

*Security as a Changing Parameter/Factor in Foreign Energy and
Security Policy and the Implementation: The Case of the EU and PRC in
Central Asia*

JOHANNA G.B. RUST

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EAST ASIA, RUB

DEC 16, 2022, AIEE 7TH ENERGY SYMPOSIUM

Overview

- Method
- Aim of my research
- Context explained – Why Central Asia as a case study?
- Analysis – The EU and China engaging in Central Asia
- Results/Conclusion



<https://www.euractiv.com/section/central-asia/news/brussels-ministerial-paves-the-way-to-launching-eu-central-asia-strategy/> (last access: 15.12.2022)

I – Method

- 1) Literature screening/review: identifying the academic definition of “security”
- 2) Identifying ”energy security concepts” and theories
- 3) Analysing the EU’s engagement in Central Asia and its foreign energy security policy toward the region.
- 4) Analysing China’s engagement in Central Asia and its foreign energy security policy toward the region.
- 5) Compare the implementation of both actor’s strategies in Central Asia, evidenced by expert interviews conducted in 2021 + 2022.
- 6) Results can explain the successful or failed engagement and what needs to change for providing a substantial foreign energy and security policy.

II – Aim of my research

Question 1: What approaches and what kind of understanding of “security” is providing foreign energy and security policy with ideas and concepts?

Question 2: *What is going on in Central Asia regarding energy and security issues?*

Question 3: *How can the EU devise efficient foreign energy and security policy in third countries? How can national interests become better embedded in foreign policy?*

Question 4: How can be dealt with China in third countries?

III – Context explained: the region

Central Asia as a case study in EU-China energy and security relations:

- In the middle of 3 of 4 power blocks (EU, Russia and China) → geostrategic
- Similar interests of the EU and China in the region → national interests in third countries
- Two-level diplomacy → EU + China vs. EU in CA + China in CA
- Central Asia as a **resource rich region, transit region, export market with young population, security cushion.**

→ Central Asia was until 1990 part of the Soviet Union. Interconnected by given circumstances. That changed to isolation and now is reconnecting again.



III – Background Central Asia

Central Asia in between major global powers / the old chess board theory

- Independence of five former soviet republics after 1990.
- Presidential republics, authoritarian political systems in place with few exchanges in the top.
- European Union so far without a comprehensive and hands-on strategy for the region.
- China is engaged since years and is investing massively, especially in infrastructure.

In the literature, there are not many contributions dealing with China's impact on the foreign policy development of the European Union toward Central Asia/third countries.

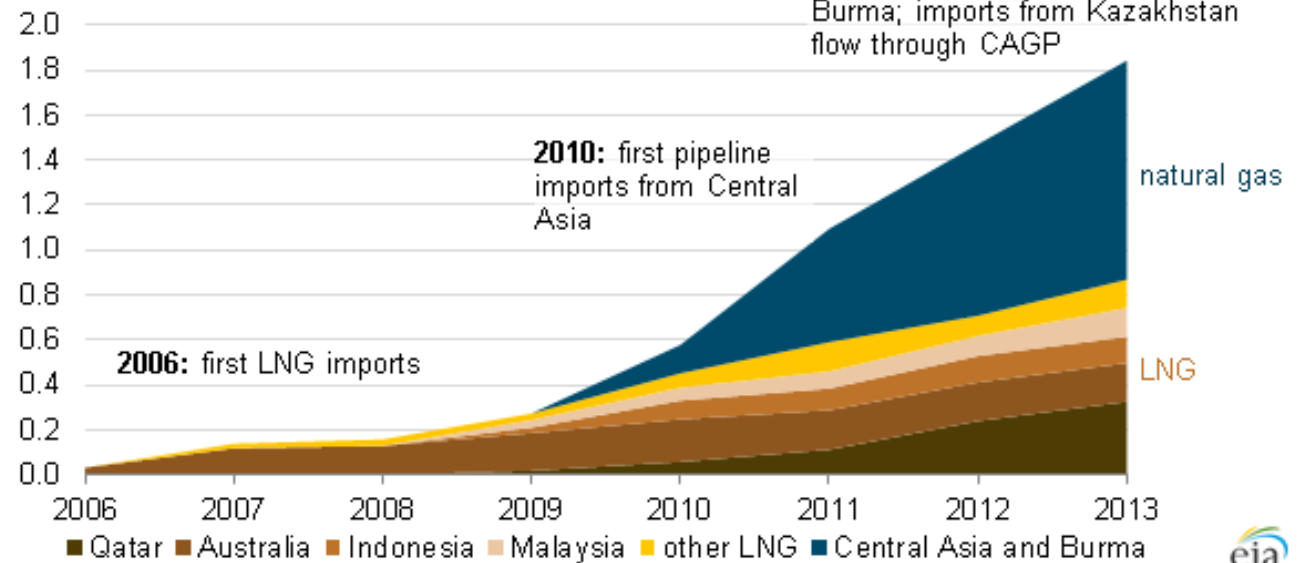
IV – Analysis: China in the region

Turkmenistan counts for 9.4 percent of the world's total proven natural gas resources (17.5 tcm), the fourth largest natural gas producer.

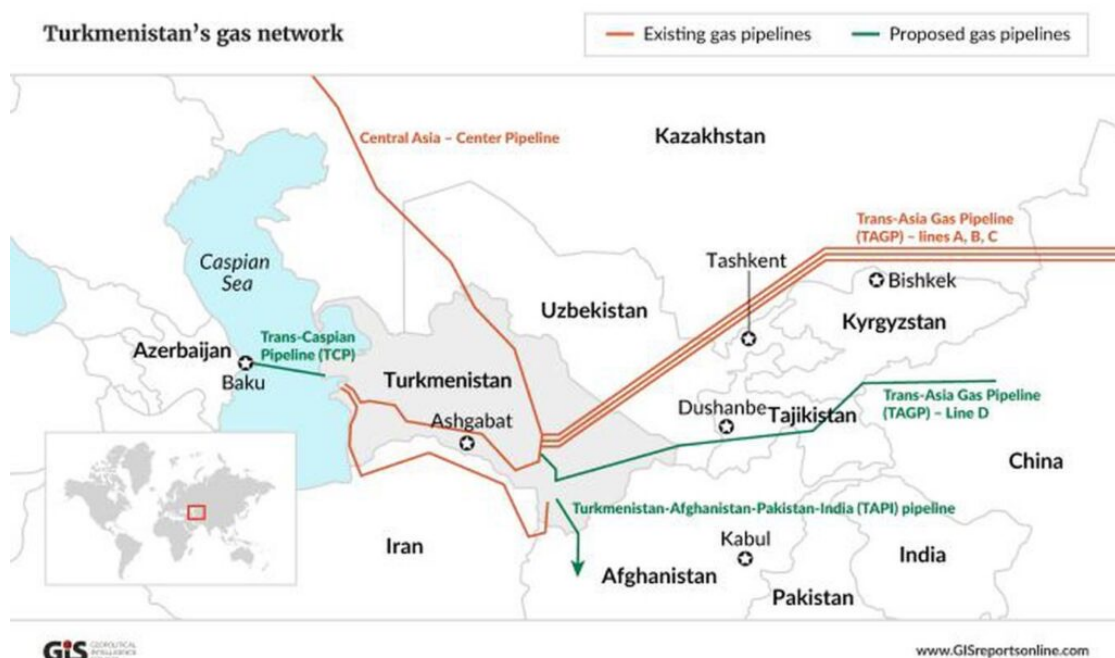
China replaced Russia in Turkmenistan and received in 2017 around 94% of Turkmen gas exports (90% of the total value of the country's exports).

China's natural gas imports by source

trillion cubic feet



IV – Analysis: China in the region



Selected natural gas infrastructure in China

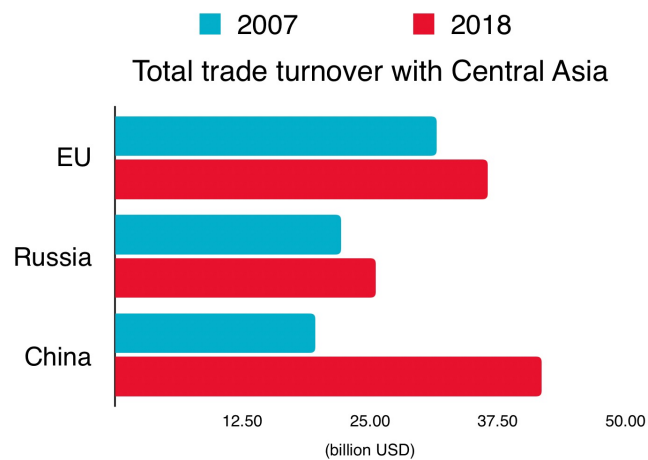


IV – Analysis: EU in the region

EU and Kazakhstan

- Diplomatic relations established in 1993. In 2015, the Enhanced Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (EPCA) signed, entered into force on March 1, 2020.
 - Trade between the EU and Kazakhstan increased from \$2.2 billion in 1999 to more than \$29.48 in 2018 → transport and logistics bear most potential with the EU offering advanced technologies and standards.
 - 80% of the country's total oil exports goes to EU countries + Kazakhstan covers more than 21% of the EU uranium demand (Ministry of Energy, Kazakhstan, 2021).
- *included: human rights, rule of law, good governance, civil society and cultural development (“national” interest of the EU).*

IV – Analysis: EU in the region



EU and Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan

- Since this year, Uzbekistan and the EU have finalised their negotiations on an Enhanced Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (EPCA). Kyrgyzstan as well is on the way to enter the EPCA into force.
- Last week, the EU announced to start negotiating an EPCA with Tajikistan.

Background: Central Asian Strategy of the EU in 2019.

IV – SWOT

1990s → PCA with KAZ, KYR, UZB, later TAJ

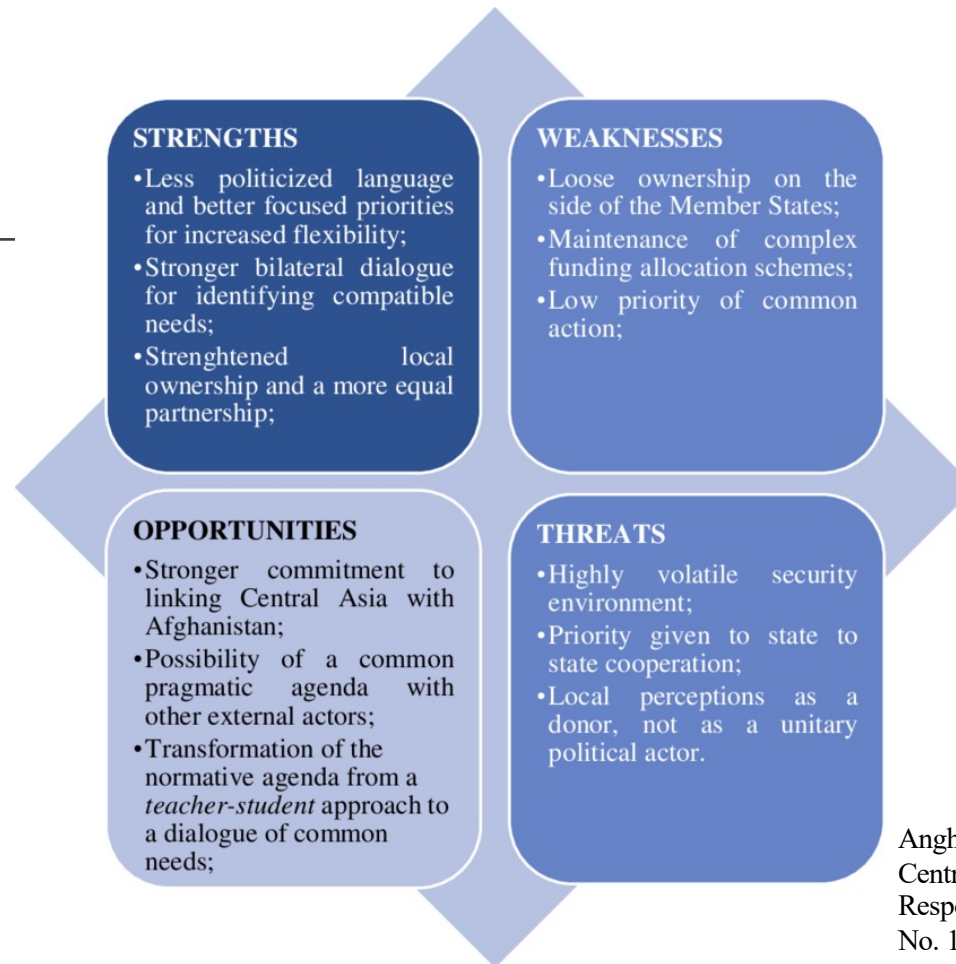
2005 → EU establishes special representative to the region of Central Asia

2007 → First Central Asian Strategy

2019 → Second Central Asian Strategy

The EU is approaching Central Asia as one region, aligning bilateral agreements with this strategic framework.

Central Asian perception: “Where is the EU?”



Angelescu, Ana-Maria 2021, European Union in Central Asia during the Covid-19 Pandemic: Crisis Response and Future Recovery, Policy Brief Series, No. 10, Bucharest 2021

V – Results: “Security” is no harmony

Concept of energy security changed in the past decades → from fossil fuel stable supply at affordable prices to a high complexity of diverse resources, infrastructure networks (offline/online), climate change (natural disasters with its implications) etc.

“Security” never was a clearly defined concept or theory → the term might not even “have any precise meaning at all” (Wolfers 1952:481) and ”national security”/”national interest” may not mean the same thing to different people.

V – Results: “Security” is no harmony

	EU	PRC
Security aligned in FP	Scattered, fragmented	Streamlined
Actors involved in formulating security policies	Many levels, opinions, needs	The State (1)
National interests formulated in FP	Yes	Yes
National interests implemented in Central Asia	Mostly not	Yes

(1) “Article 6: The State formulates and incessantly perfects national security strategies, comprehensively evaluates international and domestic security circumstances, and clarifies the guiding principles, middle and long-term objectives for national security strategy...” (National Security Law 2015, PRC)

V – Results: EU’s security interests

Wolfer’s words on the different understandings of security is a challenge to the European Union’s foreign energy and security policy:

- Many institutionalized positions, dialogues and agreements were arranged, but with little meaning.
- Central Asia is not looking at the EU as a strong actor or partner
- EU formulates a clear “national” interest with human rights, democracy, cultural exchange and economic cooperation, but not target-oriented.

- The congruence of the understanding of “security” in foreign energy and security policy decreased and reached a low point by the end of 2020.
- A change is needed if the EU wants to be recognized as a partner working for results.

V – Results: China’s national security interest

Diplomatic relations to all five Central Asian countries established after independence.

1996 → Shanghai Five (CN, RU, KZ, KY, TJ). Since 2001 Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) including Uzbekistan to resolve border issues and control Western province of Xinjiang with Uighurs living in China and neighbouring states.

China focusses clearly on national interests:

- Securing natural resources
- Securing as much control over exploring, extracting, transporting and refining it (and selling).
- Building up transit routes for import but even more important, for export.

→ The congruence of the understanding of “security” in foreign energy and security policy is high and was translated into substantial results. Questions regarding dependencies remain.

Sources (selection)

- Baldwin, David, 1997, The concept of security, *Review of International Studies*, Vol.23, Issue 1, pp. 5-26
- Chen and Jaffe, 2007, Energy Security: Meeting the Growing Challenge of National Oil Companies, *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, Vol.8, Issue 2, Summer/Fall 2007, pp.9-22.
- Cherp, A. and Jewell, J., 2014, 'The concept of energy security: Beyond the four as', *Energy Policy*, 75, pp. 415–421. doi: 10.1016/j.enpol.2014.09.005.
- Council of the EU, 2022, EU to launch negotiations on a new agreement with Tajikistan, Press release, December 8, 2022, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/12/08/eu-to-launch-negotiations-on-a-new-agreement-with-tajikistan/> (last access: 15.12.2022).
- Covey, Stephen R., 2004, *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*, Simon & Schuster UK Ltd.
- Dupuy, A. *et al.*, 2021, 'Energy security in the era of hybrid warfare', *NATO Review*, January, pp. 1–8. Available at: <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/articles/2021/01/13/energy-security-in-the-era-of-hybrid-warfare/index.html>.
- EEAS, 2022, Central Asia – Strategic Communications on the Region, March 25, 2022, https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/central-asia_en (last access: 26.5.2022).
- Flaherty and Filho, 2013, Energy Security as a Subset of National Security, in Filho and Voudouris (eds.), 2013, *Global Energy Policy and Security*, Springer; pp.11-25.
- Liu et al., 2018, China's energy revolution strategy into 2030, *Resources, Conservation & Recycling*, Vol. 128, Elsevier, pp. 78-89 .
- NATO Press Release, 2021, 086, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_185000.htm (last access: 21.5.2022)
- Nurjanov, Aybek, 2021, „EU, Kazakhstan Intend to Deepen Energy Ties, *Caspian News*, March 30, 2021, <https://caspiannews.com/news-detail/eu-kazakhstan-intend-to-deepen-energy-ties-2021-3-30-0/> (last access: 15.12.2022).
- Wolfers, A., 1952, “National Security” as an Ambiguous Symbol’, *Political Science Quarterly*, 67(4), pp. 481–502.
- Yergin, Daniel, 2006, Ensuring Energy Security, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.85, pp. 69-82.



Thank you!

CONTACT: JOHANNA.RUST@RUB.DE