 1

Social and political issues related to energy

- 1. What do the concepts "resource nationalism" and "resource liberalism" refer to? Give examples of states that pursue resource nationalist and liberal policies. What are advantages and disadvantages of each kind of the two policies?
- 2. How the terms "petrostate", "Dutch decease", and "resource curse" are related to each other? What are the key pros and cons of being a "petrostate"? Are "petrostates" doomed to the "Dutch decease" and "resource curse"? Are there any "petrostates" that managed to avoid these negative effects?
- 3. What is social importance of energy? What domains and in what ways are influenced by

- energy access, its quality, fuels used?
- 4. In what ways unequal access to energy contribute to social injustice?
- 5. What is the "energy poverty"?
- 6. What kinds of energy dominate the energy mix in developed and in poorest countries?
- 7. What could be done to combat the energy poverty? Is the humankind largely successful in such efforts during the last decade?

Reading:

Matthias Basedau and Jann Lay, 'Resource Curse or Rentier Peace? The Ambiguous Effects of Oil Wealth and Oil Dependence on Violent Conflict,' *Journal of Peace Research*, 46 6 (2009), pp. 757-776. <u>Available via the Sage Premier database</u>.

Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira (2020): Neutralizing the Dutch disease, *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* (2020). Pp. 1-19.

Thomas Friedman, 'The First Law of Petropolitics,' *Foreign Policy*, May/June (2006), pp. 28-36. https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/16/the-first-law-of-

 $petropolitics/\#:\sim:text=The\%20First\%20Law\%20of\%20Petropolitics\%20posits\%20the\%20following \%3A\%20The\%20price,in\%20oil\%2Drich\%20petrolist\%20states.\&text=The\%20lower\%20the\%20price\%20of\%20crude\%20oil\%20falls\%2C\%20the\%20more,outside\%20forces\%20think%20of\%20the m.$

Terry Karl. Democracy over a Barrel: Oil, Regime Change and War. UC Irvine: Center for the Study of Democracy, 2008. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9kq895kt

Jeffrey D. Wilson (2011) Resource nationalism or resource liberalism? Explaining Australia's approach to Chinese investment in its minerals sector, Australian Journal of International Affairs, 65:3 (2008), p. 284-287.

https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/10357718.2011.563779?needAccess=true

Further reading:

I.H. Rehman et al., 'Understanding the Political Economy and Key Drivers of Energy Access in Addressing National Energy Access Priorities and Policies,' *Energy Policy*, 47 (2012), 27–37.

Caitlin Robinson, Sarah Lindley & Stefan Bouzarovski (2019) The Spatially Varying Components of Vulnerability to Energy Poverty, Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 109:4, pp. 1188-1207.

https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/24694452.2018.1562872?needAccess=true

Michael Ross, 'What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?' *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18 (2015), pp. 239–259.

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Delivery.cfm/SSRN_ID2479981_code598602.pdf?abstractid=2342668 &mirid=1

Jeffrey D. Wilson (2015) Understanding resource nationalism: economic dynamics and political institutions, Contemporary Politics, 21:4, pp. 399-416. <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals</u> database.

Lecture 2

Upstream, midstream, and downstream sectors

Summary: Some energy fundamentals and geography of energy exploration. Energy assets and geoeconomic value of territories. Major exploration issues. Offshore exploration. Social and political impacts of exploration. Transportation of specific kinds of energy: ways and political implications. History of oil and gas transportation. Seaborne transportation: oil and LNG: technical, logistic, and delivery security issues. Pipeline transportation: technical, logistic, security, and transit issues. Gas hubs. Electricity delivery issues. Storage issues. Refineries: economic and political importance. The retail sector.

Reading:

Federal Energy Regulation Commission, 'Energy Primer. A Handbook of Energy Market Basics,' November 2015, https://www.ferc.gov/market-oversight/guide/energy-primer.pdf/ International Energy Agency, 'The Oil and Gas Industry in Energy Transitions,' 2020,

https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/2935/

David Victor, 'National Oil Companies and the Future of the Oil Industry,' Annual Review of Resource Economics, 5 (2013), pp. 445–462.

Yuri Yegorov, Franz Wirl, 'Gas Transportation, Geopolitics and Future Market Structure,' Futures 43 (2011), pp. 1056–1068.

Further reading:

Gavin Bridge and Andrew Wood, 'Less Is More: Spectres of Scarcity and the Politics of Resource Access in the Upstream Oil Sector,' *Geoforum* 41 (2010), pp. 565–576.

Ben Caudle, 'Petroleum Production,' Encyclopaedia Britannica,

https://www.britannica.com/technology/petroleum-production

Encyclopedia.com, 'Petroleum, History Of Exploration,'

https://www.encyclopedia.com/science/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/petroleum-history-exploration/

Federal Energy Regulation Commission, 'Energy Primer. A Handbook of Energy Market Basics,' November 2015, https://www.ferc.gov/market-oversight/guide/energy-primer.pdf
International Energy Agency, 'Offshore Energy Outlook,' 2018,

https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/1034?fileName=WEO_2018_Special_Report_Offshore_Energy_Outlook.pdf

Chris Le Fevre, 'A Review of Demand Prospects for LNG as a Marine Transport Fuel,' *OIES Paper*: NG 133, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/A-review-of-demand-prospects-for-LNG-as-a-marine-fuel-NG-133.pdf/

Seminar 2 Pipeline politics

Questions:

- 1. What kinds of energy can be transported via pipelines?
- 2. In what cases pipelines is the best way to transport energy and in what cases other ways are preferable? What are the key pros and cons of pipelines?
- 3. There are many analytical (and pseudo-analytical) works whose authors recommend to build a new pipeline to achieve geopolitical advantage or regional prosperity. Is it always a good idea to build a new pipeline? If not always, why projects of this kind can fail?
- 4. What are major differences in oil and gas pipelines in terms of their economic and political importance?
- 5. What factors can determine pipeline routes?
- 6. In what regions pipelines are widespread and in what regions they are not? Why?
- 7. In what ways pipelines contribute to conflicts or cooperation between involved actors?
- 8. If they are competing pipeline routes, who usually benefits and who takes upper hand in the competition?
- 9. What are typical advantages and disadvantages of a transit state's position? How a transit states can use these advantages to its favor? What a transit state's opponents can do to neutralize these advantages?

Reading:

Filippos Proedrou (2017) 'Revisiting Pipeline Politics and Diplomacy,' Problems of Post-Communism 65 6 (2018), pp. 409-418. Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database.

Ekpen Omonbude, 'The Transit Oil and Gas Pipeline and the Role of Bargaining: A Non-technical Discussion,' *Energy Policy* 35 (2007), pp. 6188–6194. <u>Available via the Science Direct</u> database.

Paul Stevens, 'Transit Troubles: Pipelines as a Source of Conflict,' A Chatham House Report, 2009,

https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Energy,%20Environment%20and%20Development/r0309_pipelines.pdf

Further reading:

Randall Newnham, 'Pipeline politics: Russian energy sanctions and the 2010 Ukrainian Elections,' *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 4 (2013), pp. 115–122. <u>Available via the Science Direct database</u>.

Adam Stulberg. Strategic bargaining and pipeline politics: Confronting the credible commitment problem in Eurasian energy transit. *Review of International Political Economy*, 19 5 (2012), pp. 808–836.

Lecture 3

Energy governance

Summary: Definitions. Agendas. Current state and prospects. History. Organizations.

Reading:

Bassam Fattouh, Lavan Mahadeva, 'OPEC: What Difference Has It Made?' *The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, January 2013, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wpcontent/uploads/2013/01/MEP-3.pdf/

Robert Keohane and David Victor, 'The Transnational Politics of Energy,' *Daedalus*, 142 1 (2013), pp. 98-109,

https://www.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/content/docs/news/KeohaneDaedalusArticle0113.pdf

Benjamin Sovacool and Anna Florini, 'Examining the Complications of Global Energy Governance,' *Journal of Energy and Natural Resources Law*, 30 3 (2012), pp. 235-263.

Further reading:

Gerry Carrington, Janet Stephenson, 'The politics of energy scenarios: Are International Energy Agency and other conservative projections hampering the renewable energy transition?' *Energy Research & Social Science* 46 (2018), pp. 103–113.

Andreas Economou and Bassam Fattouh, '5+1 Key Facts about the OPEC Declaration of Cooperation,' *Oxford Energy Comment*, September 2018, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wpcontent/uploads/2018/09/5plus1-Key-Facts-about-the-OPEC-Declaration-of-Cooperation-.pdf/

Pierre Noël, 'The New Oil Regime,' Survival, 58 5 (2016), pp. 71-82.

Thijs Van de Graaf, 'Obsolete or resurgent? The International Energy Agency in a Changing Global Landscape,' *Energy Policy* 48 (2012), pp. 233–241.

David Victor and Linda Yueh, 'The New Energy Order: Managing Insecurities in the Twenty-first Century,' *Foreign Affairs*, 89 1 (2010), pp. 61-73.

Seminar 3

Energy and political conflicts

Ouestions:

- 1. What ways can energy contribute to conflicts (e.g. by fueling or diminishing them)?
- 2. Who are typical actors of energy-related conflicts?
- 3. In what way internal conflicts can be provoked by energy resources' scarcity and resources'

abundance?

- 4. Is it easy for a rebel group to loot energy and to extract huge profits from it? How successful was the terrorist Islamic State and other rebel groups? What the concept "lootability of resources" refers to?
- 5. Does energy wealth typically make a state more peaceful?
- 6. If a state is "hungry for energy", what kinds of conflicts can it provoke? Is it eager to use military force to protect its energy security interests? How likely can this state resort to military intervention to take control over much needed resources? What are convincing historical examples of such interventions?
- 7. Do energy sanctions work effectively as a way to resolve a conflict with an energy rich state?

Reading:

Eric Bonds. 'Assessing the Oil Motive After the U.S. War in Iraq,' *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 25 2 (2013), pp. 291-298. <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database</u>.

Philippe le Billon, 'The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts,' *Political Geography*, 20 (2001), pp. 561–584. Available via the ScienceDirect database.

Jeff Colgan, 'Fueling the Fire. Pathways from Oil to War,' *International Security*, 38 2, (Fall 2013), pp. 147–180. <u>Available via the JSTOR database</u>.

Itay Fischhendler, Lior Herman, and Nir Maoz, 'The Political Economy of Energy sanctions: Insights from a Global Outlook 1938–2017,' *Energy Research & Social Science*, 34 (2017), pp. 62–71. Available via the ScienceDirect database.

Further reading:

Jeff Colgan, 'Oil, Domestic Politics, and International Conflict,' *Energy Research & Social Science* 1 (2014), pp. 198–205. <u>Available via the ScienceDirect database</u>.

Jeff Colgan, 'Oil and Revolutionary Governments: Fuel for International Conflict,' *International Organization*, 64 4 (Fall 2010), pp. 661-694.

https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization/article/oil-and-revolutionary-governments-fuel-for-international-conflict/BF3770367C144D2339FA321859DDE3F2

Jonathan Di John, 'Abundance and Violent Political Conflict: A Critical Assessment,' *Journal of Development Studies*, 43 6 (2007), pp. 961–986. <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals</u> database.

Emmanuel Karagiannis, 'Comparative Islamist Perspectives on the Politics of Energy in the Middle East and Beyond,' *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 37 8 (2014), pp. 619-637. <u>Available via</u> the Taylor and Francis Journals database.

Rachel Kreisman. 'Raqqa and the Oil Economy of ISIS,' Atlantic Council, May 15, 2017, https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/syriasource/raqqa-and-the-oil-economy-of-isis/

Philippe Le Billon. 'Oil and Armed Conflicts in Africa,' *African Geographical Review*, 29 1 (2010), pp. 63-90. Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database.

Michael Ross, 'Blood Barrels: Why Oil Wealth Fuels Conflict,' *Foreign Affairs*, 87 3 (May-Jun., 2008), pp. 2-8. http://www.michaelross.info/papers/other/BloodBarrelsFA.pdf

Jeffrey Sachs and Andrew Warner, 'Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth,' *Center for International Development* and *Harvard Institute for International Development*, 1997, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/7b14/045909f42117197b82a910782ab68330a3e7.pdf

Lukáš Tichy and Jan Eichler. 'Terrorist Attacks on the Energy Sector: the Case of Al Qaeda and the Islamic State,' Studies in Conflict & Terrorism Volume 41 6 (2018). <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database</u>.

Lecture 4. *The role of renewables*

Summary: Kinds of renewables. Social and economic impacts. Domestic political impacts. Geopolitical and geoeconomic impacts.

Reading:

Sergey Paltsev, 'The Complicated Geopolitics of Renewable Energy,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 72 6 (2016), pp. 390-395.

Daniel Scholten and Rick Bosman, 'The Geopolitics of Renewables: Exploring the Political Implications of Renewable Energy Systems,' Technological Forecasting & Social Change, 103 (2016), pp. 273–283.

International Energy Agency, "Renewables 2020. Analysis and forecast to 2025," https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/4234/

Nasir Sheikh, Dundar Kocaoglu, Loren Lutzenhiser, 'Social and Political Impacts of Renewable Energy: Literature Review,' *Technological Forecasting & Social Change*, 108 (2016), pp. 102–110.

Further reading:

Matthew Burke and Jennie Stephens, 'Political Power and Renewable Energy Futures: A Critical Review,' *Energy Research & Social Science*, 35 (2018), pp. 78–93.

Bassam Fattouh, Rahmatallah Poudineh, and Rob West, 'The rise of renewables and energy transition: What Adaptation Strategy for Oil Companies and Oil-Exporting Countries?,' *OIES Paper*: MEP 19, May 2018, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/The-rise-of-renewables-and-energy-transition-what-adaptation-strategy-for-oil-companies-and-oil-exporting-countries-MEP-19.pdf

International Energy Agency, 'Renewables Information: Overview,' 2018, https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/2260?fileName=Renewables_Information_2018_Overview.pdf

Martin Lambert, 'Biogas: A significant contribution to decarbonising gas markets?' *Energy Insight* 15 (June 2017), https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Biogas-A-significant-contribution-to-decarbonising-gas-markets.pdf

Tiago Sequeira and Marcelo Santos, 'Renewable Energy and Politics: A Systematic Review and New Evidence,' *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 192 (2018), pp. 553-568.

Nasir Sheikh, Dundar Kocaoglu, Loren Lutzenhiser, 'Social and political impacts of renewable energy: Literature review,' Technological Forecasting & Social Change, 108 (2016), pp. 102–110.

Seminar 4.

Energy and political dimension of environmental issues

Questions:

- 1. In what ways does energy contribute to environmental pollution? What kinds of energy and ways of its extraction and transportation are "cleaner" or "dirtier" in comparison to each other? Can we say that the "green energy" has zero impact on environment?
- 2. What are typical social impacts of energy-related pollution?
- 3. In what ways does energy affect the global climate?
- 4. What measures are typically proposed to mitigate climate change? What are typical pros and cons of these measures?
- 5. What can be done at a national level? Who (in term of political views, lobbies behind etc.) typically are proponents and who typically are opponents of strong measures to combat climate change?
- 6. What major international agreements are designed to combat the climate change? Is the international community successful in implementing these agreements?
- 7. What are the main objections of national governments for proposed measures? What are the main issues of discord between national governments on the way for adopting and implementing more effective measures?

Reading:

Robert Falkner, 'Global Environmental Politics and Energy: Mapping the Research Agenda,' *Energy Research & Social Science* 1 (2014), pp. 188–197.

Filip Johnsson, Jan Kjärstad & Johan Rootzén, 'The threat to Climate Change Mitigation posed by the abundance of fossil fuels,' *Climate Policy*, 2018,

https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14693062.2018.1483885/

Peter Newell and Richard Lane. "A Climate for Change? The Impacts of Climate Change on Energy Politics," Cambridge Review of International Affairs 33 3 (2020), pp. 347-364. <u>Available via</u> the Taylor and Francis Journals database.

Richard C. J. Somerville. 'Facts and Opinions about Climate Change,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 76 6 (2020), pp. 331-335. <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database.</u>

Further reading:

Branko Bošnjaković, 'Geopolitics of Climate Change: A Review,' *Thermal Science*, 16 3 (2012), pp. 629-654.

http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.940.8354&rep=rep1&type=pdf/

Mike Bradshaw, 'Global Energy Dilemmas: Energy Security, Globalization and Climate Change,' *Stockholm School of Economics*, 2013,

https://www.hhs.se/contentassets/a445095292e540559ec989e0a7ed6d8c/bradshaw.pdf/

International Energy Agency, 'Energy Climate and Change. Word Energy Outlook Special Report 2015,'

https://www.iea.org/publications/free publications/publication/WEO2015 Special Report on Energy and Climate Change.pdf

International Energy Agency, 'Energy and Air Pollution. World Energy Outlook Special Report 2016,'

https://www.iea.org/publications/freepublications/publication/WorldEnergyOutlookSpecialReport20 16EnergyandAirPollution.pdf

Caroline Kuzemko et al., 'Governing for Sustainable Energy System Change: Politics, Contexts and Contingency,' *Energy Research & Social Science*, 12 (2016) pp. 96–105. https://reader.elsevier.com/reader/sd/pii/S2214629615301006?token=6E4C76F9CD405FAC68BF18 F8077A45804C699B8DF9CCB25B3CA87D5E2F0B669482F0DB9CEAE17D7C328A445670D4D DD0/

Karena Shaw, 'Climate Deadlocks: The Environmental Politics of Energy Systems,' *Environmental Politics*, 20 5 (2011) pp. 743–763. <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals</u> database.

Andy Stirling, 'Transforming Power: Social Science and the Politics of Energy Choices,' *Energy Research & Social Science* 1 (2014), pp. 83–95.

https://reader.elsevier.com/reader/sd/pii/S2214629614000036?token=1CE69AD4A00F151EC94D09E97E03889CA6E34706E98ADBA9F4A4C80855935EB3ABE5F5BFB606AF682C9E35B5ADE17EAD/

PART II. REGIONAL AGENDAS

Lecture 5.

Russian and Eurasian energy issues

Summary: Energy balances of Eurasian States. Russian energy at a glance. History of Soviet and post-Soviet Russian energy developments. Contemporary issues of the Russian energy sector. Russia and the key energy partners: EU and China. Eurasian transportation issues. Energy issues of other selected post-Soviet states.

Reading:

Shebonti Dadwal, 'Arctic: The Next Great Game in Energy Geopolitics?' *Strategic Analysis*, 38 6 (2014), pp. 812-824.

Catherine Locatelli, Mehdi Abbas & Sylvain Rossiaud, 'The Emerging Hydrocarbon Interdependence between Russia and China: Institutional and Systemic Implications,' *Europe-Asia Studies* 69 1 (2017), pp. 157-170.

Nalin Mohaptra, 'Energy Security and Russia's Foreign Policy,' CRP Working Paper Series, Working Paper no 11, *University of Cambridge*, May 2013,

https://www.crp.polis.cam.ac.uk/documents/working-papers/crp-working-paper-11-mohaptra-energy-security-russ.pdf

Further reading:

John R.Haines, 'The Geopolitics of Russia's Networked Energy Infrastructure,' *Orbis* 59 4 (2015), pp. 557-599.

James Henderson and Arild Moe, 'Russia's gas "Triopoly": Implications of a Changing Gas Sector Structure,' *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 58 4 (2017), pp. 442-468.

Vladimir Milov, Leonard Coburn and Igor Danchenko, 'Russia's Energy Policy, 1992-2005,' *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 47:3 (2006) pp. 285-313.

Simon Pirani, 'Adversity and Reform: Ukrainian Gas Market Prospects,' *Energy Insight* 7 (March 2017), https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Adversity-and-reform-Ukrainian-gas-market-prospects-OIES-Energy-Insight.pdf/

Filippos Proedrou, 'Russian Energy Policy and Structural Power in Europe,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, 70 1 (2018), pp. 75-89.

Elena Shadrina, 'Russia's Natural Gas Policy Toward Northeast Asia: Rationales, Objectives and Institutions,' *Energy Policy*, 74 (2014), pp. 54–67.

Kataryna Wolczuk, 'Managing the Flows of Gas and Rules: Ukraine between the EU and Russia,' *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 57 1 (2016), pp. 113-137.

Seminar 5

Central Asian and Caspian energy geopolitics

Questions:

- 1. Which types of states prevail in the region: net energy producers or net energy consumers? What countries produce and consume (import) what kinds of energy?
 - 2. In what areas major energy sources/deposits are located?
- 3. Who are the main external consumers of energy from the region? Are there some serious political implications of these consumption-related interests?
- 4. What are the main routes to deliver energy outside of the region? Are countries of the region situated conveniently to deliver energy to consumers?
- 5. Is there serious political competition for energy resources of the region? If it is so, when and why this competition arouse? Can it be argued that currently this competition is tougher than it was initially? Can this competition provoke serious regional conflicts?
- 6. In what ways (if any) energy resources of the region can provoke conflicts or contribute to peace and cooperation?

Reading:

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Sam Raphael and Doug Stokes, 'US Oil Strategy in the Caspian Basin: Hegemony through Interdependence,' *International Relations*, 28 (2014), pp. 183-206. <u>Available via the SAGE Premier</u> (Journals) database.

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Lecture 6.

European Union's energy issues

Summary: Energy balance and roles of particular energy sources. Energy transportation issues. Energy security issues. Environmental issues. Energy governance issues.

Reading:

International Energy Agency, 'European Union 2020,'

https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/3010/

Thierry Bros, 'A New Narrative for Gas,' *The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, 25.09.2018, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/A-new-narrative-for-gas.pdf/

Gabriel Collins and Anna Mikulska, 'Gas Geoeconomics in Europe,' *Baker Institute for Public Policy*, May 2018, https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/74c5d977/ces-pubgasgeoeconeurope-060318.pdf/

Richard Youngs, 'A New Geopolitics of EU Energy Security,' *Carnegie Europe*, 23 September 2014, http://carnegieeurope.eu/2014/09/23/new-geopolitics-of-eu-energy-security-pub-56705/

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Malcolm Keay and Klaus Hammes, 'Fiscal Policy for Decarbonisation of Energy in Europe.' *OIES Paper 22*, September 2017, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-

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Seminar 6. Russia-EU energy relations

Questions:

- 1. What fuels have key importance for EU-Russian energy relations and why?
- 2. How long is the tradition of cooperation between Russia (predecessors are counted) and current EU member states?
- 3. What EU member states are the key Russian partners? What states are the main Russian opponents?
- 4. What factors are beneficial for energy cooperation?
- 5. What factors provoke energy-related conflicts?
- 6. What countries compete with Russia for the EU energy market? What are their strengths and weaknesses as Russian competitors? Are there some countries that compete with the EU for receiving Russian energy?
- 7. To what extent the EU is dependent on Russia as consumer of its energy? Can it be said that Russia is dependent on the EU in terms of energy supplies?
- 8. What measures were taken by the EU to manage energy supplies from external sources and to prevent monopolism? Have these measures proved to be effective? Are there some loopholes allowing to bypass the new regulations?
- 9. Do energy companies from the EU member states participate in the Russian domestic upstream and downstream sector. Is this participation successful?
- 10. In what ways the EU's transition to renewable energy can affect the EU-Russian energy agenda?

Reading:

M. Abbas and C. Locatelli, "National Institutional Systems' Hybridisation through Interdependence. The Case of EU-Russia Gas Relations," *Post-Communist Economies* 32 4 (2019), pp. 429-446. <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database</u>.

Yaroslava Marusyk, 'Securing a Spot under the Sun? Gas and Renewables in the EU-Russian energy transition discourse,' *East European Politics*, 35 2 (2019), pp. 182-200. <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database</u>.

Laura Rodríguez-Fernández, Ana Belén Fernández Carvajal, and Luis Manuel Ruiz-Gómez, 'Evolution of European Union's Energy Security in Gas Supply during Russia–Ukraine Gas Crises (2006–2009), 'Energy Strategy Reviews 30 (2020),

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Anna Kuteleva, 'Discursive Politics of Energy in EU–Russia Relations, Problems of Post-Communism,' 67 1 (2020), pp. 78-92. <u>Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database</u>.

Filippos Proedrou, 'Russian Energy Policy and Structural Power in Europe,' Europe-Asia Studies, 70 1 (2018), pp. 75-89. Available via the Taylor and Francis Journals database.

Jonathan Stern and Katja Yafimava, 'The EU Competition Investigation into Gazprom's Sales to Central and Eastern Europe: a Comment on Commitments,' *OIES Paper 121*, April 2017, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/The-EU-Competition-investigation-of-Gazproms-sales-in-central-and-eastern-Europe-a-detailed-analysis-of-the-commitments-and-the-way-forward-NG-121.pdf

Lecture 7

Asian, African, and Australian energy issues

Summary: Africa. Australia. Selected countries of the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Iran); Southeastern Asia (ASEAN). South Korea.

Reading:

Bassam Fattouh, 'Heightened Geopolitical Risks in the Middle East and Potential Impacts on Oil Markets,' *The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, 22.02.2018,

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Jayant Prasad and Shebonti R. Dadwal, eds., *Asian Strategic Review 2017. Energy Security in Times of Uncertainty*, New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2018, https://idsa.in/system/files/book/book ASR2017.pdf

Further reading:

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Tamás Dudlák, 'After the sanctions: Policy challenges in transition to a new political economy of the Iranian oil and gas sectors,' *Energy Policy* 121 (2018), pp. 464–475.

Bassam Fattouh and Amrita Sen, 'Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030, Oil Policy and the Evolution of the Energy Sector,' *Oxford Energy Comment*, July 2016, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wpcontent/uploads/2016/07/Saudi-Arabias-Vision-2030-Oil-Policy-and-the-Evolution-of-the-Energy-Sector.pdf/

International Energy Agency, 'Africa Energy Outlook. A Focus on Energy Prospects in Sub-Saharan Africa. World Energy Outlook Special Report,' 2014,

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International Energy Agency, 'Southeast Asia Energy Outlook 2017. World Energy Outlook Special Report,' 2017, https://webstore.iea.org/weo-2017-special-report-southeast-asia-energy-outlook/

Rahmatallah Poudineh, Anupama Sen, and Bassam Fattouh, 'Advancing Renewable Energy in Resource-Rich Economies of the MENA,' *OIES Paper:* MEP 15, September 2016,

https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Advancing-Renewable-Energy-in-Resource-Rich-Economies-of-the-MENA-MEP-15.pdf/

Mahsa Rouhi, 'US-Iran Tensions and the Oil Factor,' Survival, 60 5 (2018), pp. 33-40.

Seminar 7

Major Asian energy consumers: China, India, and Japan

Questions:

- 1. What are the key strengths and weaknesses of these states as energy consumers?
- 2. Are these states able to produce significant amounts of energy themselves? If they are, what kinds of energy are most important in this respect?
- 3. Do these countries have extensive energy storage facilities and refinery sectors?
- 4. What are these states' key energy security interests? What relevant geopolitical strategies do these states pursue?
- 5. What fuels dominate these states' energy mix? Has this mix changed significantly during the last decade?
- 6. What are these countries' major environmental concerns?
- 7. How much are these states active in transition to renewable energy?

Reading:

International Energy Agency, 'Energy Policies of IEA Countries. Japan. 2016 Review,' https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/330?fileName=EnergyPoliciesofIEACountriesJapan2016.p df/

International Energy Agency, 'India 2020. Energy Policy Review,' https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/2933?fileName=India_2020-Policy_Energy_Review.pdf/

Julia Xuantong Zhu, 'China's Engagement in Global Energy Governance,' *Asia Dialogue*, 2016, http://theasiadialogue.com/wp-

 $content/uploads/2018/03/Partner Country Series_Chinas Engagement in Global Energy Governance_English version.pdf/$

Yan Qin, 'Natural gas in China's power sector: Challenges and the road ahead,' *Energy Insight* 80 2020, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Insight-80-Natural-gas-in-Chinas-power-sector.pdf/

Further reading:

James Henderson and Tatiana Mitrova, 'Energy Relations between Russia and China: Playing Chess with the Dragon,' *OIES Paper* WPM 70, December 2016, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Energy-Relations-between-Russia-and-China-Playing-Chess-with-the-Dragon-WPM-67.pdf/

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Xin Li, 'Natural Gas in China: A Regional Analysis,' *OIES Paper*: NG 103, November 2015, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/NG-103.pdf/

Guang Yang, 'World Energy Markets and China's Relations with West Asia,' *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 8 3 (2014), pp. 1-24.

Zha Daojiong and Michal Meidan, 'China and the Middle East in a New Energy Landscape,' *Chatham House*, October 2015,

https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/20151021 China Middle East Energy Daojiong Meidan.pdf/

Lecture 8

Energy and politics in Americas

Summary: Common issues of the Western hemisphere. Canada: oil sands. U.S. Energy issues. Latin American energy issues.

Reading:

Jeff Colgan, Thijs Van de Graaf, 'A Crude Reversal: The Political Economy of the United States Crude Oil Export Policy,' *Energy Research & Social Science*, 24 (2017), pp. 30–35.

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 'The Geopolitics of Oil and Gas: The Role of Latin America,' February 2016, https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=dec202ba-72f8-4793-2bc7-f65236b972fd&groupId=252038

Leah Stokes and Hanna Breetz, 'Politics in the U.S. Energy Transition: Case Studies of Solar, Wind, Biofuels and Electric Vehicles Policy,' *Energy Policy*, 113 (2018), pp. 76–86.

Further reading:

Gabriel Collins and Jim Krane, 'Carter Doctrine 3.0: The New Gulf-Asia-US Oil Security Nexus,' *Baker Institute for Public Policy* Policy Brief, 27.04.2017, https://www.bakerinstitute.org/files/12601/

Peter Findlay, 'The Future of the Canadian Oil Sands,' *OIES Paper:* WPM 64, 2016, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/The-Future-of-the-Canadian-Oil-Sands-WPM-64.pdf/

Charles Glaser, 'How Oil Influences U.S. National Security,' *International Security*, 38 2 (2013), pp.112-146.

International Energy Agency, 'Mexico Energy Outlook. World Energy Outlook Special Report 2016,' https://www.iea.org/publications/freepublications/publication/MexicoEnergyOutlook.pdf/Claudia Sheinbaum-Pardo, Belizza Ruiz, 'Energy context in Latin America,' Energy, 40 (2012), pp. 39-46.

Seminar 8

Summary and conclusions

Questions:

- 1. What are common and special features of energy demand and supply issues in various regions (post-Soviet Eurasia, Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, and Latin America)?
 - 2. Do energy governance mechanisms work efficiently in these regions?
- 3. How much promising are prospects of introducing renewables in these regions? What are economic and political obstacles?

Reading:

BP Global, '60 Years. BP Statistical Review of World Energy.1951–2011', http://www.bp.com/60yearsstatisticalreview

Bassam Fattouh, Rahmatallah Poudineh, and Rob West, 'The Rise of Renewables and Energy Transition: What Adaptation Strategy for Oil Companies and Oil-Exporting Countries?,' *OIES Paper*: MEP 19, May 2018, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wpcontent/uploads/2018/05/The-rise-of-renewables-and-energy-transition-what-adaptation-strategy-for-oil-companies-and-oil-exporting-countries-MEP-19.pdf

Further reading:

API, 'Understanding Crude Oil and Product Markets,' https://www.api.org/~/media/Files/Oil-and-Natural-Gas/Crude-Oil-Product-Markets/Crude-Oil-Primer/Understanding-Crude-Oil-and-Product-Markets-Primer-High.pdf

Branko Bošnjaković, 'Geopolitics of Climate Change: A Review,' *Thermal Science*, 16 3 (2012), pp. 629-654.

Jeff Colgan, 'Fueling the Fire. Pathways from Oil to War,' *International Security*, 38 2, (Fall 2013), pp. 147–180.

Itay Fischhendler, Lior Herman, and Nir Maoz, 'The Political Economy of Energy Sanctions: Insights from a global outlook 1938–2017,' *Energy Research & Social Science*, 34 (2017), pp. 62–71

International Energy Agency, 'Outlook for Natural Gas,' 2018, https://webstore.iea.org/world-energy-outlook-2017-excerpt-outlook-for-natural-gas

International Energy Agency, 'Renewables Information: Overview,' 2018, https://webstore.iea.org/download/direct/2260?fileName=Renewables_Information_2018_Overview.pdf

Paul Stevens, 'Transit Troubles: Pipelines as a Source of Conflict,' *A Chatham House Report*, 2009,

 $https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Energy, \% 20 Environment \% 20 and \% 20 Development / r 0309_pipelines.pdf/$

2.3. Exam options and questions:

There are two options for taking the exam:

1) *Taking the final test.* In this case, the questions of the test will be based on questions of lectures and seminars of this syllabus.

2) Writing the essay on a selected country (to be agreed upon with the lecturer) that should be based on responding the following questions:

- 1. Is this country energy sufficient or energy dependent? To what extent? What specific issues and fuels should be considered in this light?
- 2. What definition(s) best describes this country: producer, consumer, or important transit country?
- 3. What fuels dominate the country's energy mix and electricity generation? What are implications of these consumption structures?
- 4. What issues are the most important for this country's energy security agenda? If you find no answer in some text, please try to deduce these issues logically using my first lecture (especially notions about different meanings of energy security for producers, consumers, and transit countries).
- 5. What policy does this country adhere: energy nationalism, energy liberalism, or something in-between?
- 6. What are the major energy companies? Do they have significant political power?
- 7. What are the key conditions for foreign companies' participation in this country's energy sector?
- 8. What are the most important issues related to energy production?
- 9. What are the most important issues related to energy transportation?
- 10. What are the most important issues in relations between energy companies, the state, and the public? Are there some serious conflicts?
- 11. To what extent energy poverty can be considered as a serious issue for this country?
- 12. What is the role of renewables in this country's energy consumption? Does this country have a pronounced policy to support consumption of renewables (e.g. investments, tax benefits, official programs etc.)?
- 13. Does this country participate in energy-related international organizations actively?
- 14. What are the most serious energy-related environmental issues that this country faces? What has been done to mitigate the damage?
- 15. What is this country's attitude towards the climate change issues? Does this country participate actively in the relevant international agreements and programmes?

This list of questions is tentative and can be slightly modified.

Final test or essay can be waived if a student's performance is satisfactory (positive results for interim tests and attendance) and if s/he agrees with the score based on this performance.

2.4. Exam timing

Fall semester written exam: June.

2.5. Consolidated reading list (in alphabetic order)

Literature:

M. Abbas and C. Locatelli, "National Institutional Systems' Hybridisation through Interdependence. The Case of EU-Russia Gas Relations," *Post-Communist Economies* 32 4 (2019), pp. 429-446.

API, 'Understanding Crude Oil and Product Markets,' https://www.api.org/~/media/Files/Oil-and-Natural-Gas/Crude-Oil-Product-Markets/Crude-Oil-Primer/Understanding-Crude-Oil-and-Product-Markets-Primer-High.pdf

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Galib Bashirov, 'Energy, security and democracy: the shifting US policy in Azerbaijan,' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 32 6 (2019), pp. 771-798.

Agha Bayramov, 'Great game visions and the reality of cooperation around post-Soviet transnational infrastructure projects in the Caspian Sea region,' *East European Politics*, 35 2 (2019), pp. 159-181.

Mert Bilgin, 'Geopolitics of European Natural Gas Demand: Supplies from Russia, Caspian and the Middle East,' *Energy Policy* 37 (2009), pp. 4482–4492.

Philippe le Billon, 'The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts,' *Political Geography*, 20 (2001), pp. 561–584.

Eric Bonds. 'Assessing the Oil Motive After the U.S. War in Iraq,' *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 25 2 (2013), pp. 291-298.

Branko Bošnjaković, 'Geopolitics of Climate Change: A Review,' *Thermal Science*, 16 3 (2012), pp. 629-654.

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http://www.bp.com/60yearsstatisticalreview

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Gavin Bridge and Andrew Wood, 'Less is More: Spectres of Scarcity and the 'Politics of Resource Access in the Upstream Oil Sector,' *Geoforum* 41 (2010), pp. 565–576.

Thierry Bros, 'European Pricing Dynamics,' The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 11 May 2017, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/European-Pricing-Dynamics-Thierry-Bros-1.pdf

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Shebonti Dadwal, 'Arctic: The Next Great Game in Energy Geopolitics?' *Strategic Analysis*, 38 6 (2014), pp. 812-824.

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Andreas Economou, Paolo Agnolucci, Bassam Fattouh, and Vincenzo De Lipis, 'A Structural Model of the World Oil Market: The Role of Investment Dynamics and Capacity Constraints in Explaining the Evolution of the Real Price of Oil,' *The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, December 2017, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/A-Structural-Model-of-the-World-Oil-Market-Insight-23.pdf/

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https://www.oxfordenergy.org/publications/oil-price-paths-2018-interplay-opec-us-shale-supply-interruptions/

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