ABSTRACT
of the doctoral dissertation (PhD) in 6D020200-International relations
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The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the European Union: regional energy security complexes

The dissertation research is dedicated to the analysis of the conceptual approaches of emerging energy complex within the SCO and the EU that have interdependent as well as contradictory interests in the region of Central Asia.

The proposed work represents an attempt of the complex analysis of energy security policies of EU and SCO member-states, and an overview of the main theoretical concepts of “energy security”.

The relevance of thesis research
The first decade of the twenty-first century is characterized by the growing attention of the international community to addressing regional and global challenges of energy security, which predetermine the development of states, the pace of their socio-economic and political development. The modern system of international relations, characterized by new geopolitical and geo-economic realities, increasing challenges of non-traditional and non-military character, the increasing interdependence of countries and regions in connection with the growing threats on global and regional levels, along with a process of basic energy resources depletion, bring to a focus of world agenda the issues of energy security, giving the status of "special" security category.

There are obvious tendencies of an increased globalization and growing number of organization and unions of states that oriented towards the increase of own their potential in international issues and for the effective implementation of its policies, which leads to the establishment of relations with those countries and organizations that support the mutual common interests, including energy.

The importance of the two sub-regional groupings - the European Union and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization at the regional and global levels becomes even more apparent; they implement own policy in the field of energy security, and have their own position.

The participation of Kazakhstan in the SCO as a full member-state, and the membership in the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the EU are two interrelated processes caused by the objective realities of the regional policy of our state. The development cooperation in the vast Eurasian continent contributes to the coexistence of two organizations different in nature pursuing the same goal for the establishment of stability and security around their states.

It was deeply symbolic and reasonable the conduct of negotiation process in Astana at a high level that resulted in the adoption of the EU Strategy for the Central Asian region. The SCO Summit conducted in June 15, 2011 dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the organization has also proved the growing importance of the organization.
As President N. Nazarbayev emphasized, Kazakhstan is more focused on strengthening the SCO, which was established with its active participation and interaction with which was given a priority. He has noted the importance of the SCO Energy Club and the initiative of Kazakhstan to organize a meeting of a High-level Group.

Over the years, the SCO has demonstrated its vitality and huge development potential. Today it has grown into one of the most authoritative sub-regional organizations with an accumulated over a decade authority and influence that indicates the growing interest from a number of states and international organizations, including the European countries. Being aware of that energy challenges are complex and interrelated, the countries and regions as well as international organizations face the challenge of implementing a coordinated policy in the fields of economic, financial, energy and food security.

The exploitation of hydrocarbon resources characterized by their uneven distribution worldwide, an increasing demand for them as well as by the deepening of conflicts define the issues of energy security as fundamental problems of the present.

The energy factor is the key determinant of the economy and national security of any state, and it is of great important the belonging of state to one of the group – producers, consumers or transit countries.

The retreat from the classic (traditional) scheme and chain of interaction associated with the policy of the western states of 1970s, the change of the perception of energy factor as a political and military tool and the transformation of politics of emerging states aimed at internal needs of economy rather than a response to external challenges, build a new level of diplomacy between the countries.

Moreover, the academic discourse on the problematic of energy security research defines the necessity of elaboration of new approaches and mechanisms of interstate energy cooperation due to the formation of the architecture of global energy security through the creation of the network of regional complexes.

The relevance of the thesis "the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the European Union: regional energy security complexes" is in the study of theoretical and practical issues of regional interstate cooperation of SCO and EU member-states in the energy sphere due to the increased relevance of integration trends in the region of Central Asia, leading to the formation of a new level of interaction and regional energy security architecture.

The geographical location as well as the energy potential of Kazakhstan defines the share of energy resources in its economic structure and multivectoral character of its foreign policy associated with the necessity of the construction of a export pipelines network through the neighboring states.

Kazakhstan, having completed the its transformational stage of development, sets new ambitious goals for achieving a quantum leap in further economic development as well as to tackle the challenges of the global financial crisis and integrate into the international system of economic relations. The strategy of Kazakhstan – 2050 that is oriented for a long-term and sustainable development of
the country defines a new stage of further developments in frames of which the issues of inter-regional integration in Central Asia are considered as one of the long-term priorities of the state. So, the joining efforts for combating common threats and challenges, the development of effective energy dialogue as well as strengthening of the strategic partnership clearly demonstrate the interest of Kazakhstan and regional states in the promoting regional development and regional integration.

The development of SCO has its clear shape of its purport, introducing the regional energy security complex in Eurasia with a constructive influence potential over the transformation processes in the region and in the world.

The inevitable tangle of strategic interests of great powers in the region, including issues of transport corridors are leading to the revision of the SCO's role in the region and the countries of Central Asia. The European Union, stressing the importance of the political dimension of regional policy in the countries of Central Asia and attaches great importance to the issues of energy security, the threats of terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, drug trafficking and irregular migration. Despite the fact that the EU has not developed a clear line of cooperation with the SCO, as the sub-regional structure, the collaboration with its members is realized in bilateral format. The interdependence and complementarity between regional security complexes and the EU, particularly affects the change of perception of each other's bodies.

The creation of unified energy system, involving the hydrocarbon and hydroelectric potential of the regional countries in frames of SCO regional complex, will reduce the existing problems of intergovernmental relations and will form the basis of stable and sustainable development of the region.

The research topic, due to lack of theoretical works dedicated to the energy security issues as well as to the SCO growing role as the structure of ensuring energy security in the region and in the world, meets the needs of the Asian and Eurasian communities.

The object of research is the energy policy and strategies of SCO and EU member-states, unifying a group of exporters and importers of energy resources.

The regional processes in the area of energy security related to the emergence of challenges in the region of SCO and EU member-states contain the subject of research.

The goal of research is the identification of foreign policy priorities realization of SCO and EU member-states in the area of energy security, as well as their influence over the regional politics in Central Asia.

For the accomplishment of the above-mentioned goal, the following tasks were put forward:

1. To determine the main conceptual and theoretical approaches to the study of “energy security” concept, its main principles and risks;

2. To analyze the energy potential of the SCO and EU member-states, having reviewed the institutional prerequisites, the objective conditions and the features of the intraregional differences;
3. To identify key interests and distinctions of Russia’s foreign policy in the energy sector, defining relations with the SCO member-states and the EU;

4. To highlight the main interests, policies and strategies of PRC in the development of the energy chain relationships; determining the specifics of China’s relations with Russia, the EU and the countries of Central Asia;

5. To analyze the role and prospects of the creation of energy structure in frames of the SCO as an integrating factor in Central Asia comparing the practice of the EU and other developing countries’ experience;

6. To analyze the viability of regionalism as a model of multilateral cooperation in the field of energy security, and the specifics of the influence of SCO and EU regional complexes over the Central Asian politics, as an emerging energy security complexes.

**Methodological basis of the research**

For the analysis of a wide range of data and for a more objective assessment of the selected material, a comprehensive theoretical-methodological approach that includes the use of several basic theories and methodologies in relation to specific phenomena was chosen in dissertation research. The theoretical positions of political realism, liberalism, institutionalism, structuralism and critical theory were analyzed in the thesis.

Taking into account that major theories of international relations consider energy security issues somewhat narrowly, only describing processes, conflict and types of cooperation, the combination of theoretical approaches used in the thesis are complementary and define the diverse nature of the international system of energy security.

The common logic and scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, compilation and analogies; systemic and interdisciplinary approaches, the use of which is justified by the goals and objectives of the research; the general scientific methods and techniques of research: empirical comparison methods and descriptions identify the main trends and prospects for cooperation in the energy sector.

In addition, the author has conducted field research in China and Germany, which have involved direct observation, interviewing techniques.

**The scientific novelty of the research** lies in the systematic and complex analysis of inter-governmental relations between SCÓ member-states and mechanisms of cooperation in the energy sector. The comparative analysis of the differences in energy policy and approaches of SCO member-states and the EU.

The theoretical conclusions revealing the role of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, as the structure-forming organizations in the establishment of an integrated energy market, underlying in the core interests of Asian and European energy markets are of great scientific significance.

**The theoretical and practical importance of the thesis** is defined by urgency of developing the comprehensive and strategic approach of Kazakhstan policy towards the countries of Central Asia as well as the Eastern neighbor – China.
The scientific results and conclusions of the thesis can be used in the elaboration of methods of comparative analysis of regional integration groupings, as well as for further research of perspectives of regionalization and study of energy factor’s role in the foreign policy of developing countries.

Some certain aspects of the thesis could be included in the curriculum of special courses in national universities.

**Evaluation of main results of the thesis**

The main findings of the research were discussed at the meeting of Department of international relations and world economy of Al-Farabi Kazakh National University and were presented by the author at international and republican scientific-practical conferences, round tables and seminars: “Проблемы безопасности в Центральной Азии и перспективы урегулирования Афганского кризиса после 2014 года» (Almaty, Kazakhstan, April 18, 2013), “Язык, общество, культура на перекрестке цивилизаций” (Tsukuba, Japan, March 15-16, 2013), “Германия – Центральная Азия: актуальные вопросы внешней политики и международных отношений” (Almaty, Kazakhstan April 23-26, 2012), “XXXIII International conference of European and Eurasian research (Paris, France, November 27-28, 2012), “Наука и инновации молодых ученых: стратегия выбора и обновления” (Almaty, Kazakhstan May 13, 2011), “Роль суверенного Казахстана в обеспечении региональной безопасности в Центральной Азии” (Almaty, Kazakhstan, April 15, 2011).

A number of conclusions were reflected in 11 articles published in domestic and foreign scientific journals, including the journals recommended by the Committee for the control of education and science of the Republic of Kazakhstan (5), in the international scientific journal, indexed in Scopus database (1), as well as in the international and foreign conferences in Kazakhstan and in Japan (5).

Some provisions of the dissertation were presented at the meeting of experts of the Institute of Asia at the Institute of global and area studies (GIGA) in Germany and before the experts of the Shanghai Academy for International Studies (SIIS), PRC.

**The structure of the thesis** is driven by the logic of the goal and objectives of the research. The work consists of an introduction, four chapters, conclusions, list of used sources and appendixes.