

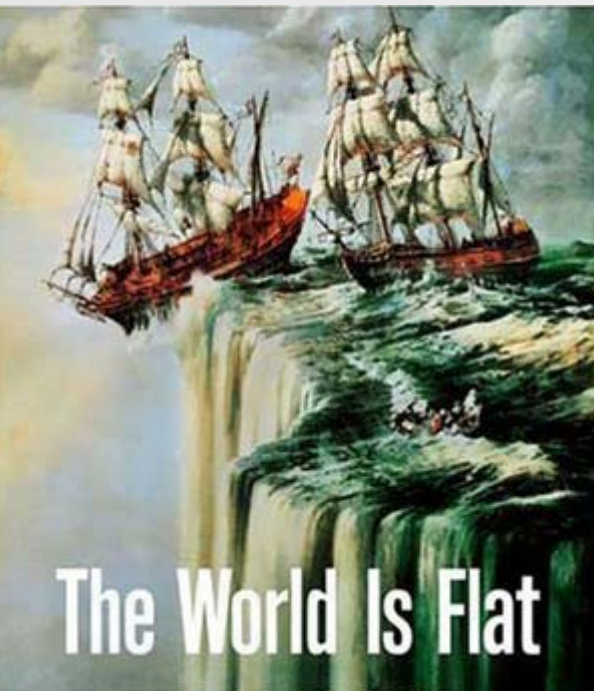
Energy security and terrorism: Perceptions and narratives for an old war of fire

or

The adventure of Mr. Pickwick and Mr. Pyrrho:
writing on security while travelling in a flat world

Giovanni Ercolani

Andalo 15th January 2007



ACCEPT THE LORD GOD'S DIVINE GIFT OF FREEDOM!

The wor(l)d we are leaving in is "CHAOS"

So we are leaving in chaotic words

- So a world before the word, a wor(l)d before the creation.
- So we are back in a context where words create worlds

The world of the "Book of Creation"

- In Hebraic "Sefer Yetsirah"
 - **SEFER**: semitic word, that entered in the Turkish language with the meaning of travel, military expedition (because it was used by Arabs)
 - **YETSIRAH**: creation
 - Has the same root "**YZR**" of:
 - Imagination: Ytser
 - Creator: Yotser
 - To Create (a verb): Yatsar
- (in English: image, imagination, to imitate (a verb), have the same Latin root)

So to read or to write a book is to travel in the time and imagine, and create wor(l)ds **(from being to becoming)**

**“You are either with us
or against us in the fight against terror”**
George Bush (November 6, 2001)

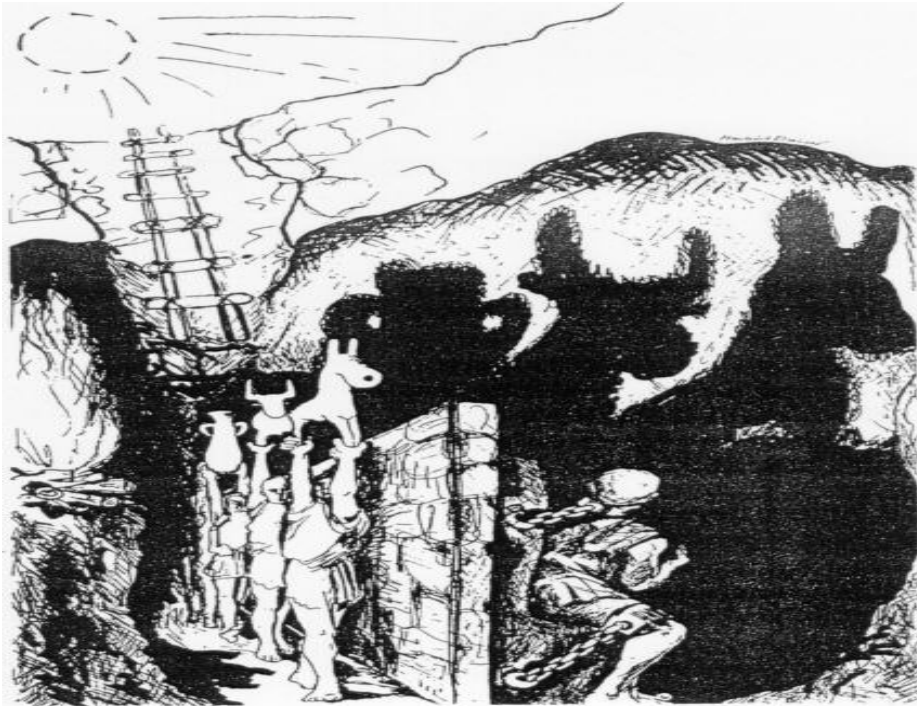


“In clear terms is a religious-economic war”
Osama Bin Laden (January 4, 2004)



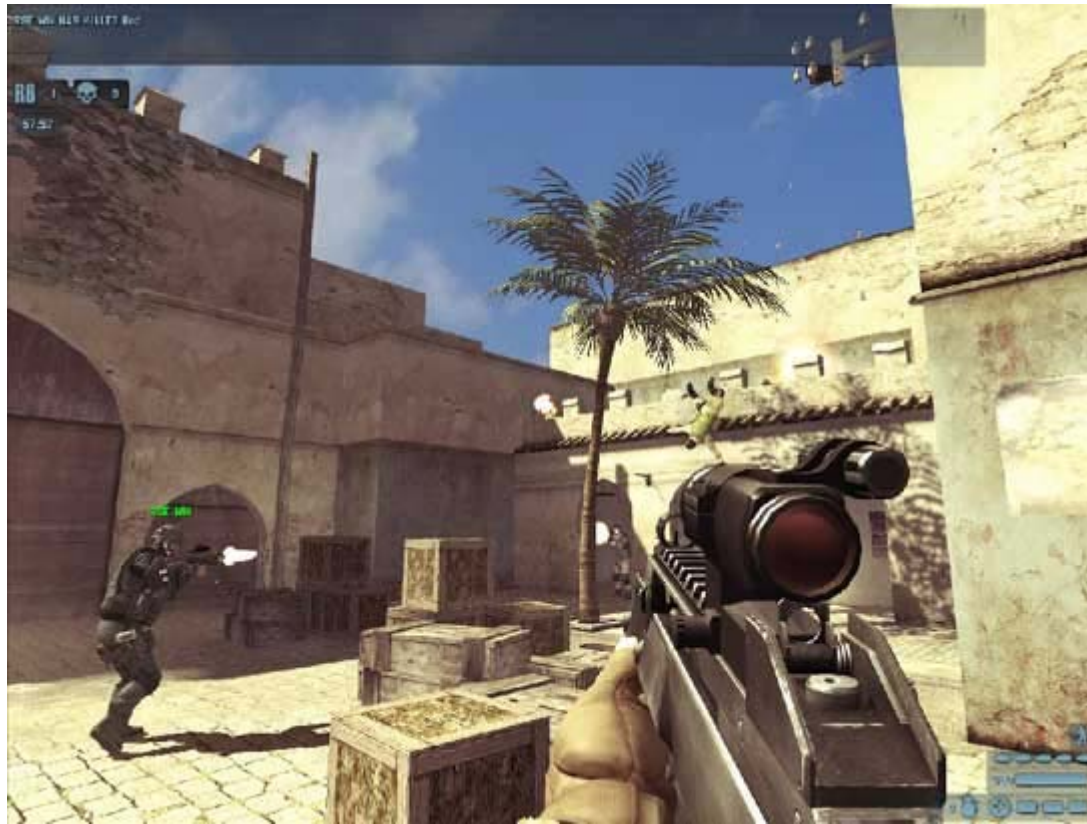
“We need to interpret interpretations
more than interpret things”

Michel de Montaigne

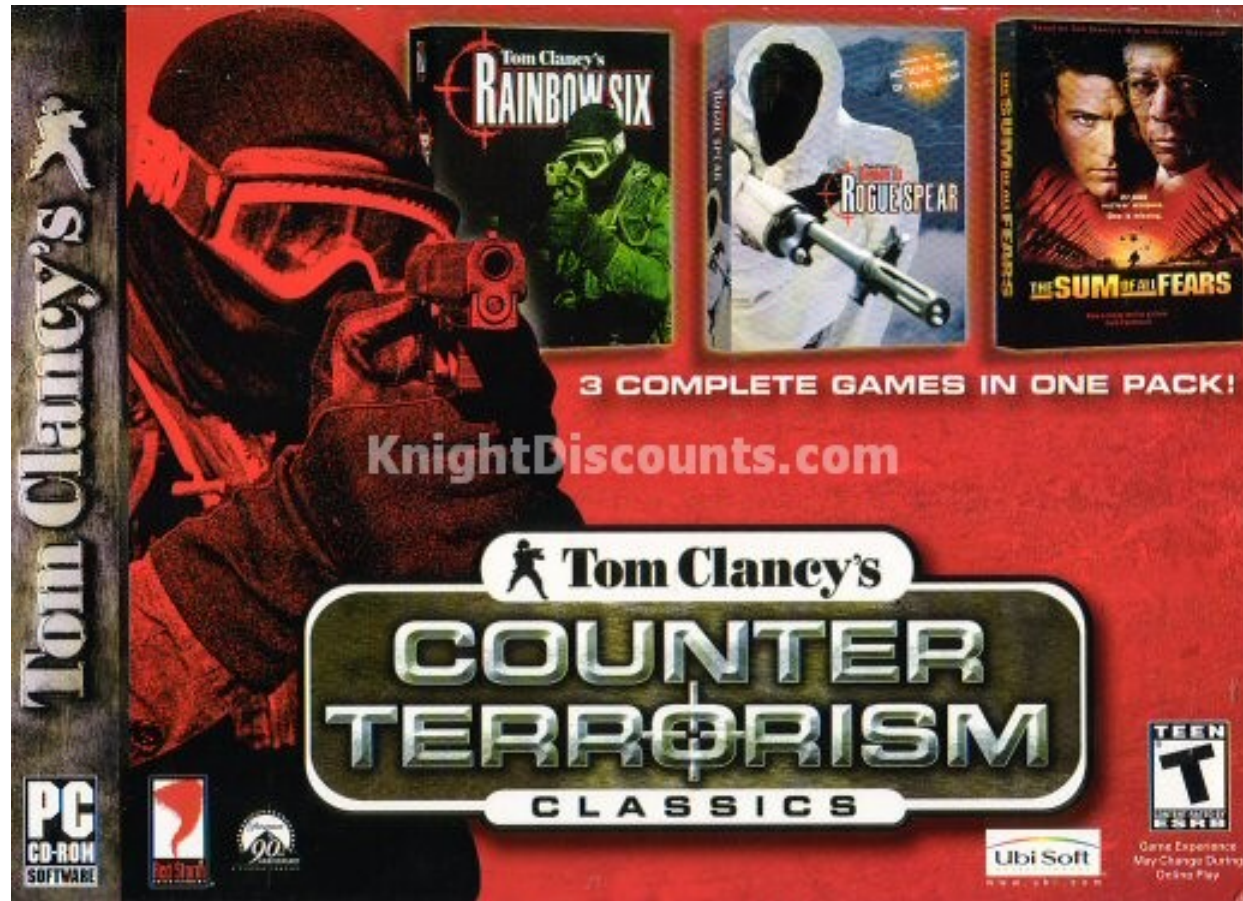


"The enemy is the game, we the hunters"

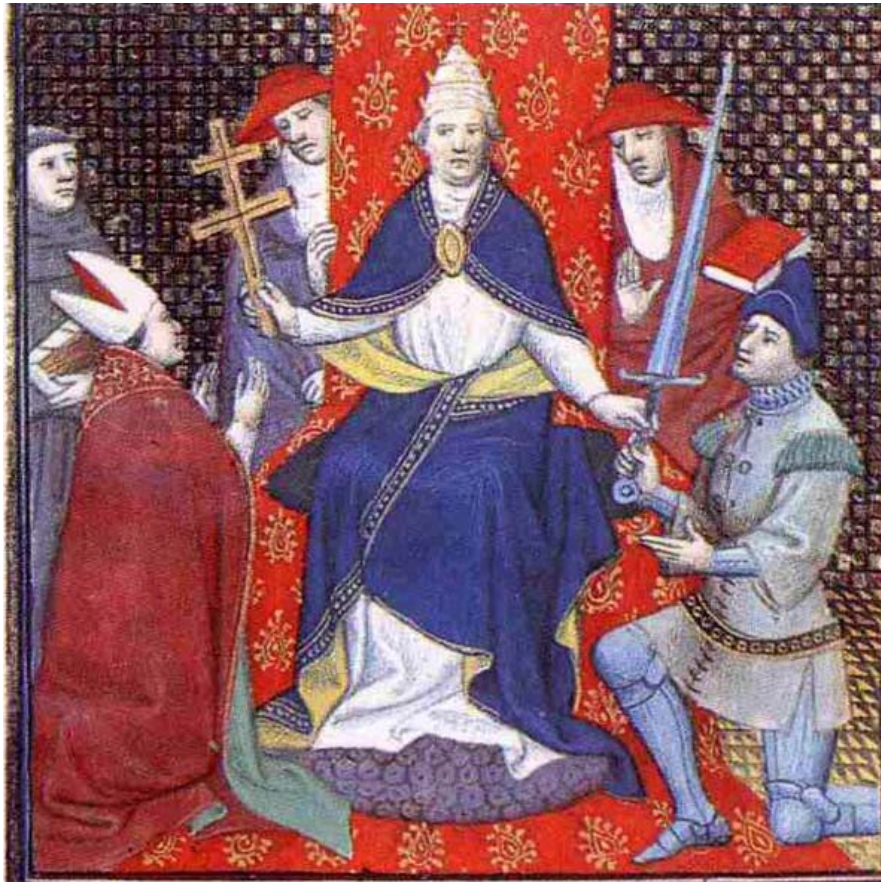
Australian Army training instruction pamphlet



**“If you want to kick the tiger in his ass,
you’d better have a plan
for dealing with his teeth”
Tom Clancy**



**At the end it were the bourgeoisies of the
Italian Maritime Republics
that earned the more from the Crusades”
Henri Pirenne**



**The adventure of
Mr. Pickwick and Mr. Pyrrho:
writing on security
while travelling in a flat world**

Fictional places and atmosphere:

- A Flat World
- The World of Good – the World of Evil
- The World of Oil
- A World of Fear

**Main narrative voices-
Authors/actors:**

- National Intelligence Council - NIC
- The Long War
- Chevron
- Bin Laden

Fictional time:

- Time of creative imagination
- Time of destructive imagination
- The end of history
- history

The plot: what, how, and why.

- Terrorism
- The Long war
- War on terror
- Oil

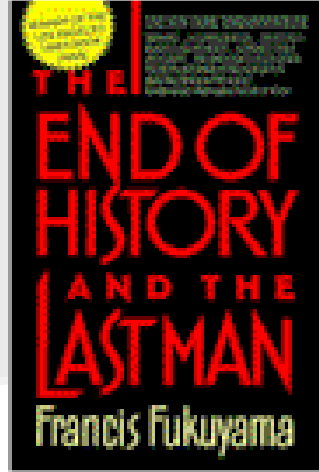


Writing security or Pyrrho's questions:

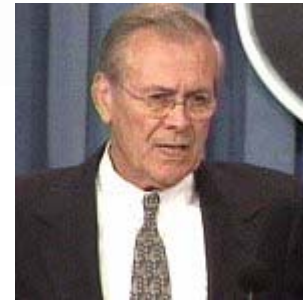
- What is being secured?
- What it is being secured against?
- Who provides security?
- And what methods can be undertaken to provide it?

A Hero with a mission:

- NATO



"The long War"



"Transforming NATO in a New Global Era"

9/11/1989



11/9/2001



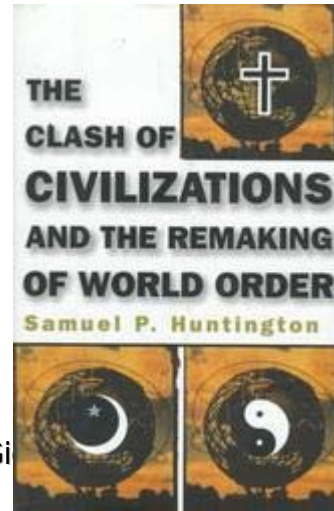
28/11/2006

Creative imagination

Destructive imagination



3/6/2007



Gi

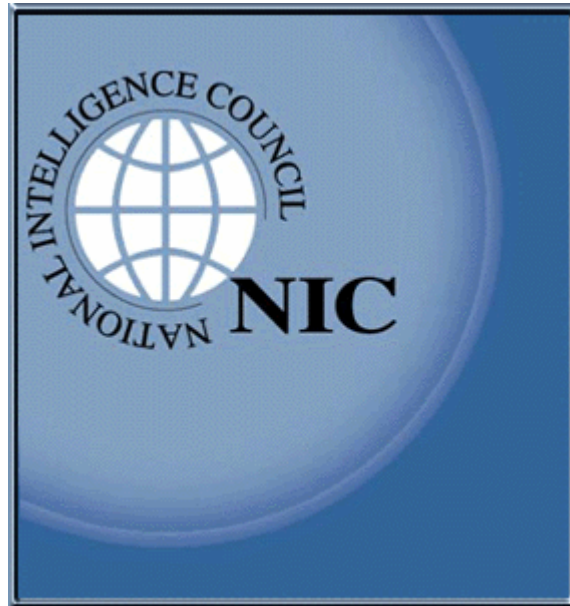


1. **The World Narrated by
the
National Intelligence Council
NIC**

**Global Trends
2010
(Nov 1997)**

**Global Trends
2015
(Dec 2000)**

**Mapping
the
Global
Future
(Dec 2004)**



Global Trends 2010 (Nov 1997)

The structure on the international relations system is drawing to an end. This because in the next 10-15 years:

1. Most conflict will be internal and not between states;
2. Some states will fail to meet the basic requirements that bind citizens to their government;
3. Governments will still find that they are losing control of significant parts of their national agendas (revolution in information technology)

According to the NIC, over the coming decades, the **United States will face six global trends** that will help shape its national security policies:

1. **Population** will increase by 1.2 billion to over 7 billion by 2010. About 95% of this growth will be in developing countries.
2. **Growth in Per Capita Income**. More winners will be in East Asia and the West; more losers will be in Africa and the Middle East.
3. **Food**: We anticipate genetic engineering fueling a fourth agricultural revolution by the end of this timespan. As in the past, shortages will be man-made.
4. **Communications**: The continued digital data and communications revolution will shrink distances and weaken barriers to the flow of information.
5. **Energy**: Growing populations and per capita income will drive the demand for more energy, particularly as the Chinese and Indian economies expand. By 2010 the world will require added production of petroleum on the order of what OPEC produces now.
6. **Military Technology & Deterrence**: Precision-guided munitions and information technologies will continue to be the hallmarks of the revolution in military affairs. Other countries will have technologically advanced military equipment at their disposal, obtained from arms merchants and other governments. However, no power will be able to match US battlefield technological capabilities during this time frame, and potential adversaries are unlikely to repeat Iraq's mistake in challenging the United States via set-piece conventional warfare."

Global Trends 2015 (Dec 2000)

Future Conflicts:

- Through 2015, internal conflicts will pose the most frequent threat to stability around the world. Interstate wars, will grow in lethality due to the availability of more destructive technologies.
- The international community will have to deal with the military, political, and economic dimensions of the rise of China and India and the continued decline of Russia. (...)
- Internal conflicts steaming from state repression, religious and ethnic grievances, increasing migration pressures, and/or indigenous protest movements will occur most frequently in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Caucasus and Central Asia, and parts of south and Southeast Asia, Central America and the Andean region. (...)
- States with poor governance; **ethnic, cultural, or religious tensions; weak economies; and porous border will be prime breeding grounds for terrorism.**

Mapping the Global Future (Dec 2004)

the geopolitical representation of the world is reshaped by:

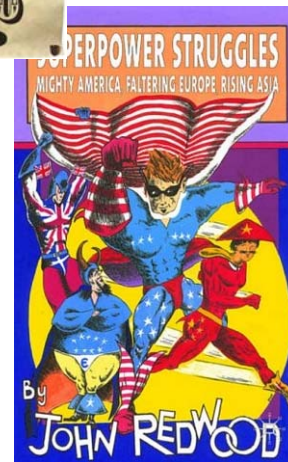
- a “rising Asia”,
- “other Rising State: Brazil, Indonesia, Russia, and South Africa”,
- “the Aging Powers: Europe, Russia, and Japan”,
- “Growing Demands for Energy”,
- “US Unipolarity – How Long Can It Last?”.

The “more pervasive sense of insecurity” is caused by:

- **“Transmuting International Terrorism:** by 2020 al-Qa’ida will have been superseded by similarly inspired but more diffuse Islamic extremist groups”.
- **“Intensifying Internal Conflict:** Lagging economies, ethnic affiliations, intense religious convictions, and youth bulges will align to create a ‘perfect storm’ for internal conflict”.
- **“Rising Powers:** Advantages in modern weaponry will create circumstances encouraging the pre-emptive use of military force”.
- **“The WMD Factor:** Countries without nuclear weapons...may decide to seek them as it becomes clear that their neighbours and regional rivals are already doing so”.

Summarizing we can say that the constant worries of the USA, already confirmed in the two editions of the **"US National Security Strategy" (2002 and 2006)**, are concentrated on:

- The emergence of new rising powers;
- Population's growth trends;
- Energy resources;
- New conflict and terrorism.



War on Terror



The Long War

2. The evolution of the USA Strategic discourse: from the "War on Terror" to the "Long War"

Feb. 2006: 42nd Munich Conference on Security (Rumsfeld)

TOUKA NOWROOZ
Tehran
IRAN



ARTISTS SYNDICATE http://cartoonists.com



Futures area of operations:
From the Middle East to the Horn of Africa, North Africa, Central and South-East Asia And the Northern Caucasus



Unconventional Approach

Ability to surge quickly to troublespots across the globe.
Signals, Human Intelligence-
SPIES ON THE GROUND
Linguistic skills: Arabic, Chinese
And Farsi

Building Partnerships

- Defeating Terrorist Networks;
- Defending the Homeland in depth;
- Shaping the choices of countries at strategic crossroads;
- Preventing hostile states and
- Non-state actors from acquiring or
- Using WMD

Priorities

**US Department
Of State's
Scholarships**

**Lawrence's
legacy**

To unbalance adversaries
Physically and
psychologically

Scholarships and National Security

- After only few days from the publication of the QDR, the U.S. Department of State, “as part of the National Security Language Initiative” started to offer scholarship to American citizens students of “critical languages: Arabic, Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi, Turkish and Urdu”.

3. The Oil Companies: advertisement and the construction of geopolitical perceptions

- Hitherto we have seen how the major world power, despite the **“war on terror”**, is reshaping a huge geographical space on the premise of its own **“national security”** and **“national interest”**.
- But this **“geopolitical imagi-nation”**, using a **“Critical Geopolitics”** approach, is fed by others **authors-actors**, not only then **state-author-actor**, but by every things that help to build up the structure of the **“popular geopolitics”**
- Thus **enemy’s “perceptions”** are created for the **“village audience level”** using **movies, the CNN factor, cartoons, music, and even advertisements.**
- If we were to give credit to one of the most spread theory that the real motivation behind the current Iraq war is oil, then in this case we should take, and analyse the very advertisements of oil companies.
- **After all in spite of Helen’s beauty may be behind of Troy’s war there were other hidden motivations.**

Practical Geopolitics

- Bureaucrats
- governments

Popular Geopolitics

- Mass Media
- Cinema, cartoons

Formal Geopolitics

- Academics
- Think-tanks

**Representing Global
Political Space**

It took us **125 years** to use
The first trillion barrels of oil.
We'll use the next trillion in 30.

The world consumes two barrels
of oil for every barrel discovered.



Russia, Iran and Qatar have **58%**
of the world's natural gas reserves.
The U.S. has **3%**.

Over half the world's oil
lies in five countries

There are **193** countries
In the world. None of them
are energy independent.
So who's holding whom over a barrel?



“Critical Languages, Oil, Terrorism”



If we had to overlap:

- the NIC's reports;
- the “2006 QDR”;
- and the U.S. Department of State's scholarships;

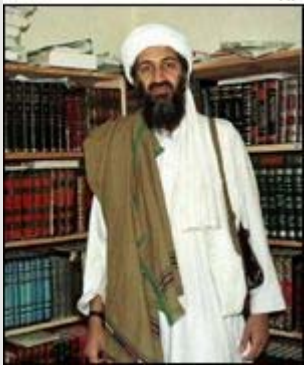


in front of us will appear a huge geographical area that from the **Aegean Sea coast spreads to China's borders.**

- It is a wide area where not only Turkish, Arabic, Farsi, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, and Chinese are spoken, but a region important for energy resources and their distribution.

Existing and Proposed Oil and Gas Export Routes From the Caspian Region



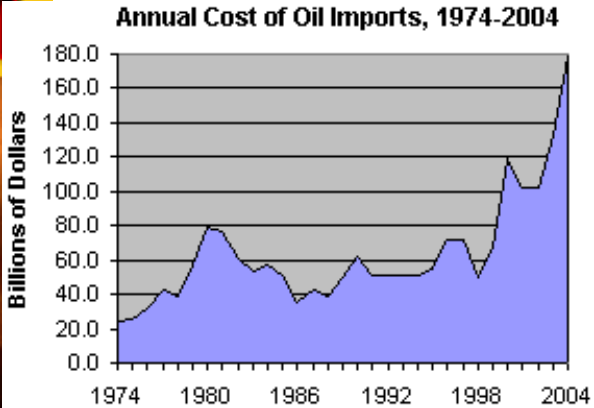


4. The *Jihad* narrated by Bin Laden

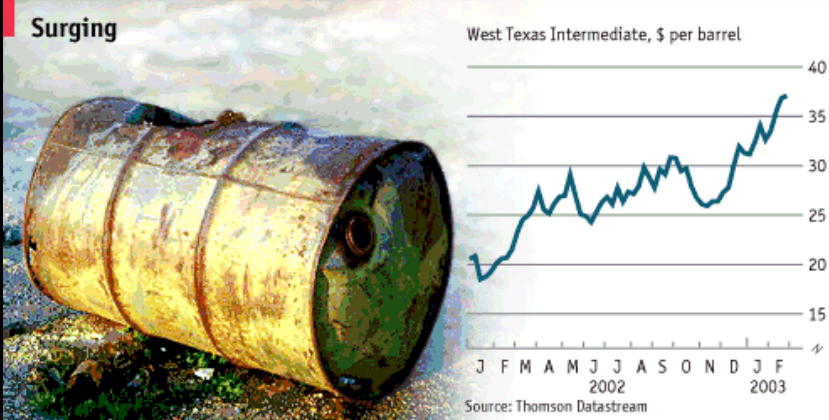
TERRORISM



& OIL



Source: EIA, *Monthly Energy Review*, April 2005.



Friedman defines the founders of al-Qaeda "a political phenomenon more than a religious one. I like to call them Islamo-Leninists."

President Bush recently called them "Muslim fascists".

- Their way to approach the masses is the same used decades ago by Soviet Communist, Fascism, and Nazism, with the same purpose to create "**the new man**".
- At the beginning of his terrorist activities Bin Laden's propaganda/message was addressed to the western audience, **now** his target are the young Muslims as an ideological answer to their sensation of humiliation and confused lost of identity: a "**born again conversion**".

Despite Al-Qaida has **justified, mythicized, and represented** its terrorist attacks in name of a Muslim **Jihad** against western countries, its very essence is an **economic war**.

In his geopolitical discourse Bin Laden overlaps:

- The territory of Dar al Islam;
- The idea of a hypothetical Caliphate that from Morocco stretches to Indonesia;
- The cybercaliphate's networks;
- **Energy resources**;
- All those geographical regions where a sensation of **humiliation/frustration** is lived by Muslim population. Territories that include all those western "ghettos" ("index wars", "index of segregation").

“ In clear terms, it is a religious-economic war “

- “the big powers believe that the **Gulf** and the **Gulf states** are the key to controlling the world, due to the presence of the largest **oil reserves** there (.....) I would like to say a few words to Muslim youths (.....) I beseech you to strengthen the mujahidin everywhere, particularly in **Palestine, Iraq, Kashmir, Chechnya, and Afghanistan**”

Al Qaeda's three methods of economic war against America:

1. destruction of "high qualitative targets by low cost qualitative means" ("Every dollar of Al Qaeda defeated a million dollars")
 2. Forcing the U.S. to sink unsustainable amounts of funding into its defense agencies.
 3. Oil: by cutting the "provision line and the feeding to the artery of the life of the crusader's nation".
- **Energy resources are the Achille's heel** not only of American economy but of the world's, and damages on their distribution system will create serious problem to our societies.
 - On this geopolitical dimension we have not to forget that **"the Islamic world is sitting on oil"**

Just few days before the inaugural ceremony for the opening of the **Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline**, and during the G8 summit, **Condoleezza Riza** was signing a security agreement with **Turkey**, putting a practical start to the QDR 2006.

As the world economy at the moment can not be but addict to oil, overlapping the last representations, the original area is confirmed as a constant of interests: from the **Aegean Sea to China**.





Sources : Energy Map of the Middle East and Central Asia Petroleum, Economics and Arthur Anderson, Londres, 2002 ; Centre international de pétrole (CIPR), Central Intelligence Agency 2000 Maps and Publications (CIA), United States Energy Information Administration (EIA) ; Organisation du traité de l'Atlantique nord (OTAN), www.ObamaSecurity.org, United States Department of Defense (US DoD)

5. Overlapping narratives: “Fault lines”, oil, terrorism, and “frozen conflicts”

- **Behind the curtains of the Cold War the game was easier, more political justifiable, with its rituals and rules of engagement more symmetric.**
- **Until that moment for the “homo ludens” to wage war was a way to receive the gods’ blessing thus to legitimate his victory.**
- **Will, all the above doctrines and the “democratic” intentions of the “war on terrorism” and “war on tyranny”, help President Bush in maintaining a consensus with his allies, and fight against new opponents?**
- **The growing demand for energy – especially by the rising powers – through 2020 will have substantial impact on geopolitical relations.**

- The likely emergence of China and India as new major global players will transform the geopolitical landscape, with impacts potentially as dramatic as those of the previous two centuries.
- The “arriviste” powers – **China (1 billion and 300 millions inhabitants)** and **India (1 billion inhabitants)** – which lack adequate domestic energy resources, will have to ensure continued access to outside suppliers; thus, the need for energy will be a major factor in shaping their foreign and defence policies, including expanding naval power.
- Experts believe China will need to boost its energy consumption by about 150 percent and India will need nearly double its consumption by 2020 to maintain a steady rate of economic growth.
- Due the fact the **United States (300 millions inhabitants)** is not the only nation to have assigned greater strategic significance to economic and resource concerns in the post-cold era, its interests are going to clash against the parallel interests of China, India, and other countries.

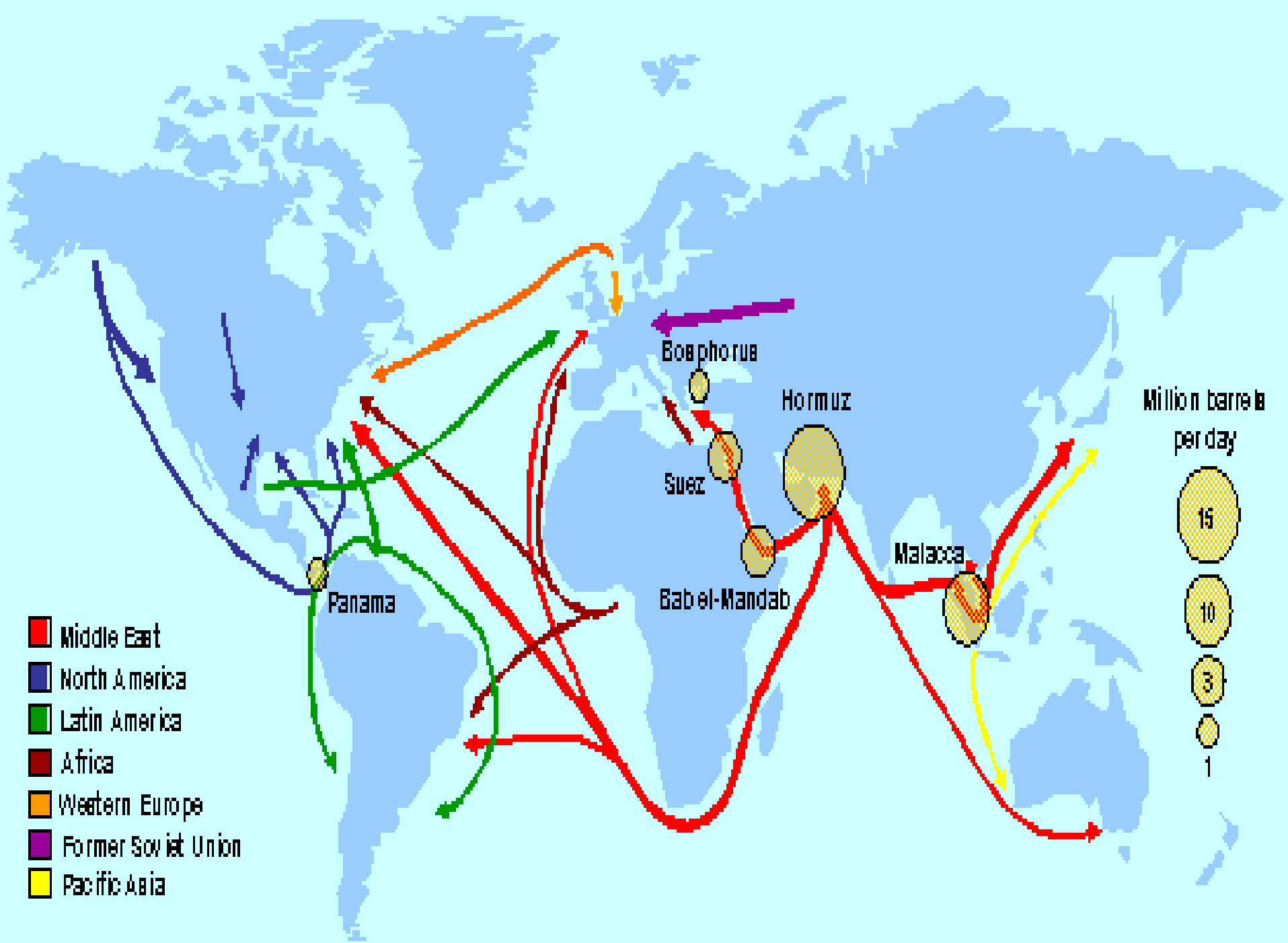
New Regional Theatre of Operations: The New Global Balkans

- The crucial swathe of Eurasia between Europe and the Far East, where definitely these interests will clash, is heavily inhabited by Muslims, and has been defined by Brzezinski as the “**new Global Balkans**”.
- “In 2002 the area designated as the Global Balkans contained **68 percent of the world’s proven reserves** and 41 percent of the world’s proven natural gas reserves; it accounted for 32 percent of world oil production and 15 percent of world natural gas production. In 2020, the area (together with Russia) is projected to produce roughly 42 million barrels of oil per day – 39 percent of the global production total (107.8 million barrel per day). **Three key regions – Europe, the United States, and the Far East – collectively are projected to consume 60 percent of the global production** (16 percent, 25 percent, and 19 percent, respectively).”

- But to a more accurate analysis the situation in this area becomes more complicated when we take in consideration not only the terrorist geopolitical goals expressed by Osama bin Laden, but **other key factors**.
- **Ethnic hostility, economic injustice, political competition, and "the cudgel of people's war"** - (that) without consulting to anyone's tastes or rules, and regardless of anything else, it rose and fell with stupid simplicity, but consistently" - have the potentiality to light periodic outbreaks of violence.
- Increasingly, however, these factors will be linked to **disputes over the possession of (or access to) vital materials**.
- This area that stretches **from the Balkans eastward to "Tartary"** might become the seismograph of the world **politics** and the site of a ruthless struggle for natural resources in the twenty-first century.

“New-style target”: oil and gas pipelines

- The threat of terrorist attacks against “new-style target” – oil and gas pipelines – is rising and the “**new regional theatre of operations**” for the coming terrorist attack is already ready.
- Not only there is certain proximity with the world oil transit **chokepoints** (Bab el-Mandab, the Bosphorus, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Suez Canal),
- but terrorist attacks against oil infrastructures will produce not only **economic damages to the government against which they combat and their economic partners**, but provide them with the **possibility to finance their own terrorist group and murderous activities**.





These attacks could take the form of:

- **Blowing up pipelines, oil wells, and other oil infrastructures;**
- **Attacking tankers;**
- **Menacing the maritime routes through the “chokepoints”;**
- **Blowing up the office of oil companies and, at the same time, kidnapping or killing their personnel.** (Look at the recent case in Nigeria and the terrorist activity of the MEND-Movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta).



At the same this “new regional theatre of operations” could witness even the clash of diverging social theories.

The representation given by the following analysis:

- **Market state/non-market state;**
- **Pre-modern/modern/post-modern state;**
- **Jihad Vs. McWorld;**
- **Clash of Civilization;**
- **“Near enemy”-“Far enemy” of the “Salafit Jihad”;**
- **Market-Dominant minorities.**
- **The world division based on technology: technological innovators, technological adopters, and technological excluded regions;**

Overlap with the representations provided by:

- **Dar al Islam/Dar al Harp;**
- **Von Clausewitz’s war theories collide with the ones of Sun Tzu and the Italian General Fabio Mini;**
- **the “Crescent of Crisis”;**
- **the demographic problem in this area where oil is extracted or distributed;**
- **The economic concept of marginal utility applied to a geopolitical representation of conflict aptitude.**

- It will be along these fault lines that the main conflicts will explode, and **Al-Qaeda will profit from the turmoil to recruit, to serve as a mercenary force for proxy wars**, and to look for financial sustain from state and non-state actors.
- Using his propaganda channels will be easy to depict the **"Dar al-Oil" as the "Dar al-Islam"**.
- Jason Burke, chief reporter for the London "Observer", noticed that **"al-Qaeda describes a function not an entity"**.
- In the future al-Qaeda due the nature of its economic war is probably going to devolve into more **local franchises**, already the "encyclopaedia of jihad", parts of which are available on-line, provide instructions for **creating "clandestine activity cells", with units for intelligence, supply, planning and preparation, and implementation.**

- Moreover recent attacks suggest that **criminal networks and terrorist groups are teaming up** with growing regularity for their mutual benefit.
- Talking about the more specific area of the Caucasus, already C.J. Dick analysed the negative potentiality of **“frozen conflicts”** present in this region.
- Thus, if in these fault-lines independent movements will reclaim the control of portion of territory we will experience **conflicts which according Van Creveld “will have more in common with the struggles of primitive tribes than with large-scale conventional war”**.

- Thus, a dangerous move from war as “**bellum**” (strife), to war as “**werra**” (slaughter), where warfare itself is locally conceived as a ritualized form of territorial demarcation.
- In a recent article published on the International Herald Tribune, Thomas L. Friedman is very clear : “Energy is the most important geostrategic and geoeconomic challenge of our time”, so significant that **in this historical period defined “post-post-Cold War” the “axis of oil” (Russia, Venezuela, Iran) it is more lasting and more important than terrorism**”.
- It can not be a coincidence but “the integration of the administration’s **antiterrorism and energy protection policies** into a strategic framework is vividly evident in **Georgia**, the leading recipient of U.S. aid in the region”.

U.S. government view of terrorism



Considered a "state sponsor of terrorism"



Suggested to be considered a "state sponsor of terrorism"



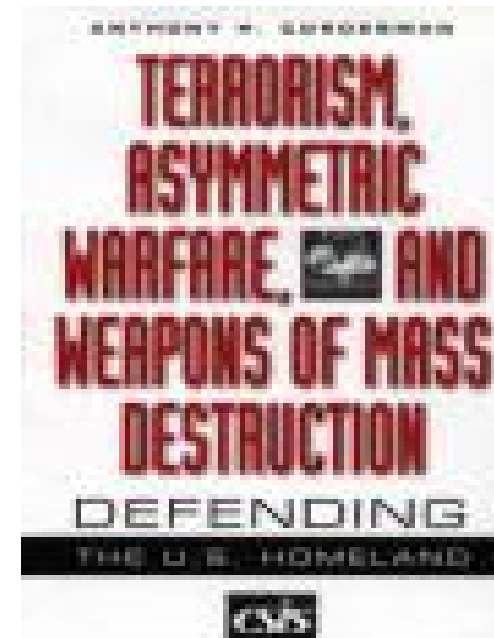
Suggested to be considered as "not cooperating fully"



6. Bricolaging fear: NATO, terrorism, and oil

The shapes such potential conflicts can have in this
“**new regional theatre of operations**” are the following:

- Warre (Hobbes: “a warre of all against all”);
- Low intensity conflicts;
- Proxy war;
- Netwar;
- Network War;
- Franchising terrorism;
- 4th Generation Warfare;
- Asymmetric Warfare;
- “Iraqization”.



- These conflicts will have devastating impacts on the five sectors already highlighted by Buzan: military, political, economic, societal, and environmental sector.
- If the target is the “Market State” what is better than to hit its Achilles’s heel: the “economic target” represented by oil?

Terrorism is:

- “Terrorism is after all a tactic”;
- “Terrorism is a tool, not an actor”;
- and “Terrorism represents the privatization of war, the pre-modern state with teeth”.



7. A Hero with a Mission: NATO



Due to the strategic importance of the area, NATO countries seeing their economic interests at stake will be called to operate and intervene in these regions.

Already the NATO New Strategic Concept (signed April 24th 1999) was declaring in two articles:



Art. 20: "(That) **The security of the Alliance remains subject to a wide variety of military and non-military risks** which are multi-directional and often difficult to predict. **These risks include** uncertainty and instability in and around the Euro-Atlantic area and the possibility of regional crises at the periphery of the Alliance, which could evolve rapidly. Some countries in and around the Euro-Atlantic area face serious economic, social and political difficulties. **Ethnic and religious rivalries**, territorial disputes, inadequate or failed efforts at reform, the abuse of human rights, and the dissolution of states **can lead to local and even regional instability**. The resulting tensions could lead to crises affecting Euro-Atlantic stability, to human suffering, and to armed conflicts. **Such conflicts could affect the security of the Alliance** by spilling over into neighbouring countries, including NATO countries, or in other ways, and could also affect the security of other states.

Art. 24: “Alliance security interests can be affected by other risks of a wider nature, including acts of terrorism, sabotage and organized crime and by the disruption of the flow of vital resources”.

A Hero with a mission:

- NATO



Evil is real and it must be opposed

Bush, 29 January, 2002



To further understand how the threat to energy resources has evolved we can read the following two initiatives presented at the Riga NATO Summit (Nov 2006) "Transforming NATO in a New Global Era":

- American Senator Richard Lugar: "any NATO member whose energy sources are cut off by force should be able to rely on assistance from the alliance because an attack using energy can devastate a nation's economy" (so invoking art. 5 of the Alliance Charter)
- The second one by Jamie Shea, Director of Policy Planning at NATO.
 - "An Energy Security and Intelligence Analysis Cell could be established by the North Atlantic Council. A similar intelligence unit has been set up to deal with the issue of terrorism and has been successful. Alternatively, we could broaden the mandate of the terrorist intelligence unit to include a specific focus on intelligence related to energy security. Intelligence could be gathered from Allies, Partners, industry and government sources. The Special Committee could also play a role in facilitating intelligence-sharing between different entities in the field of energy security."

- **A syllogism** where the combination of the Alliance security interests and the representation of the “new regional theatre of operations”, match a spatial perimeter larger than the very geographical border of its state members, and provide the shape of a **“Regional Security Complex”**.
- A **“MIMESIS”**
- **A “Regional Security Complex” where energy emerges as the constant challenge, despite the tentative to replace the war on soviet communism with the war on terrorism as the main strategic motivation of the Alliance (1989-2001: threat deficit).**
- **An anxious Alliance searching for the “Other”:** as “Ahab owes his existence and also his nature to Moby Dick. (...) Shall we say that Moby Dick creates Ahab and, in addition, denotes him, and construe at least the denoting on the model of linguistic referring?”



NATO's Mission

- Even in this context, the potential NATO operations, in/out area, of the types “traditional” and “policing”, **peacekeeping**, and peacebuilding, are going to overlap on this area.
- What is necessary to this point is a revision of the classical approach to conflict resolution and peacekeeping operation because NATO or European soldiers will be called to operate more as policy forces than with a war-fighting role, and the **integration and understanding of the local culture, the local narrative, is a must for a positive result of the military mission.**



- The new forces called to operate in these theatres will need the support of experts (integrated at squad/platoon level) of “cultural intelligence-CULTINT” because “intelligence has a vital role to play in determining identity and intent, and in understanding the enemy instead of just counting him”.
- A cultural intelligence able to identify, and translate the anthropological elements, motivations, behaviourism, language, signs, myths, emotions and the “furor”, which in a certain moment transform a “non combatant” mass in a contagious “war machine”: the creative and involutory process of “becoming-animal and war machine”.

Mr Pickwick addresses the club



Pyrrho's questions:

- **What is being secured?**
- **What it is being secured against?**
- **Who provides security?**
- **And what methods can be undertaken to provide it?**

OIL: the devil's excrement

Juan Pablo Perez Alfonzo
(founder of OPEC)



