Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Nathanael J. Boswell

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Politics at Massey University

Palmerston North, New Zealand 2006
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Beth Greener-Bacham for her helpful comments and suggestions over the course of the construction of this thesis. I would also like to thank all those people who have known me over the past year who would always receive the bland response of "I'm working on my thesis" when enquiring about my daily activities.
# TABLE OF CONTENT

Acknowledgements i

Table of Content ii

Abstract iii

Chapter One: Introduction 1

Chapter Two: Energy and Security 7

Chapter Three: America’s World War II & Post-War Policy Towards the Persian Gulf: from 1939-1977 26

Chapter Four: Expanded American Involvement in the Persian Gulf: from President Carter to President George W. Bush 50

Chapter Five: Case Study: Contemporary U.S. Actions in the Persian Gulf 67

Chapter Six: America’s Domestic Security Environment and move Towards a Post-Petroleum Economy 112

Chapter Seven: Analysis 124

Chapter Eight: Conclusion 146

Bibliography 152
The September 11 attacks unquestionably had a significant impact on the policies of the Bush administration, and a number of works have been published on the change in U.S. foreign policy post September 11. However while a large number of commentators have explained that America's foreign policy and domestic security environment were irrevocably changed that day, when the planes flew into their targets, there has been very little discussion generated over post September 11 energy policy and whether the change in U.S. foreign policy has been reflected in contemporary U.S. energy policy.

This lack of discussion over post September 11 energy policy is surprising as foreign policy and energy policy objectives are often pursued in concert with one another, therefore it is this lacuna that this thesis seeks to examine. In order to examine whether the change in U.S. foreign policy is reflected in U.S. energy policy this thesis will examine historical U.S. policy in order to establish America's pre September 11 approach to energy policy and will also discuss post September 11 energy policy to highlight any changes or lack thereof.

Through examination of pre and post September 11 U.S. energy policy it can be concluded that while the horror of the September 11 attacks forced a reassessment of America's domestic security environment as well as spawning the creation of
the Bush Doctrine which was a significant development in the field of foreign policy there was very little change in U.S. energy policy post September 11.