### ENERGY RESOURCES OF THE CASPIAN REGION AS AN INSTRUMENT TO ENSURE ENERGY SECURITY OF USA, EU AND CHINA

This article describes the diversification of energy resources and the impact of external actors on it. In a deep sense, it concentrates on the policy of the above aspects. Also, the article highlights the events and projects of the region's oil and gas policy.

The article analyzes the works and reflections of various politicians, scientists and analysts, who characterize various and similar ways of political solution of problems in the region.

*Key words:* transportation, external actors, diversification, energy resources, region? oil and gas policy.

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## ЭНЕРГЕТИЧЕСКИЕ РЕСУРСЫ КАСПИЙСКОГО РЕГИОНА КАК ИНСТРУМЕНТ ДЛЯ ОБЕСПЕЧЕНИЯ ЭНЕРГЕТИЧЕСКОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ США, ЕС И КНР

В этой статье рассказывается о диверсификации энергетических ресурсов и влияние на нее внешних участников. В глубоком смысле, она концентрируется на политике вышеупомянутых аспектов. Также в статье подчеркиваются события и проекты нефтегазовой политики региона.

В статье анализируется труды и размышления разных политических деятелей, ученых и аналитиков, которые характеризует различные и схожие пути политического решения проблем в регионе.

**Ключевые слова:** транспорт, внешние участники, диверсификация, энергетические ресурсы, нефтегазовая политика.

# ЕНЕРГЕТИЧНІ РЕСУРСИ КАСПІЙСЬКОГО РЕГІОНУ ЯК ІНСТРУМЕНТ ДЛЯ ЗАБЕЗПЕЧЕННЯ ЕНЕРГЕТИЧНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ США, ЄС І КНР

У цій статті розповідається про диверсифікацію енергетичних ресурсів та вплив на неї зовнішніх учасників. У глибокому розумінні, вона концентрується на політиці вищезазначених аспектів. Також В статті підкреслюються події і проекти нафтогазової політики регіону.

У статті аналізується праці та роздуми різних політичних діячів, вчених і аналітиків, які характеризують різні і схожі шляхи політичного рішення проблем в регіоні.

*Ключові слова*: транспорт, зовнішні учасники, диверсифікація, енергетичні ресурси, регіон, нафтогазова політика.

**Introduction.** The common context of instability is facilitated by internal political problems of the Caspian countries. External players actively use regional contradictions to advance geopolitical interests in this zone with conflicts and clashes while determining the legal status of the sea, as well.

A similar trend is manifested in the reserves of energy resources where the US, the EU and the PRC impose different strategies as an instrument of pressure. This situation is even more complicated: the governments of the Caspian countries involve hydrocarbon reserves in their domestic policy- it is a tool to attract foreign investment, but also to provide foreign policy protection for their political regimes.

**Resources and its transportation.** The Caspian region was considered as one of the most promising ways of oil and gas after the collapse of the USSR: the interest of external players for energy resources and to ensure energy security increased. The financial crisis of 2008-2012 did not alter the interest of the regional players: Western countries have tried to establish control over the Caspian countries through diplomatic, economic and military mechanisms [1].

In accordance with the US National Security Strategies (2010), one of the most important tasks of the United States is to diversify

energy sources and suppliers. In this regard, "Washington contributes to the formation in several countries of a more favorable climate for investment in the oil industry and actively helps to improve the infrastructure necessary to gain access to relatively new suppliers, including in the Caspian and Central Asian regions".

In 1997, the United States declared the Caspian region as vital supporting the activities of oil companies in the region as an instrument to establish control over the region, and regards the Caspian region as a potential reserve in case of depletion of hydrocarbon reserves or price changes in the world [2].

Diversification and influence. The diversification of energy supplies allows the US to control energy prices on the world market. It also helps to reduce prices due to greater production capacity while protecting consumer prices from market imperfections and politically motivated crises [3]. In 2007, the US decided to establish long-term reforms to reduce its dependence on hydrocarbons and imports from the Middle East and to gain access to new sources of energy supplies such as the Caspian basin [4]. According to researcher Thomas Gomart, the US seeks to pursue a policy of diversifying oil and gas supply and new export routes around countries whose political regimes are opposing the US, particularly Russia and Iran [5]. United States seeks to prevent the strengthening of China's influence in the region by new export routes of energy resources from the Caspian region and by complicating China's access to Central Asia. Washington believes that China can become a hegemon in Asia and thereby can create a serious threat to the US interests in the region, including the possibility of a military clash, due to China's sharp increase in oil demand [6].

The EU is one of the world's leading oil (25.6%) and natural gas (16.3%) importer, while the oil and gas fields located in Europe are rapidly depleted due to their intensive exploitation. The EU is also interested in diversifying its oil and gas supplies, as well as using alternative energy resources.

The EU receives most of the gas from a limited number of suppliers. Gas imports from Russia, Algeria and Norway account for 84% of the EU's quantity. The countries of Eastern and Central Europe receive most of the energy resources from the Russia. According to 2006 statistics, Austria's oil import from Russia was 6.6% where gas constituted 62.7%. Slovakia imports 99% of crude oil and 98% of natural gas from Russia. The Czech Republic imports natural gas from

Norway (24%), Russia (75%) and Germany (0.4%) [7].

The need for diversification of energy supply is apparent, especially among those EU member states that depend on one or a small number of suppliers after escalating political crisis of the relationship of Eastern European countries (Ukraine, Belarus) with Russia. Middle East, North Africa and Caspian region (mainly Azerbaijan) is considered as possible alternative routes [8].

**EU** and Caspian region. The EU countries view the Caspian region as one of the alternative sources of energy resources and transportation. Currently, the EU does not have real opportunities to establish control over the transportation of Russian energy resources.

The states of the Caspian region - Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan are the prospects of energy resources to the EU. These countries are interested in establishing the transit of their energy resources to the world market while ensuring economic growth and establishing their political weight as independent and sovereign states. During the existence of the USSR, energy resources in the Caspian region were transported exclusively through the single pipeline system of the USSR. After the collapse of the USSR, these states of the region were given the opportunity to pursue an independent oil and gas policy aimed at increasing production and exports in various directions [1].

In this connection, "the report of the European Commission notes that the EU and its partners in the Caspian region have mutual interests as consumers, producers and transit countries in providing a sustainable system for transporting energy resources" [9]. The EU's interest in the energy potential of the Caspian Sea basin is highlighted in the document of the European Commission in Nov 2000 - "The Green Book. Towards a European energy security strategy." This document indicates the need to create new transport routes of energy resources of the Caspian Sea basin.

To achieve these objectives, the EU initiated INOGATE (Interstate Oil and Gas Pipelines Transport to Europe), TACIS (Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of the Independent States) programs. One of the main goals of the INOGATE program is to assess the alternative possibilities of hydrocarbons from the Caspian region. The participants are Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, as well as Ukraine and Turkey as transit countries of Caspian energy resources [10].

However, the approaches of the EU countries to the transit of energy resources of the Caspian region bypassing Russia differ. It is closely connected with the position of some transit states, their status as final recipients and the intensity of interaction with Russia in the energy sector. Energy policy has not been a sphere of supranational regulation in the EU. The intervention of the European Commission defining the structure of the energy balance was openly condemned by some European national governments and large corporations [11].

According to the research by Clingendael F. Hoogeveen and W. Perlot [12], the EU member states do not have a single strategy towards the Caspian region, despite growing economic ties. The transit countries of the EU (Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, the Baltic States) are primarily interested in strengthening their positions and being involved in various energy transportation projects both from the Caspian region and from other sources and energy suppliers. For instance, Bulgaria is simultaneously participating in projects to transport gas to the EU from both Russia ("South Stream") and the Caspian region, bypassing the Russian Federation (Nabucco).

Slovakia is interested in maintaining its position as the second most important transit country of the Russian gas to Europe after Ukraine. However, because Slovakia was not receiving Russian gas during the gas conflicts between Russia and Ukraine in January 2006 and 2009, it began to focus not only on the supply of cheap Russian gas, but also began to support projects to diversify its energy supplies and to use alternative routes from the Caspian region, bypassing Russia [13].

In turn, Austria supports projects to further diversify energy supplies to the EU from the Caspian region, but due to political and economic risks, priority is given to the established mechanism for gas supplies from Russia. Austria receives Russian gas through a network of pipelines from Ukraine and Slovakia and redirects approximately 60 billion cubic meters annually, further to Italy, France, Hungary, Germany, Slovenia and Croatia. Austria signed a gas contract with the USSR back in 1968. In 2006, the Austrian company OMV signed a new contract with Gazprom for 2012-2027, which provides the supply of 7 billion cubic meters of gas per year.

In contrast, the Czech Republic supports projects to further

diversify energy supplies from the Caspian region, in particular the Nabucco gas pipeline. In April 1997, the Czech company "Transgas" concluded a long-term contract of gas delivery from Norway until 2017, with a volume of up to 3 billion cubic meters per year. Poland can act as one of the alternative energy supply routes of the Baltic countries to transport Caspian oil via Ukraine and Poland to the Baltic countries.

Those EU countries which are not transit zones, just the final recipients of energy resources in the European market (Germany, France, Italy) are interested in the uninterrupted and reliable delivery of energy resources, and to some extent, they support diversification of energy deliveries. Germany gives priority to energy partnership with Russia, but supports long-term diversification of energy supplies to the EU from the Caspian region to ensure the security of energy supplies. In France and Great Britain, the priority is not the diversification of energy suppliers, but the diversification of energy sources, in particular the development of renewable energy sources [13]. France imports oil from the Middle East and North Africa (accounting for 51% of imports), the North Sea (32%), Russia (23%) and gas from Norway (28% of total gas imports), Russia (21%), Algeria (12%), the Netherlands (19%) [14].

The UK is developing oil and gas production in the British North Sea zone, exporting oil mainly to the US, Germany and the Netherlands. However, the resources of the North Sea energy resources are virtually depleted, and hence it is expected that by 2020 the UK will import up to 90% of its gas.

According to the researchers of the Institute for International Relations of the Netherlands Clingendael F. Hoogeveen and W. Perlot, the ex-communist countries joining the EU seek to become more independent from Russia to transport Caspian energy bypassing Russia [12, p.485].

**Transportation to the EU.** Due to their high dependence, transit countries such as Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania have suffered the most from gas conflicts between Russia and Ukraine. This situation encourage them to form alternative ways of energy resources. Thus, despite the varying degree of support for the new transit routes of energy resources of the Caspian region among EU member states, the establishment of transit of Caspian oil and gas is an urgent task at pan-European level.

The US supports the EU to expand the export routes of energy supplies towards the Caspian region bypassing Russia. It will allow the

US to control the investment of European oil companies in the region, the oil and gas export routes to Europe, while gaining political influence on the EU.

The construction of oil and gas pipelines in the Caspian region, excluding Russia is one of the instruments for the US to encourage the independent policies of the newly independent states in the region to exert their political influence on them. The US desire to provide alternative ways for Russia to transport Caspian energy resources to the world was supported by the EU to ensure its energy security [15].

In this regard, the US actively promotes the idea of creating the so-called "East-West corridor", which involves transportation of energy resources of the Caspian region bypassing Russia. The project of the Trans-Caspian System pipelines provides the transportation of energy resources of the Caspian region to the EU, in particular transportation of oil and gas from Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan through the Caspian Sea, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey and Ukraine.

The new ways of oil and gas in the Caspian region to Europe is considered as the recreation the Great Silk Road, the movement of goods and services. This rhetoric is actively used by Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan to strengthen their political prestige in the international arena [16].

The conflict in the Caspian region after collapse of the USSR and the destabilization, in the light of the forthcoming withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan did not serve as an obstacle for the US to advance the construction of oil and gas pipelines in the Caspian region. United States stated its plan to expand the transport of Caspian energy resources to Europe bypassing Russia.

China and The Caspian

The Caspian states, especially Iran, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are the most important source of energy resources for China. China's demand for energy is increasing due its economic growth. China has terminated oil exports and commenced to import it. The financial and economic crisis of 2008-2012 did not pause the economic growth of China. By the beginning of 2010, it was ranked as the second country with respect to nominal GDP. Granted that the 5-10% rate of Chinese economic growth will continue, it will further increase the demand for energy in the coming years.

The main sources of oil and gas to China is the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Oman, Iran (the fields of the Persian Gulf)) and Africa (Angola, Sudan, Congo). China is highly interested in the Caspian Sea energy resources as one of the alternative energy sources to diversify its energy supplies. China provides financial support to its companies investing in the region, especially in the oil and gas sector [17].

In turn, the United States maintains its control over the Middle Eastern energy transportation to China. It is considered as a threat to the uninterrupted supply of the Chinese Middle East energy resources. Transportation of Caspian energy resources allows China to provide an alternative Middle Eastern energy shipping route. The threat of attacks on the maritime Middle Eastern energy routes from pirates and terrorists is an additional incentive for the creation of alternative overland routes of oil and gas, in particular from the Caspian region.

In addition, the oil-exporting countries are becoming more and more self-aware and independent and they may evolve in different directions of cooperation, including with China. Despite its costly transportation of Caspian energy resources to the PRC, this project is important for China to maintain internal stability, territorial integrity and to mitigate the unequal economic development of the country. China seeks to prevent the growth of separatist sentiment in the Uighur-populated Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR) and its secession from China by building oil and gas pipelines linking Xinjiang with the Central Asian countries inhabited by Uighurs. The length of the Xinjiang border with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan is 5 400 km. In spite of the absence of guarantees of commercial benefits in the implementation of these projects, the Chinese government is ready to put them in force [18].

Thus, access to the Caspian energy for the PRC is one of the mechanisms to provide both energy security and political stability.

**Conclusion.** The geopolitical importance of Caspian hydrocarbon resources to foreign players (the US, the EU and China) is to gain access and transit of resources while ensuring energy security and strengthening their geopolitical influence in the Caspian region. With the transit of Caspian oil and gas, the EU secures its energy needs. For China, the transportation of Caspian energy resources is a way to establish an alternative route to the Middle East. For the US, this allows both controlling energy prices and establishing geopolitical control.

The Caspian region has been marked as focal point of political and economic interests among great powers. The Caspian energy resources are an element of competition between the US, the EU, China and Russia for direct control. Despite the presence of great powers in the region, Russia still remains a regional power. The competition for the energy resources of the Caspian region among external players complicates investments in the Caspian region and tenses the geopolitical situation in the region.

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### ІСТОРИКО-ПРАВОВІ АСПЕКТИ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ ПІВДЕННИХ ПОСЕЛЕНЬ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ (1857–1867)

У статті на основі нормативних актів і архівних документів проаналізовано історико-правові аспекти формування Південних поселень в Україні (1857–1867). Доведено, що процес формування