

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ'NİN ORTA ASYA DIŞ POLİTİKASINDA ENERJİNİN ROLÜ

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Öz

Enerji güvenliği, AB siyasetinde güçlü bir ilgi alanı ve büyük önem taşımaktadır. Enerji kaynaklarına duyulan ihtiyaç AB'yi alternatif hidrokarbon kaynaklarına yönlendirmektedir. AB, enerji kaynaklarının çeşitlendirilmesinin, enerji arz güvenliğine katkıda bulunacağına inanmaktadır. Kuşkusuz, enerji konusu dış politika yapımını etkileyen faktörlerden biridir. Enerji sorununun önümüzdeki yıllarda etkili olmaya devam edeceği anlaşılmaktadır. Her ne kadar tarihsel bir çizgide enerji kavramına atfedilen anlam, her dönemin özelliklerine göre farklılık gösterse de, büyük ölçüde güç kavramı ile ilgilidir. Devletler güç politikalarıyla anarşik olan uluslararası sistemde varlıklarını sürdürmeye çalışırlar. bağlıdır. Bu yüzden, enerji kaynaklarına sahip olmak hayati öneme sahiptir ve devletler için iktidarın ana faktörlerinden biridir. Benzer şekilde, AB, refah ve güvenlik alanı olan birliğini korumayı ve sürdürmeyi amaçlamaktadır. AB'yi canlı tutan en önemli faktör, devletlerin bu birlikten kazandıkları ve ortak çıkarlar temelinde hemfikir oldukları gerçeğidir. İç hukukunda AB bunu ulusötesi ve hükümetlerarası kurumlar aracılığıyla yapmaktadır. Petrol ve doğal gaz, küresel ekonominin en önemli girdilerindedir. AB'nin Orta Asya'ya yönelik algılarını, yaklaşımlarını ve politikalarını anlamak için AB tüzel kişiliği ve kurumsal yapı çerçevesinde analiz yapılmalıdır. Bu makale, AB'nin Orta Asya politikasının ana belirleyicilerini incelemektedir. Makale, AB-Orta Asya ilişkisinin, AB'nin ortak dış politika oluşturma süreci, ortak enerji politikası ve enerji arz güvenliği ve uluslararası sistemin etkisi gibi değişkenlerle şekillendiğini gösteriyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: AB-Orta Asya ilişkileri, AB dış politikası, enerji politikaları, Hazar havzasının enerji kaynakları, enerji güvenliği

THE ROLE OF ENERGY IN EUROPEAN UNION'S FOREIGN POLICY WITH CENTRAL ASIA

Abstract

Energy security is a powerful interest and a matter of immense relevance in EU politics. The need for energy sources drives the EU to alternative hydrocarbon sources. The EU believes that diversifying energy sources would contribute to the security of its energy supply. . Undoubtedly, energy is one of the factors affecting foreign policy making. It is understood that the energy problem will continue to be influential in the coming years. Although the meaning attributed to the concept of energy in a historical line differs according to the characteristics of each period, it is largely related to the concept of power. States try to maintain their existence in the anarchic international system with their power policies. it depends. Therefore, having energy resources is vital and is one of the main factors of power for states. Similarly, the EU aims to preserve and maintain its unity, which is the area of prosperity and security. The most important factor that keeps the EU alive is the fact that the states have gained from this union and agreed on the basis of common interests. In its domestic law, the EU does this through transnational and intergovernmental institutions. Oil and natural gas are among the most important inputs of the global economy. In order to understand the EU's perceptions, approaches and policies towards Central Asia, analysis should be made within the framework of the EU legal entity and institutional structure. This article explores the main determinants of the EU's Central Asia policy. The article shows that the EU-Central Asia relationship is being shaped by variables such as: the EU's common foreign policy making process, its common energy policy and energy supply security, and the influence of the international system.

Keywords: EU Central Asia Relations, EU foreign policy, energy policies, energy sources of the Caspian basin, energy security

INTRODUCTION

The post-cold war international relations agenda is highly divergent. Issue areas that were significant in the past have receded into the background, whilst others which were deemed to be unimportant have elevated themselves. Some of these have been the environment, especially climate change, as

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well as energy (Yigit, 2008, p. 32). During the cold war these two issues were rarely occupying the attention of policy-makers but they have been prevalent since the 1990s.

Related to this, one of the most debated issues in international relations in recent years has been the geopolitics of oil and natural gas. This topic maintains its vital importance. Undoubtedly, the issue of energy is one of the factors affecting foreign policy making. It seems that the energy issue will continue to be effective in the next decades. Although the meaning attributed to the concept of energy in a historical line differs according to the characteristics of each period, it is largely related to the concept of power. It depends on the states being able to maintain their existence in an anarchic international system. For this reason, states follow a policy of power. Therefore, having energy resources is vital and is one of the main factors of power for the states. Energy, energy policies, energy transmission lines, and supply security of energy resources are matters that states give primary importance for them to continue their existence.

Territorial expansion before the Industrial Revolution, having more fertile soil was one of the most important factors leading to being a strong state. In the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution, the invention of the steam engine has created a new situation. A significant capital accumulation was obtained by using these machines in production. Therefore, the most important energy sources used in steam machines at that time have become the factors that make coal and steel industries very strategic to states. For this reason, it has not been a coincidence that states have increased interest in geographies where precious metals are used in coal basins and steel production.

Today, in addition to coal and steel, oil and natural gas have become the most important energy sources affecting the foreign policies of the states. Similarly, the EU aims to maintain and sustain its unity, namely the welfare and security field. The most important factor that keeps the EU alive is the fact that the states gaining from this unity and they can agree on the basis of common interests. In its domestic law, the EU does this through transnational and inter-governmental institutions.

Oil and natural gas are among the most important inputs of the global economy. With regard to energy resources, supply security has been seen as a fundamental national interest issue especially in terms of advanced industrial economies and leading military forces. The EU has recognized the importance of systematically integrating energy security into its foreign policy. The increasing energy demand of the EU compels her to the alternative sources. In order to diversify the sources of energy supply, the EU wants to provide energy security by taking advantage of the hydrocarbon energy resources in the Caspian. Therefore, for energy supply security, it is also considered that the pipelines that carry the energy supplied should reach Europe in alternative ways. The EU's dependence on Russia's and Middle East fossil energy resources is an important determinant of the EU's orientation towards the Caspian Energy Basin since hydrocarbon resources of the region are an alternative for the EU.

Dispute over natural gas between Ukraine and Russia in 2006 revealed that the EU's one-way dependence on fossil-based energy has made it imperative for the EU to develop a common strategy for energy supply security. When France, Italy and Poland supplied gas from the pipeline passing through Ukraine, they had to face serious energy problems by reducing the gas pressure during this crisis by Russia. It was one of the very important challenges for the EU that the issues of energy supply security needs to be considered in general. In particular, the EU should draw lessons from the Ukrainian-Russian crisis. Caspian gas through a pipeline from Turkey to Europe would help to diversify the EU's gas supply. In the aftermath of the aforementioned crisis, the EU has realized how energy lines that carry energy resources are very important as well as energy resources. Moreover, the EU has seen how risky it is to have only Russian-controlled means of transporting Caspian oil and natural gas to EU member states. Therefore, it is inevitable to find alternative resources and building secured lines extending to Europe. For these reasons, the EU has become more concerned about the energy resources of Central Asia than ever before, and the EU's understanding of Central Asia has become increasingly important in terms of hydrocarbon energy resources and pipelines.

This article explores the main determinants of the EU's Central Asian policy in the context of energy policy. The article shows that the EU- Central Asia relationship is being shaped by variables such as: the EU's common foreign policy making process, its common energy policy and energy supply security and the influence of the international system.

THE EU'S COMMON FOREIGN POLICY MAKING PROCESS

The EU's ability to form regional policies as a whole took place after a long and troubled period related to its internal institutional development. In order to understand the EU's perceptions, approaches and policies towards Central Asia, analysis should be conducted within the framework of EU legal personality and institutional structure. EU has its own interests supposed to be value oriented mainly defined its founding treaties. However, at the individual member state level, each member state has different domestic policy preferences and hence has various perspectives during determination of their policies toward Central Asia Region. It shouldn't be confused with those made at the EU's level since it causes problematic and inaccurate analysis and results.

In the recent writings of EU studies on foreign policy show us that concepts such as economic security, energy security and military security have gained importance (Collins, 2016). But, those concepts face two challenges when it comes to make decisions regarding them. First question is whether EU complies with its founding values in its actions to the Central Asia Region. Second, how does EU deal with its security concerns if there is not a ground in Central Asia Region for EU to offer/impose EU values? For example, can it work with those countries in the region which has not gotten democracy culture, or respect to human rights in their countries? To find answers those two questions it is need to be scrutinized the background of the EU's institutional progress in terms of economic security, energy security and military security in briefly.

Efforts to establish a European army in 1950s and 1960s failed since economic reasons were main discourse (Dedman, 2006, p. 27). European countries were under the security umbrella of NATO backed by US military support. Therefore, The Treaty of Paris (1951) and Rome (1957) were made to regulate the implementation of common policies in the area of trade and related sectors. For instance, the Treaty of Paris established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) aiming to produce common policies in the coal and steel sector. That was the first and important step for both energy security and military security. The Treaty of Rome founded the European Economic Community (EEC) in which common trade policies were determined for the member countries.

Developments in the post-1990 period, such as EU's enlargements to South East Europe, increased the problems and debates on foreign policy, especially on decision-making mechanisms. Although the member states continued keeping their ability to implement an independent foreign policy, they also have had motivation for co-operation in foreign policy ultimately strengthening the efforts of the member states to create a common foreign policy. For example, before the Treaty of Maastricht, it was possible for the European Communities (EC) to establish relations with non-member countries. This authorization was taken a little further with Article 100 and Article 116 of the Maastricht Treaty. The EC implemented common custom tariffs within the framework of the trade policy against third countries and then had authorization of determination of tariff rates, finalization of trade agreements, export policy, anti-dumping and state aid rules. The Maastricht Treaty has given special powers to the EU to make and conclude agreements. As it is seen, the determination of the trade policy from this date onwards by the EU has a special effect on the foreign policy decisions to be taken regarding the third countries, especially economically. In this context, the nature of the relations with the Central Asian countries was also affected by these developments.

On the other hand, the political weights of the member countries in the Union have been effective in the development of common foreign policy. The change of the presidency of the Council of the EU, for example, is very decisive over EU foreign policy orientation. As a member country takes over the presidency of the Council of the EU, its political priorities, national interests and foreign policy preferences may be influential over the EU foreign policy. For example, the EU's Central Asian Strategy, which was set up under the 2007 Germany Presidency, is also considered as a new Ostpolitik

(Siddi, 2016, p. 665-677). Therefore, it is seen that the national foreign policy preferences of Germany in the preparation of the EU's Central Asian Strategy were influential on the EU foreign policy at that time.

The EU wants to cooperate with the Central Asian countries in line with the requirements of its own interests, but Central Asian countries have different characteristics of authoritarian rule and democratization problems make it difficult to implement policies in line with the normative values stated in the founding treaties of the EU (See Founding Treaties. Retrieved from https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en). In a way, the EU is more disadvantaged compared to other forces, like US or Russia that have pragmatic approaches in the region due to EU's normative approaches.

THE EU'S COMMON ENERGY POLICY AND ENERGY SUPPLY SECURITY

In the European Union, significant attempts have been made to create a formal European Energy Policy in the past, but cooperation in this field has remained at the intergovernmental level for many years. However, for the first time, the Lisbon Treaty (2009) included energy policy in the EU jurisdiction and transformed the energy issue into a co-shared authority, field where both EU and member states can make legal arrangements. As aforementioned, the Lisbon Treaty is an important turning point for the EU.

Up to the Lisbon Treaty, attempts to form a common energy policy within the EU can be explained in four periods. In the first period of 1951-1957, the basic energy supply was mostly based on coal. In this period, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established in 1952, providing economic and political cooperation in the coal sector. The first legal basis of the EU energy policy was laid in 1951 with the ECSC. However, the ECSC was abolished in 2002.

In the second period of 1957-1972, the energy issue has not attracted enough attention due to the cheap import benefits. However, the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC) was established in 1958 and cooperation has begun in the field of nuclear energy. EAEC is the second most important treaty after the ECSC, which provides a legal basis for EU energy policy formation. These agreements played an important role in the energy field, ensuring that the coal supply was organized and also coordinating nuclear energy. The first major revision of the 1957 Treaty of Rome was made with the Single European Act (SEA). By the act, it was set the European Community an objective of establishing a single market by 31 December 1992, and codified European Political Cooperation, the forerunner of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy. After that the Maastricht Treaty (1992) and the Nice Treaty (2001), which later changed this treaty with the EEC agreement signed in the same period, did not provide a legal basis for the EU to deal with energy issues.

In the period of 1972-1992, the energy issue was remarkable for the European Communities (EC), as was the case around the world. For example, energy oil prices and supply problems increased the interest in energy during this period. There were not special legal arrangements in the founding treaties of the EC after the oil crisis in 1973-74, but it took modest measures to protect the stocks. For example, the Commission has prepared a Community Action Program entitled Rational Use of Energy in 1974 (Commission of the European Communities (1974a; Commission of the European Communities (1974b). In this program, it has been envisaged more efficient use of internal energy consumption and the limitation of energy consumption in a way that will not harm social and economic development. At the same time, the Council has taken a decision on the Commission's energy production and consumption targets and measures to be taken by targeting the action of 1985 in order for this action program to be successful. In this decision, the Council called on the Commission and requested periodic guidance. The decision includes energy supply, nuclear energy, access to international markets, targets on hydrocarbons and measures to be taken regarding production, consumption and energy prices within the Community.

In the 1992-2009 period, following the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, the European Commission focused on the reintegration and reorientation of the energy policy of Europe (after ECSC

and EAEC experiences). With regard to the energy problem, the EU has published a large number of White Books and Green Books starting in 1995 with the White Paper entitled “European Union Energy Policy” (Official Journal of the European Communities (OJ) No C 232/3, 10.08.1996). In the mid-1990s, guidelines were also drawn up on the creation of the internal electricity and gas market. The first measures adopted in 1996 and 1998 concerning the liberalization of the energy market were followed by the second and mandatory measures in 2003. In 2004, the Council issued a directive (Council Directive, 2004/67/EC, 26.04.2004) on the basis of Article 100 under the Economic Policy of the EC Treaty, and adopted measures to ensure natural gas supply security. At the same time, in 2006, based on the same article, it issued a directive (**Council Directive, 2006/67/EC, 24.07.2006**) codifying an old directive (**Council Directive, 68/414/EEC, 20.12.1968**), which was issued in 1968 and obliged the member states to stock certain amounts of crude oil and products. On the other hand, in March 2007, the European Commission started a new energy policy. This new energy policy emphasizes three fundamental issues: increasing the security of energy supply; ensure the competitiveness of European economies and the availability of affordable energy; promoting environmental sustainability and combating climate change. In order to achieve these objectives, the Council of Europe adopted a comprehensive Energy Action Plan for the period of 2007-2009. In this plan, which is intended to establish an internal market for gas and electricity, it is envisaged to achieve the objectives of ensuring energy supply security, establishing an international energy policy, ensuring energy efficiency and developing renewable energy and energy technologies.

In 2009, a new era began with the Treaty of Lisbon. Article 194 under the concept of Energy was added into the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union with the Treaty of Lisbon. This new article encompasses the objectives of functionalizing the energy market, ensuring energy security within the Union, energy efficiency, energy saving and the development of new and renewable energy forms and the interconnection of energy networks. While these arrangements have not turned the EU into a single unified association in the field of energy, it has paved the way for sharing powers with the member states in the field of energy.

As mentioned above, in the Treaties of the European Communities, energy policy measures could be taken only on the basis of the general provisions of the treaties until the Lisbon Treaty came into force, with respect to the rules of the internal market and respect for the powers of the member states.

As can be seen from the development of energy policy, it can be seen that the EU can formulate policies and take measures on energy security. If the energy trend in Europe continues to exist, in 2030 the EU will have to import 94% of the oil, probably 84% of the natural gas it will need (European Commission, 2013, p. 7). This situation may lead to a chronic problem of energy security by increasing Europe's dependence on Russia. EU energy import dependency has fluctuated between 52 % and 55 %. According to 2014 data (Eurostat , 2016, p. 2), crude oil import dependency is 87,9%, natural gas dependency is 67,4% and hard coal dependency is 67,9%. The crude oil import rate from Russia in total crude oil imports in 2002 was 29.2% in 2002. This rate increased and rose to 34.5% in 2010. Russia is the only source of gas for EU member states such as Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia and Finland and main gas supplier of Hungary, Austria, Poland, Czech Republic, Greece and Bulgaria. Germany has been supplied of 40 % of its natural gas demand from Russia (Karasz, 2018, p. 57). Because of their geopolitical location, France and England can reach different suppliers. Spain is dependent on natural gas coming from North Africa. Due to the decrease in Europe's existing resources, northern Europe will become more dependent on Russia's natural gas in the future. Southern Europe is benefiting from the resources in Africa because of the cheaper transportation costs.

Concerns about the EU's energy supply security are collected on a number of key points. The current and potential conflicts / conflicts between Russia and the countries in the region, the orientation of Russia towards other markets, the political dependence caused by import dependence, the perceived and rapidly growing importance of the transition countries, and finally the increase in the number of terrorist incidents, constitute the main concerns of the European countries on the issue of energy security.

Dependence of the EU on Russia in terms of crude oil and natural gas is constantly increasing and Russia ranks first among other supply sources. The natural gas imported by the EU from Russia decreased relatively between 2002 and 2010. Norway is the second after Russia in the energy import of the EU. The energy imported from Norway relieves the EU against Russia but it is not enough. Croatia recorded the biggest decrease which was facilitated by a better diversification of imports: the share of Russia from total imports decreased from 86 % in 2005 to 56 % in 2014 and several new suppliers appeared (European Commission, 2017, p.41). Crude oil imports from Norway have decreased gradually. On the other hand, the EU's imports of crude oil from the Middle East countries have declined considerably. Imports of crude oil from a Central Asian country Kazakhstan, increased to a level of 5.5% in 2010, even though total EU imports amounted to a small rate of 2.4% in 2002. Therefore, EU has focused on Central Asian natural gas resources. The primary problem for the EU is to establish a balance between increased demand and dependence on Russian imports.

EU has not approached Central Asia in terms of energy security for a long time. For example, in “the European Security Strategy - A secure Europe in a better world” published in 2003 emphasizes that the activities of terrorists and criminal networks in Central and South Asia may threaten the security of Europe and its citizens. Energy security is also mentioned in the same document. According to the strategy document (See Council of the European Union, 2009, p. 30):

“Energy dependence is of particular concern to Europe. Europe is the world's largest oil and gas importer. Imports account for approximately 50% of the current energy consumption. This ratio will increase to 70% in 2030. Most of the energy imports come from the Gulf, Russia and North Africa...” As seen in the document, Central Asia was not mentioned in terms of energy security. As can be understood from this point of view, in 2003, the EU's perspective on security in Central Asia was not the primary issue, but rather the presence of terror and criminal networks.

In 2004, neighboring Turkey and Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan were included in the European Neighborhood Policy. The expansion of the borders of the Neighborhood Policy to the east has brought the EU closer to Central Asia in political and economic terms. Therefore, the importance gained by the Caucasus region and the current and potential conflicts in the region have gained importance in recent years for the EU's security policies. The fact that the rich energy resources in the region and the countries surrounding these countries are on the energy routes has made the establishment of a common regional policy inevitable for the EU. In order to establish regional dialogue, the EU launched the Baku Initiative on November 13, 2004 and envisaged the development of energy cooperation in the short, medium and long term between the EU and the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea with the Energy Ministerial conferences organized within the framework of this initiative (Bahgat, 2009, p. 139).

The EU's strategic cooperation with the Central Asian countries Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan gained a new meaning with the European Union Central Asia Strategy for a new Partnership document, which was adopted in 2007(For more information see Council of the European Union, 2007). The former German Foreign Minister Steinmeier defines Central Asia as a region of critical importance in world politics during the preparation of the 2007 Strategy and states that (Steinmeier, 2007, p. 32):

“... in our own European interests, since Central Asia, with its huge oil and gas reserves, plays an ever-greater part in the diversification of Europe's energy supplies. The European Baku Initiative is designed to help better harmonize energy markets and develop the necessary energy infrastructure. Our shared objective is the creation of an additional energy transport corridor between the Caspian region and the EU”.

EU wants to strengthen this strategic cooperation with each Central Asian country through the Commission's 2007-2013 assistance program on the basis of each individual's needs, desires and performances in the context of human rights, good governance, democracy and social developments. In Central Asia Strategy, security issues in the region has been taken into account the geographical

location of each Central Asian country - for example, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. Due to security issues in the region, the EU has launched programs such as Border Management in Central Asia and BOMCA and Drug Action Program CADAP (Hoffmann, 2010, p. 87-103). Through these programs, the EU aims to strengthen border security and increase the level of education or to facilitate legal transitions and trade by building and equipping border posts.

The main potential oil and gas producers in the Caspian region are Russia and Iran, as well as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Georgia is an important transit country for oil and natural gas that will be transported from the Caspian to the West. On the other hand, although Uzbekistan does not have the Caspian coast, it is seen as important with its reserves and energy transit potential. Therefore, the EU needs a diversified energy supply policy not only for military security reasons but also for its own energy supply security, which offers more perspectives for cooperation between the EU and Central Asia. For this reason, the EU strives to create cooperation opportunities in favor of itself in the long term. For example, by strengthening the energy market in the Central Asian countries, it aims to develop investment opportunities in this area and to increase its influence in the energy production and thus to diversify the energy supply and distribution in the region.

At present, the export of natural gas to Europe by the Central Asian countries is carried out entirely through Russia. The ongoing problems in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan make it difficult to build alternative pipelines. Turkmenistan, which holds the richest natural gas reserves especially among Central Asian countries, has difficulties in transferring its natural gas to different markets. As a geographically trapped country, Turkmenistan has to use Russian oil and gas pipelines to transport its natural gas to European markets. However, there have also been several major developments since the 2007 strategy was adopted. For instance, China's Belt and Road Initiative is reviving overland trade routes connecting Europe (Casarini, 2015, pp. 8-10) and Asia via the region and a new president at the office in Uzbekistan who implements a more conciliatory foreign policy, which has eased regional tensions and opened the door to cooperation between formerly hostile neighbors. At the same time, Central Asian countries are becoming more interested in engaging with Afghanistan. A new strategy, expected for mid-2019, will therefore need to spell out how the EU responds to these new dynamics (Russell, 2019, p. 29).

The strong relations of Central Asian countries with Russia and the fact that Russia is an important actor in the Caucasus region limits the areas of movement of the countries in the political sense. However, a serious threat to Russia's monopoly on Central Asian oil and natural gas comes from China. The Trans-Central Asian Natural Gas Corridor combines the Turkmen and Kazakh energy sources to the Chinese market. Chinese actions in this region may limit Russia and pave a way to EU in energy market (Warkotsch, 2010, pp. 81-92). Russia follows the traditional divide and rule (divide et impera) strategy to prevent the EU from implementing a common strategy for itself. Russia, rather than setting a general strategy with the EU, has made energy agreements with the EU members such as Italy, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece since 2007. These agreements naturally harm establishing a common energy policy in the EU (Baran, 2007, pp. 131-144.)

The transfer of energy resources from Central Asia to Europe continues to be important. Although it is important to reduce the dependence on Russia, it is no doubt that the transition countries in which the energy resources are transported are considered important. 80% of the natural gas purchased by Europe from Russia is transported through the territory of Ukraine. The natural gas problem in Russia and Ukraine began in March 2005 due to natural gas and transit prices. As a result of the escalation of the tension between the two countries, Russia stopped the flow of gas reaching Europe via Ukraine on 1 January 2006. On January 4, 2006, the crises between Russia and Ukraine has been restored and solved, but new problems broken out due to Ukraine's natural gas debts in January 2007. In March 2008, lowering the supply of natural gas reduced the crisis. However, problems between Russia and Ukraine have continued since then. Therefore, the idea that safer alternative lines should be established instead of the energy routes passing through the geographies where such fragile relations are located has come to the forefront.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

The policies of the great powers outside the EU would also affect EU's actions on energy policy. For instance, actors such as the US, Russia, China, Japan and Turkey also want to increase their influence in Central Asia. The majority of these actors pursue policies to sustain stability in the region for energy and natural resources and their interests arising from geopolitical reasons. Of course, those policies are in favor of their interests and serve the continuation of the status quo in the region. For example, the United States silently removed the ban on military aid to Uzbekistan on 18 January 2012 (See RFE/RL, 2012, p. 12) since Uzbekistan has been an important supply line for NATO troops to Afghanistan. The support of Kerimov, who set hardline policies against the opposition in his country in 2005, served to sustain the status quo in the region. However, such a policy pursuit by the EU does not correspond to the values that form its foundations. The dynamics that determine the EU's foreign policy are not only about realizing the interests agreed upon by the member states at the intergovernmental level, but also the objectives set out in the founding treaties because of the EU takes on the power of economic and social development, political pluralism, the rule of law and cultural diversity. In fact, this idea causes some problems in the implementation of EU policies towards Central Asia.

CONCLUSION

The military security provided by the US during the Cold War period was a driving force, so the EU focused more on its internal integration. Under the NATO alliance, the EU and the US gave more importance to strategic partnership as a result of the Soviet threat. However, with the disappearance of this security threat after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the strategic partnership with the United States since the early 1990s has been replaced by competition in more economic relations. This change was not only reflected in the relations with the US, but also in the internal institutionalization of the EU. The Maastricht Treaty, which came into force in 1992, was not a ground for only an economic integration but for further progress in the political field as well, such as the Common Foreign and Security Policy. Therefore, it is seen that there has been a rapid expansion in institutional capacity with EU foreign policy environment since the mid-1990s.

On the other hand, with the end of the Cold War, structural changes in the international system caused new security problems. The terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2002, followed by the war in Afghanistan and the Iraq War have both economic and political problems in the world. All these factors have felt the impact both economically and politically, and as a result the EU has long remained indifferent to geographically more far geographies such as Central Asia. During this period, the EU has approached the Central Asian Countries mostly in the context of terrorism, crime networks, drug smuggling and security issues etc.

The EU wants to maintain the level of economic prosperity within itself. Therefore, while the increase in oil and natural gas prices is a problem that should be taken seriously, it is very important to ensure the security of supply of hydrocarbon energy resources to the EU. This problem is now one of the most important indicators of the fact that security is becoming multidimensional. Therefore, in general, energy security or, in a narrower sense, energy supply security has become very important for the EU. For this reason, the EU wants to reduce its dependence on Russia by transporting Central Asian natural gas and oil safely to Europe in order to ensure the security of energy supply.

The strategic and geographical location of Central Asia being at the crossroads of Europe and Asia was expressed in the May 2019 Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council entitled 'The EU and Central Asia: New Opportunities for a Stronger Partnership'. The share of the region 'in EU energy imports and the market potential of seventy million inhabitants, as well as the EU's interest in regional security, have made Central Asia an increasingly important partner for the EU'.

The Joint Communication proposed the encouragement of 'Central Asia's reforms of the energy sector and transition to a low-carbon economy. Making available EU technology and expertise in renewable energy and energy efficiency and providing advice on regulatory reforms should contribute to

strengthening the region's energy resilience, helping to meet its climate objectives and creating jobs and business opportunities on both sides'. Furthermore, 'the EU will, where appropriate, establish partnerships on sustainable connectivity with countries of Central Asia, following market principles, guaranteeing transparency and based on international standards. Cooperation in this area should mainly focus on transport, energy and digital connections'.

The focus on 'enhancing the role of Central Asia in contributing to the security of energy supply and diversification of suppliers, sources and routes of the EU, including assessing the possibility to build the Trans-Caspian Pipeline' would be continued. The Union should 'cooperate with Central Asia to promote the regulatory frameworks, technologies and skills required to lower the costs, develop renewable energy sources and energy savings technologies and mobilise investment through blending and other financial incentives'.

Specifically two initiatives were highlighted:

- Intensifying bilateral dialogues under existing Memorandums of Understanding on Energy Cooperation and organising as appropriate ad hoc regional conferences on energy
- Using innovative financing and blending to further encourage green investment, in particular in renewable energy and energy efficiency

In conclusion, the rich energy resources in the Caucasus and Central Asia have remained largely untouched and mainly concentrated in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Natural gas and oil exports from this region may make a considerable contribution to the global natural gas and oil markets. The EU develops and strengthens relations with Central Asia in terms of ensuring energy security. The Southern Gas Corridor is very important project for that (For more information see European Commission CEF Programme). However, Central Asian countries still remain geographically isolated from the world energy market. In order to present existing energy resources to the world market, long pipelines have to be constructed in those countries that have increased political and economic risks. These risks, unfortunately, cause the investors to be heavily involved in the financing of new projects.

KAYNAKLAR

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UZUN ÖZ

Son yıllarda uluslararası ilişkilerde en çok tartışılan konulardan biri, petrol ve doğal gazın jeopolitiğidir. Bu konu, artan önemle uluslararası ilişkiler gündemindeki yerini korumaktadır. Kuşkusuz, enerji konusu dış politika yapımını etkileyen faktörlerden biridir. Enerji sorununun önümüzdeki yıllarda etkili olmaya devam edeceği anlaşılmaktadır. Her ne kadar tarihsel bir çizgide enerji kavramına atfedilen anlam, her dönemin özelliklerine göre farklılık gösterse de, büyük ölçüde güç kavramı ile ilgilidir. Devletlerin anarşik bir uluslararası sistemde varlığını sürdürebilmelerine bağlıdır. Bu sebeple devletler güç politikası izlerler. Dolayısıyla, enerji kaynaklarına sahip olmak hayati öneme sahiptir ve devletler için iktidarın ana faktörlerinden biridir. Enerji, enerji politikaları, enerji iletim hatları ve enerji kaynaklarının arz güvenliği, devletlerin varlıklarını sürdürebilmeleri için öncelikli önem taşıyan hususlardır. Sanayi Devrimi öncesi toprak açısından genişleme, daha verimli toprağa sahip olmak, güçlü bir devlet olmaya yol açan en önemli faktörlerden biriydi. Sanayi Devrimi sonrasında, buhar makinesinin icadı yeni bir durum yarattı. Bu makinelerin üretimde kullanılmasıyla önemli miktarda sermaye birikimi elde edilmiştir. Bu nedenle, o zaman buhar makinelerinde kullanılan en önemli enerji kaynakları, kömür ve çelik endüstrilerini devletler için çok stratejik yapan faktörler haline geldi. Bu nedenle, devletlerin kömür havzalarında ve çelik üretiminde değerli metallerin kullanıldığı coğrafyalara ilginin artması tesadüf olmamıştır. Günümüzde kömür ve çeliğe ek olarak, petrol ve doğal gaz devletlerin dış politikalarını etkileyen en önemli enerji kaynakları haline gelmiştir. Benzer şekilde, AB, refah ve güvenlik alanı olan birliğini korumayı ve sürdürmeyi amaçlamaktadır. AB'yi canlı tutan en önemli faktör, devletlerin bu birlikten kazandıkları ve ortak çıkarlar temelinde hemfikir oldukları gerçeğidir. İç hukukunda AB bunu ulusötesi ve hükümetlerarası kurumlar aracılığıyla yapmaktadır. Petrol ve doğal gaz, küresel ekonominin en önemli girdilerindedir. Enerji kaynakları açısından, arz güvenliği özellikle gelişmiş sanayi ekonomileri ve önde gelen askeri güçler açısından temel bir ulusal çıkar konusu olarak görülmektedir. AB, enerji güvenliğini sistematik olarak dış politikasına entegre etmenin önemini kabul etmiştir. AB'nin artan enerji talebi, onu alternatif kaynaklara zorlamaktadır. Enerji tedarik kaynaklarını çeşitlendirmek için AB, Hazar'daki hidrokarbon enerji kaynaklarından yararlanarak enerji güvenliği sağlamak istemektedir. Bu nedenle, enerji arz güvenliği için, tedarik edilen enerjiyi taşıyan boru hatlarının

Avrupa'ya alternatif yollarla ulaşması gerektiği de düşünülmektedir. AB'nin Rusya'nın ve Orta Doğu'daki fosil enerji kaynaklarına olan bağımlılığı, onun alternatif olarak gördüğü Orta Asya enerji kaynaklarına yönelmesinin önemli bir belirleyicisidir. 2006'da Ukrayna ve Rusya arasındaki doğal gaz konusundaki tartışmalar, AB'nin fosil bazlı enerjiye tek yönlü bağımlılığının AB'nin enerji arz güvenliği için ortak bir strateji geliştirmesini zorunlu kıldığını ortaya koymuştur. Söz konusu krizin ardından AB, enerji kaynakları kadar enerji kaynaklarını taşıyan enerji hatlarının çok önemli olduğunu fark etmiştir. Bu nedenle, alternatif kaynaklar bulmak ve Avrupa'ya uzanan güvenli hatlar oluşturmak kaçınılmazdır. AB'nin bir bütün olarak bölgesel politikalar oluşturma yeteneği, iç kurumsal gelişimi ile ilgili uzun ve sıkıntılı bir dönemden sonra gerçekleşti. AB'nin Orta Asya'ya yönelik algılarını, yaklaşımlarını ve politikalarını anlamak için AB tüzel kişiliği ve kurumsal yapı çerçevesinde analiz yapılmalıdır. AB'nin esas olarak kurucu anlaşmalarını tanımlamış, değer odaklı olması gereken kendi çıkarları vardır. Bununla birlikte, bireysel üye devlet düzeyinde, her üye devletin farklı iç politika tercihleri vardır ve bu nedenle Orta Asya Bölgesi'ne yönelik politikalarının belirlenmesinde çeşitli bakış açıları vardır. Bu nedenle üye ülke düzeyinde anlamlandırmayı sorunlu ve yanlış analizlere ve sonuçlara neden olduğu için AB düzeyinde yapılanlarla karıştırılmamalıdır. AB'nin dış politika konusundaki çalışmaları son zamanlarda bize ekonomik güvenlik, enerji güvenliği ve askeri güvenlik gibi kavramların önem kazandığını göstermektedir. Ancak, bu kavramlar kendileriyle ilgili kararlar vermeye gelince iki zorlukla karşı karşıya kalmaktadır. İlk soru, AB'nin, Orta Asya Bölgesi'ndeki faaliyetlerinde kendi kurucu değerlerine uygun olarak hareket edip etmediğidir. İkincisi, AB, Orta Asya Bölgesi'nde AB için AB değerlerini sunma / dayatma amaçlı bir zemin yoksa, güvenlik konusundaki endişelerini giderecektir? Örneğin, bölgedeki demokrasi kültürü kazanmamış veya ülkelerindeki insan haklarına saygı göstermeyen ülkelerle çalışabilir mi? Bu iki sorunun cevabını bulmak için, AB'nin ekonomik güvenlik, enerji güvenliği ve askeri güvenlik konularındaki kurumsal ilerlemesi kısaca incelenmektedir. Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'daki zengin enerji kaynakları büyük ölçüde dokunulmamış ve ağırlıklı olarak Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Türkmenistan ve Özbekistan'da yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu bölgeden doğal gaz ve petrol ihracatı, küresel doğal gaz ve petrol piyasalarına önemli katkılarda bulunabilir. AB, enerji güvenliğini sağlama açısından Orta Asya ile ilişkileri geliştirmekte ve güçlendirmektedir. Güney Gaz Koridoru bunun için çok önemli bir projedir. Bununla birlikte, Orta Asya ülkeleri hala dünya enerji pazarından coğrafi olarak izole kalmaktadır. Mevcut enerji kaynaklarını dünya pazarına sunabilmek için, politik ve ekonomik riskleri arttıran ülkelerde uzun boru hatları inşa edilmesi gerekmektedir. Ancak, bu riskler maalesef, yatırımcıların yeni projelerin finansmanında yer almasında zorluklara neden olmaktadır. Bu makale, AB'nin Orta Asya politikasının enerji belirleyici bağlamındaki ana belirleyicilerini ele alınmaktadır. Makale, AB-Orta Asya ilişkilerinin, AB'nin ortak dış politika oluşturma süreci, ortak enerji politikası ve enerji arz güvenliği ve uluslararası sistemin etkisi gibi değişkenlerle şekillendiğini göstermektedir.

