

Oil in the US Foreign Policy II – Cold War Era

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After the WWII

- Expanding car industry and post-war reconstruction key determinants for increasing demand for oil
- Oil as a determining factor for the economy still not a key factor in foreign policy
 - clash of approaches among state representatives: PAW Harold Ickes vs. Dept. of State (liberal)
- Middle East seen as the new center of gravity
 - "cheap vs. secure" debate
 - preserving domestic sources for the event. of conflict (importing cheap oil) vs. extracting domestic oil (not relying on potentially unstable foreign suppliers)
 - gradual shift in the perception of imports support for foreign imports, change in later years



Roosevelt a Abdulaziz Ibn-Saud Aboard the USS Quincy

Establishment of the "special relationship" between the US and Saudi Arabia 14.2.1945:
 access of US OCs in Exchange for military and material assistance



After the WWII – Divide and Conquer?

- Oil within the top 3 energy sources in the US
- US & UK disputes about the spheres of influence in the Middle East
- Concerns about the growing influence of the USSR
- Concerns about potential overproduction and market instability
- Negotiations with UK efforts to renegotiate rather restrictive RLA and cooperation cartelization?
 - questionable compatibility with the Sherman Anti-trust act
 - negotiations about so called Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement since 1943
- Clear shift in positions compared to pre-war years— strengthening US OCs at the expense of Brits
- US share in the total world oil production was steadily declining (from 2/3 pre-WWII to 1/3 by 1973)
 - rise of new producers



Negotiations with UK

- Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement agreed in 1944, renegotiated 1945, finally withdrawn in 1952
 - the US Senate refused the bill
 - Truman refused to support the bill
 - the public and policy sentiment fundamentally changed (30s vs 40s & 50s)
 - public and political resistence towards state-guided policy
 - "OCs can make it on their own!"
 - concerns about compatibility with the Sherman AT Act
- Unsuccessful efforts to state/guided activities in the Middle E.
- PRC and Anglo American PA failed
- paradigm shift indirect support for US OCs



Demise of the RLA & the state-guided policy after the WWII

- SOCONY & SONJ pressured to repeal the restrictive conditions of the RLA in order to be able tojoin SOCAL & TEXACO at ARAMCO
 - SOCONY & SONJ barrewd by the original RLA
- FRA and Gulbenkian protested but eventually agreed (1948)
- IPC (TPC) area of activities redrawn (excl. Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Bahrain,
 Egypt, Israel, and the western-half of Jordan
 - eventually, the center of gravity of oil production shifted out of this area



After the WWII

- Korean War Petroleum Administration for Defense
- successor of similar gov. bodies Fuel Committee (WWI), Petroleum
 Administration for War (WWII)
- Change in the perception of oil imports
 - 1930s & 1940s insufficient imports are dangerous
 - 1950s 1960s excessive imports are dangerous
- Introduction of import quotas 1959
 - higher utilization of domestic resources, combined with increasing demand
 - did not work consumption outpaced saving measures
 - accelerated incoming of the expected 'peak oil'



After the WWII

- Sufficient oil supplies as one of the determining factors of the post-war development
- US aimed to secure sufficient oil supplies for Europe
 - economic development as a precaution against revisionist tendencies and destabilization (part of the containment,
 Marshall Plan)
- SSSR oil production vastly damaged during the war
 - gradually increasing production in following years
 - 2nd biggest producer by 1960s
- Developed economies converted to oil
 - departure from coal as the primary energy source
- Conversion accelerated by post-war reconstruction
 - oil eventually assumed ½ of the worldwide total energy consumption

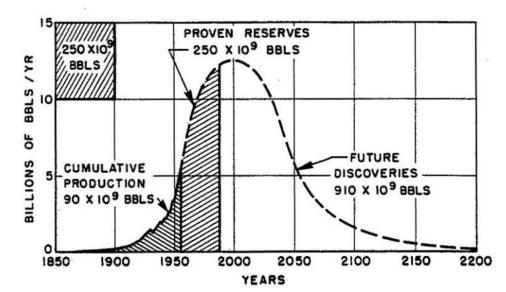


Peak Oil?

- "The Stone Age came to an end not for a lack of stone, and the oil age will end, but not for a lack of oil."
- Zaki Yamani (former Saudi minister of oil industry)

— 1956 - Marion King Hubbert: US production

will peak in early 1970s







Peak Oil?

- 2005-2008 some claimed this period to be the 'real' peak oil (again)
- a) Absolute peak?
 - i.e. all resources have been discovered and developer with maximum efficiency, using the most advanced technologies available;
 technological development reached its absolute peak (highly improbable if not outright impossible)
- b) 'Plateau'? a peak that lasts for a long period of time, production on more less stable level
- c) Temporary peaks? peak production determined by new resources, instable price, etc.
- d) Peak of conventional resources?
 - resources vs. (proven) reserves how much oil is left?
 - decline of (super and mega)giant conventional fields, decline of new finds (Ghawar the biggest oilfield has been producing since eraly 1950s, now in clear decline)
 - the end of oil?
 - ...or rather the end of cheap oil?



Seven Sisters

- Anglo-Persian Oil Company (UK): later Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and then British
 Petroleum, BP since 2000
- Gulf Oil (US): later merged with SoCal and became Chevron
- Royal Dutch/Shell (NED/UK)
- Standard Oil of California (US): acquired Gulf and became Chevron
- Standard Oil of New Jersey (US): became Exxon, acquired Mobil and became ExxonMobil
- Standard Oil Co. of New York (US): became Mobil and was alter acquired by Exxon to become ExxonMobil
- Texaco (United States): later acquired by Chevron.



Iran - Unsuccesful 'Stabilization'

- Iranian people dissatisfied with the quality of life
 - public unrest anti-imperialism nationalist Mohamed Mossadegh as the new PM
- 1951 Anglo Iranian Oil Co. nationalized
- US concerned about the rise of nationalism and penetration of USSR to the region (the heyday of the containment, Tudeh Party)
- 1953 Coup supported by western secret services reinstallation of Pahlavi
- Iranian oil industry nationalized, although US OCs operated and to great extent influenced the whole industry – replaced British influence in the area
- US supported shah's regime by supplying it with political support, supplies, training of counterinsurgency forces, etc.
 - seen as a stabilization for the region and shield against communism
 - public resistance against the regime was increasing

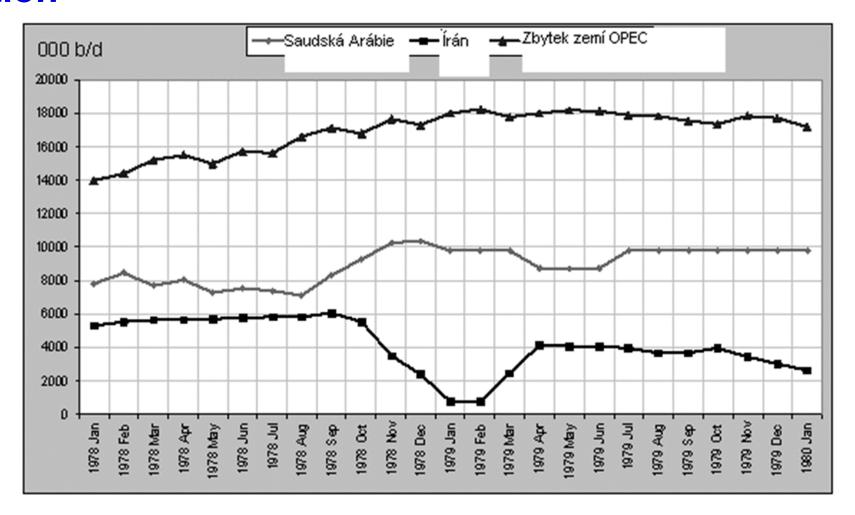


Iran - Unsuccesful 'Stabilization'

- The revolution of 1979 the Shah was replaced by anti-American Ruhollah Khomeini
- Expulsion of foreign experts, continual decrease of oil production
- Supplies to the US embargoed
- Major consumers stockpiling with oil oil scarcity increased
- Other producers eventually caught up with the demand, offsetting
 Iranian production cuts
- 1980 outbreak of the war between Iraq and Iran
 - another blow for the Iranian production
 - situation stabilized in mid 1980s



Oil Production of Selected Countries During the Iranian Revolution





Key Events for the US Oil Policy

- The Suez crisis (1956) efforts to replace British influence
 - unsuccessful Egypt turned away from the West, nationalized the canal intervention of UK, FRA and Israel –
 Saudi oil embargo: US intact clear warning (mind the rise of nationalism)
 - UK and FRA under Saudi embargo
 - limited impact, still a clear warning
- 1960 OPEC founded at first as rather underestimated actor, internal disputes
- 1967 Six-day war limited oil embargo (US, UK, W Germany)
 - both embargoes were selective and limited in the duration; also did not include production cuts, limited in time



Oil shock of 1973

- Early warnings nationalization of assets of US OCs in Libya and subsequent price rises –
 an inspiration for other OPEC countries
- 1968 OAPEC important for later development (rather an "OAPEC embargo" than "OPEC embargo")
- Yom Kippur War production and supply cuts from mid-October 1973, total embargo after
 US decision to help Israel
- Spring 1974 embargo ended
- Influx of 'petrodollars' to producing countries strengthening their confidence and accelerating the process of nationalization
- Position of USSR indirectly strengthened



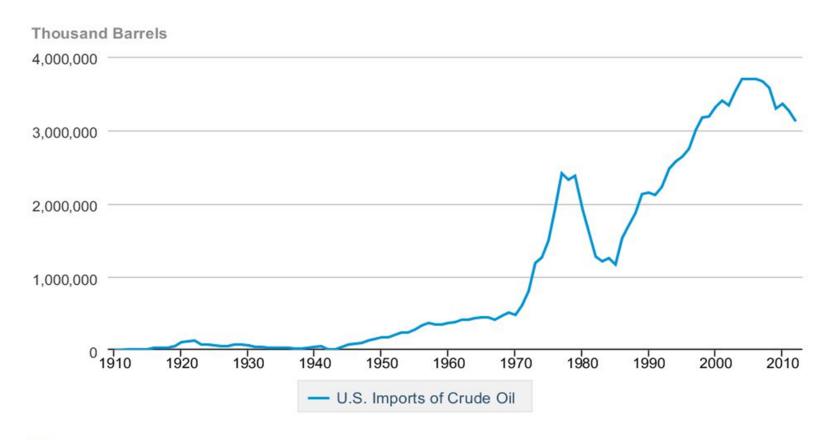
Oil shock of 1973

- Bad timing for the world economy
 - end of the Bretton-Woods system
 - already rising oil prices before the embargo
 - rapidly growing consumption and import dependency...
 - supply/demand disparity
- Major consumers were stockpiling with oil oil scarcity increased
- Impact on the global scale
- Geopolitical implications concerns about the outcome of the CW, US withdrawal from Vietnam, Watergate, decolonization, economic issues, ...
 - US as a weakening power?



US Oil Imports

U.S. Imports of Crude Oil







Consequences of the 1st Oil Shock

- Oil Weapon' became a reality
- Positions of producing countries and OPEC were strengthened, IOCs weakened (and the views were pessimistic...)
- Further nationalization (Venezuela, SA during 1970s)
- Oil prices quadrupled, accelerated inflation, economic development slowed down or stopped, unemployment in the US doubled, ...
- BUT! serious blow for developing countries
- Global impact despite rather selective nature of the embargo
- Oil imports from ME substantially decreased blow for the economy

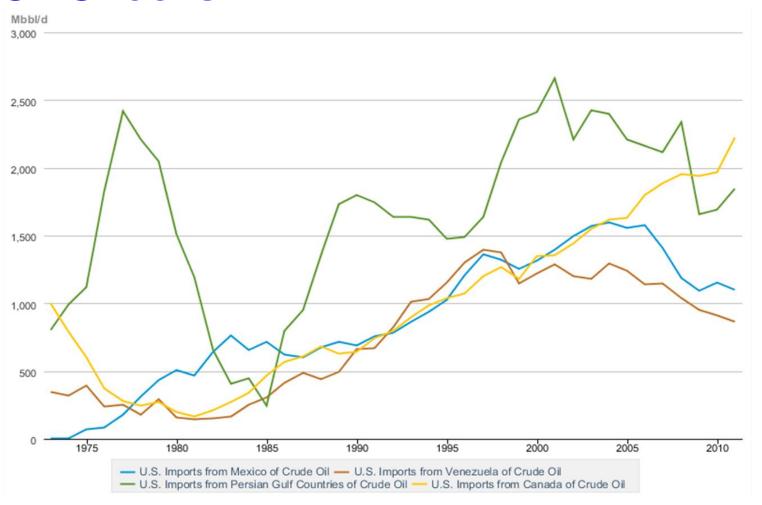


Embargo as a Double-Edged Sword

- Credibility of oil producers substantially harmed source of concern for SA even before the embargo
- A serious blow for producers' economies reluctance for future use of the oil weapon
- Supply diversification away from ME rise of production on the Western hemisphere
 - Canada, Venezuela, Mexico, Norway, UK, diminishing the importance of oil in housing and electricity prod.
- ME producers lost great deal of their consumers
 - efforts to regain their positions
 - increasing production in 1980s
 - price collapsed Serious (decisive?) blow for the USSR
 - OPEC unity deteriorated



Oil imports from the Middle East and Other Countries After the Oil Shocks





'The Oil Weapon'

- "Oil is the only thing that the Muslims have which is needed by the rest of the world,"
 - Malaysian prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad (2002)

- However, oil weapon is now largely discredited
- Mutual dependence of suppliers and consumers
 - Who has a 'bigger stick'?



Reaction on the Oil Shocks

- Establishment of the IEA
- Energy-related issues in the centre of attention
- Nixon's project 'Independence'
- Establishment of the DoE
- Strategic Petroleum Reserves
- Related legislation: Energy Policy and Conservation Act, Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act
- Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE)
- US economy restructured oil consumption temporarily decreased (so did the imports), lower utilization in housing and power generation
- Strengthened hemispheric and continental cooperation (lead to NAFTA)
- US efforts to consolidate common approach of western countries perceived as efforts to strengthen its position globally (context: final stage of the CW, Reagan administration)



Reaction on the oil shocks

- Oil-based power generation in US decreased from 17% to 2%
- US oil imports decreased by 42%, import from ME decreased by 87%
 - affected by economic crisis
 - total oil consumption between 1979 1985 decreased by 15%
- Ongoing nationalization of oil industry in the world
- Carter's doctrine the Persian Gulf as an area of vital US interests
- Second oil crisis only accelerated ongoing processes in the Western states and implementation of related measures
- Following oil prices slump in1980s
- 1970 10% of oil production capacity owned by producing states
- 68% by 1980



Questions

- Who has the power: consumers or suppliers?
- Oil weapon as an effective tool or double-edged sword?
- Nationalization good or bad? For whom?

