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**BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA:
ENERGY DIMENSION OF KAZAKHSTAN**

The interest of China and India in closer relations with Kazakhstan, which is rich in reserves of resources, is evident in Chinese and Indian energy activity in the CA region, is explained by the growing demand for oil from rapidly growing economies. The energy dimension of Kazakhstan's foreign policy changes the geopolitics of not only Central Asia, but also affects the geopolitics of Asia with the participation of China and India.

The authors pay attention to the review of theories of the geopolitics of energy resources with reference to the triangle Kazakhstan – China – India. The study of different points of view on the geopolitical processes in Central Asia with the participation of China and India made it possible to systematize a large amount of research on the country (national) principle and identify problematic issues that have not yet been studied. They analyze regional processes in which energy has become part of geopolitics, affecting the international configuration of Eurasia. Attention is drawn to the strategic intersection of the interests of China and India in Central Asia, examines how India and China compete for energy in Kazakhstan and how far China or India benefits or loses in this energy game in the region. China has specific strategies for its energy security in the region, for example, the mega-project «One belt, one way», involving all the states of Eurasia, including Kazakhstan and India. The authors raise the issue of the possibility of cooperation between the two powers in the energy sector of Kazakhstan in the context of their participation in regional organizations, for example the establishment of the SCO energy club or the Eurasian energy club. The energy prospects of China and India in Kazakhstan/CA are associated with a sustained interest in maintaining stability and security.

Key words: energy resources, geopolitics, multi-vector policy of Kazakhstan, China's energy activities, energy security of India

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**Қытай мен Үндістан арасында:
Қазақстанның энергетикалық өлшемі**

Табиғи пайдалы ресурстар қорына бай Қазақстанмен тығыз қатынасқа Үндістан мен Қытайдың түсуі олардың Орталық Азиядағы энергетикалық белсенділігінде көрініп, жылдам өсіп келе жатқан экономикалардың мұнайға деген сұранысының артуымен түсіндіріледі. Қазақстанның сыртқы саясатының энергетикалық өлшемі тек Орталық Азияның геосаясатының өзгеруіне ғана емес, Қытай мен Үндістанның қатысуымен Азияның геосаясатына да әсер етеді.

Авторлар Қазақстан-Қытай-Үндістан үшбұрышына сілтеме жасай отырып, энергетикалық ресурстар геосаясатының теорияларына назар аударады. Қытай мен Үндістанның қатысуымен Орталық Азиядағы геосаяси үдерістерге қатысты әртүрлі көзқарастарды зерттеу елдік (ұлттық) қағида бойынша зерттеулердің үлкен көлемін жүйелеуге және әлі зерттелмеген проблемалық мәселелерді анықтауға мүмкіндік береді. Олар Еуразияның халықаралық конфигурациясына

әсер ететін энергия геосаясаттың бір бөлігі болып табылатын аймақтық үдерістерді сараптайды. Қытай аймақтағы экономикалық қауіпсіздігінде нақты стратегияларға ие, мысалы мегажоба «Бір белдеу, бір жол». Бұл мегажобаға Қазақстан мен Үндістанмен қоса Еуразияның барлық елдер қатыстырылған. Авторлар Қазақстанның энергетикалық секторындағы екі елдің аймақтық ұйымдарға қатысу контекстінде, мысалы, ШЫҰ энергетикалық клубы немесе энергетикалық еуразиялық клуб құру туралы ынтымақтастық мүмкіндігін талқылайды. Қытай мен Үндістанның Қазақстандағы/ОА энергетикалық мақсаттары тұрақтылық пен қауіпсіздікті қамтамасыз етуге деген тұрақты қызығушылықпен байланысты.

Түйін сөздер: энергетикалық ресурстар, геосаясат, көпвекторлы Қазақстанның саясаты, Қытайдың энергетикалық қызметі, Үндістанның энергетикалық қауіпсіздігі.

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Между Китаем и Индией: энергетическое измерение Казахстана

Интерес Китая и Индии к более тесному сближению с Казахстаном, который богат запасами ресурсов, проявляется в их энергетической активности в регионе ЦА, объясняется ростом спроса на нефть стремительно растущих экономик. Энергетическое измерение внешней политики Казахстана меняет геополитику не только Центральной Азии, но влияет также на геополитику Азии с участием Китая и Индии.

Авторы уделяют внимание обзору теорий геополитики энергетических ресурсов применительно к треугольнику Казахстан – Китай – Индия. Изучение разных точек зрения на геополитические процессы в ЦА с участием Китая и Индии позволило систематизировать большой объем исследований по страновому (национальному) принципу и определить проблемные вопросы, которые еще не изучены. Они анализируют региональные процессы, в которых энергия стала частью геополитики, влияющая на международную конфигурацию Евразии. Обращается внимание на стратегическое пересечение интересов Китая и Индии в ЦА и в Казахстане и ставится вопрос о том, кто из акторов в энергетической игре оказывается в выигрыше. Китай имеет конкретные стратегии для своей энергетической безопасности в регионе, например, мегапроект «Один пояс, один путь», в который вовлечены все государства Евразии, включая Казахстан и Индию. Авторы поднимают вопрос о возможности сотрудничества двух держав в энергетическом секторе Казахстана в контексте их участия в региональных организациях, например создании энергетического клуба ШОС или энергетического евразийского клуба. Энергетические перспективы Китая и Индии в Казахстане/ЦА связаны с устойчивым интересом в поддержании стабильности и безопасности.

Ключевые слова: энергетические ресурсы, геополитика, мультивекторная политика Казахстана, энергетическая деятельность Китая, энергетическая безопасность Индии.

Introduction

Rationale of the research on geopolitics of space and natural resources

The energy debate is increasingly focused on new factors that could prove transforming for global supply and demand, and could alter longstanding assumptions about energy security and geo-economics. At the heart of Kazakhstan's energy geopolitics lies a huge amount of energy resources and an active policy of attracting investments at the expense of major powers. Over the past decade, Kazakhstan has positioned itself as a country with a competitive economy, a reliable oil exporter, a politically stable state that successfully implements multi-vector energy policy.

The geo-strategic interests of external powers compete to play in Central Asia region, especially in the economic, security and political spheres. Energy is a vital issue especially in this region because major powers of the world seek to enhance their energy sources. In addition to, this article will draw attention of energy players in the world energy market, China and India particularly, and their role in the energy resources of Kazakhstan. Further, would focus on the energy policy of Kazakhstan towards the big powers in the world. The article gives a theoretical interpretation of the understanding of Kazakhstan's energy geopolitics. Particular focus is paid to the way in which India and China make a profit from the energy resources of Kazakhstan and act as the dominant players in the region. Moreover, energy

politics will help the region not only diversifying energy partnerships but also help Kazakhstan to gain economically and strategically.

Kazakhstan is getting benefits from the major powers by receiving military, political and economic assistance. In Central Asia region, China mainly focuses on energy resources because it helps Chinese growth. However, to get large amounts of energy, China adopted certain strategies for its energy security in the region, for example, the mega-project «One belt, one way», involving all the states of Eurasia, including Kazakhstan and India. Consequently, the study of energy geopolitics in Kazakhstan will help us understand how the independent country is protecting and using its energy resources and provide the strong framework for understanding international energy politics. Among a number of issues facing the researchers of this topic, we highlight some, namely, what is the role of the energy geopolitics of Kazakhstan, China, and India; the comparative context of India's and China's activities in gaining access to Kazakhstan's energy resources, how India and China matter in the Kazakhstan energy sector, etc.

Geopolitics plays a very significant and paramount role in the contemporary world politics. Resources are defined as human communities' means of survival & development, being in such a quality the main base & object of the geopolitical struggle. Geopolitical thinking developed in the context of competition for control over geographical territory and natural resources. Geopolitics emphasizes largely the geographical factors as important determinants of government policies and one of the major determinants of the power position of states.

The notion «natural resources» is a key one in geopolitical discourse, and is the second in the mean of geopolitical notions using after the main one – «space». The resource presence is an immanent characteristic feature of space. In this regard, this article focuses on the relevance of Kazakhstan from the geopolitical perspective and examines how India and China are competing for the energy in Kazakhstan. In common parlance, it is the interplay of human geography and politics in the struggle over the control of spaces, which are rich with natural resources. Thus, geopolitics also provides an opportunity to see the world, in which much attention is paid to the formation of national and international policies.

The purpose of this article is an analytical study of the energy policy of the two influential powers – China and India in Kazakhstan through the relationship of space and resources, and en-

hancing their access to energy resources in the Central Asian region.

Methodology including the theoretical basis for the study of the geopolitics of energy resources

The proposed research topic is descriptive and analytical in assessing energy geopolitics in Kazakhstan in cooperation with two Asian powers, that is, India and China. In the process of research, were used comparative and systemic methods of analysis. The comparative method allowed us to determine the main reasons of interests on energy cooperation between Kazakhstan and China, and between Kazakhstan and India. An analysis of the mechanisms of the implementation of the interaction of the two countries requires a systematic review of the evolution of relations between Kazakhstan and two Asian powers in the energy sector, identifying problem areas, identifying the main directions of development. The method of comparison allows us to compare the main reasons for interest in the energy partnership of China and India with Kazakhstan.

Geopolitics is a vital part of foreign policy because the foreign policy of each and every nation has been guided by geopolitics. Energy has become an integral part of geopolitics and foreign policy and in this context that the issue of access to energy resources has always been an indispensable part of a state's geopolitical considerations (Coşkun, 2009:186). Within the context of the energy geopolitics, Central Asia region is a vibrant one particularly Kazakhstan plays very dominant role in the world energy geopolitics because it has vast energy potential and remained as the focal point of regional and global actors.

In classical geopolitics, the resources include mainly the territorial location of the state (Hauchofer), raw materials and demographic resources (Ratzel), as well as climate and land/sea communications (Blache). Modern geopolitics was defined as describing geographical settings and their relationship to the political power and setting out spatial frameworks embracing political power units, such as hemispheres, oceans, land and maritime boundaries, natural resources and culture. However, early theorists had a tendency to perceive geopolitics through the lens of geographical reasoning, which reflected the states' power to take actions on the global arena (Dodds, 2005). It should be noted that a Swedish lawyer and scholar Rudolf Kjellén first introduced the term «geopolitics» in 1899 to illustrate and explain the geographical endowment of a given state as having a decisive influence on its power po-

tential power. Kjellén defined geopolitics as «the science which conceives the state as a geographical organism or as a phenomenon in space» (Dodds, 2005:28). He added to these important resources the following resources of the state as the main geopolitical actor: «economy» (economic policy) and the form of government, singling out as a resource not only the demographic, but also the cultural and ethnic characteristics of the population.

Even earlier, Ferdinand Ratzel defined the possibilities of spatial expansion (expansion) of states (Ratzel). Karl Haushofer introduced the concept of «paniday» – the ideas that arise from a certain people or civilization in the process of struggle for space. «Panidey» presents in this capacity a geopolitical resource, which modern scientists call a factor of «soft» strength (Haushofer, 2001). However, we recall again a classical theory of geopolitics of a British geographer Mackinder (1996) and an American navy officer and strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan. In the early 20th century, Sir Halford Mackinder wrote that an otherwise insignificant swathe of land—extending from Iran up through Central Asia and across Russia—held global geopolitical significance and would be the key pivot in deciding the geopolitical contests between the great empires of the globe. Whichever superpower controls this «Heartland,» he argued, would decide who could dominate Eurasia and, from there, the world. Today, the core of this Heartland is called Kazakhstan.

Geopolitics is dynamic and reflects international realities and global constellation of power arising from the interaction of geography and space, on the one hand, and technology and economic development, on the other (Chapman, 2011). Geostrategic location and natural resources are the key components of geopolitics. Bert Chapman does not deny that the latest technologies and the infusion of capital can significantly influence development of the regions and, in general, of the world politics.

However, the geostrategic importance of a certain geographical space and natural resources plays much more important and decisive role in the geopolitics of any region. Geopolitics geography today is more important than ever in the increasingly globalizing world, economic, environmental and international security events can dramatically affect national and international economic performance and personal living standards. Based on geopolitical theories, the regional architecture of Central Asia is considered by us as a multilevel structure, in which the energy sector is given a significant place. The Central Asian region has great importance because of its geostrategic location and natural resources,

such as oil, gas, uranium, etc. This region plays a very active and dynamic role in the international politics, particularly Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan is a significant one among the five CA countries and is the ninth largest country in the world.

Review of the literature

On energy politics with the participation India and China in Kazakhstan & Central Asia

It is not possible to divide energy geopolitics in Kazakhstan into different parts, but to have a better understanding of this topic, a thematic study has been made by splitting into three main areas i.e. Energy geopolitics and involvement of major powers in Kazakhstan, Energy dimensions of Kazakh-China relations, and Kazakhstan and India's energy security. The review of literature as a whole discuss about energy geopolitics in Central Asia region with major powers. Some of the works have already done on India China cooperation with the Central Asian region. However, this research locates not only the bilateral ties, competition, conflict and cooperation among the global powers but especially the two Asian giants China & India, engagement within context of involvement of major powers in Kazakhstan energy sector by looking at the geopolitical perspective of the region. We will name only a few studies that do not lose their relevance in this area.

By accentuating the significance of the region, Iseri (2007) points out that Kazakhstan is one of the largest countries in Eurasia. It shares borders with two potential Eurasian great powers Russia and China. Apart from its significant geopolitical location, Kazakhstan has massive natural resources i.e. oil and gas reserves and some of the world's largest reserve of uranium. In this perspective, Ajay Patnaik (2010) argues that in Central Asia three out of five countries have huge gas and oil reserves, of which Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are Caspian states. As a result, the Central Asia and Caucasus region has been a theatre for intense American engagement.

Researcher from Kazakhstan M. Laumulin (2006) has viewed that the geopolitics of Central Asia particularly Kazakhstan has been conceded from view point of three great powers; Russia, United States of America and China. Along with these powers, European Union is also an influential player in the region. The monograph «Perspectives of India and Kazakhstan. Regional and International Cooperation» (2007) under the editorship of K. Santhanam which is a joint research product of scientists from India and Kazakhstan, the authors focused on current trends in relations between the

two countries, including the energy sector. Nevertheless, the authors identified strategic perspectives in Kazakhstan's relations with China and India for decades to come (Gubaidullina). In this book gives an overview of the energy scenarios in Kazakhstan and India and identifies potential areas of energy cooperation. With the commissioning of two Central Asian oil pipelines in quick succession – the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline to the West and the Atasu-Alashankou pipeline to the East – Kazakhstan has finally assumed centre-stage in the energy «game» being played out in Central Asia and the Caspian basin (Sudha Mahalingam).

The Asian powers (China and India) mainly concentrated on the Kazakhstan's energy sector and tried to balance and sustain their growing economy. It is however, Michael Denison (2012:1-5) has sharply marked that the energy geopolitics has formed in the region because of two specific reasons; First, the local and western maximization of the sovereignty and agency of the Central Asian states. Second, through differing perceptions of security produced in the region that could affect external interests. A US geographer Natalie Koch examines prevailing geopolitical discourses in Kazakhstan, through a case study of attitudes toward China and its influence in contemporary affairs. The divergent findings across these methods, reflecting a profound ambivalence in popular attitudes about China (Koch, 2013).

Kazakhstan is strategically and geographically the middleman between Russia and China and its neighboring Central Asian states except Tajikistan. Russia has continued to play a dominant role in Kazakh political matters as well as energy matters. As a result, Kazakhstan wants to maintain a healthy and harmonious relation with these powers. In this prospect, Mehmet Ogutcu (2007: 2013) argues that Moscow made Kazakhstan the center of the Central Asian universe, in that it made Astana the political hub between Russia and the other four Central Asian countries. There is no doubt that the Kazakh-Russian relationship is the most important one for both sides in the post-Soviet geography. Kazakhstan wants to be a world leader in the area of uranium production and has developed major strategic links with Russia. The government is committed to increased uranium exports to Russia and is considering future options for nuclear power. Together the two countries have created an «*Energy Club*» within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Nonetheless, Kazakhstan's strategic cooperation with Russia was recently highlighted by discussions between the two and Turkmenistan to create a major energy transport corridor

across the Eurasian landmass (Gubaidullina, Yelibayeva, 2016).

However, due to the rich natural resource of the region Petro-Kazakh draws the attention of powerful and energy consuming states, specially, India and China. It is also a vital point that Kazakhstan initiated some practical steps to improve a continental energy rapport with all the major powers including proposal of Asian Energy Strategy and Asian Energy Dialogue, elaborated with a close involvement of KazEnergy Association, under the SCO structure. In this context Central Asia is a kind of „Bridges» convergence of the EU – Central Asia – SCO (Gubaidullina, 2015: 135). China, Kazakhstan, and Russia are making progress in energy cooperation, but so far largely on the basis of bilateral agreements. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Energy Club offers opportunities to expand that cooperation in a way that benefits all the organization's members and observer states (Movkebayeva, 2013:86). At the same time the Chinese strategy of the Silk Road Economic Belt is an attractive project involving all Central Asian countries in a profitable energy and economic network, following the Chinese huge investments aimed to boost infrastructures and to develop national economies (Indeo, 2016).

Among the priorities of the external energy policy of India's strategy, E. Rudenko (2017:214) calls: diversification of hydrocarbon imports; expansion of the geography of exports of oil products from South Asia to other regions of the world; active participation in interregional pipeline oil and gas projects; promotion of Indian energy companies in the development of oil and gas fields abroad, etc. Therefore, the energy sector was the main sector of the economy of the Central Asian region, to which India never lost interest. It is India's energy needs that bring it closer to the states of Central Asia. Thus, India has always offered its Central Asian republics assistance in expanding the scale of extraction and processing of hydrocarbon raw materials on its own. And, perhaps, the most dramatic and ambiguous aspect of Kazakh-Indian relations is cooperation in the field of hydrocarbon resources. For India, this sphere is potentially key in its relations with Kazakhstan, while the Kazakh side does intentionally not focus exclusively on it. (Rudenko, 2017:227). Despite these two powers there are also other powers trying to focus and dominate in the region. In this context, Rao and Alam (2005) argue that India and the US also share common strategic and security interest in search for energy resources, creation of markets for goods and services and the war against religious radicalism and international

terrorism. However, all the powers largely emphasize on energy security because it is a vital aspect of their foreign policy. Energy security is also a key component of Kazakhstan foreign policy which brings international stability and peace in the region. The country always focuses on the political and economic priorities by getting the assistance and wide support from the major powers.

Thus, the review of this literature as a whole discusses energy geopolitics in the Central Asian region with the main Asian powers – with India and China, in the context of their participation in the energy sector of Kazakhstan. However, some gap in this research may be filled, since there are already a number of works on India-China cooperation in the Central Asian region, and with Kazakhstan.

Results

Kazakhstan is in the midst of an oil boom that has made it one of the fastest-growing economies' in the world. And its energy policy based only on strict economic pragmatism and mutual approach. In the course of studying this topic, we expect to obtain results that would confirm the working hypothesis that not only China is the largest consumer of Kazakhstan's energy resources. Energy security is a key component of Kazakhstan foreign policy which brings international stability and peace in the region. The country always focuses on the political and economic priorities by getting the assistance and wide support from the major powers. Kazakhstan is trying to develop healthy interactions and cooperation especially in the energy sector with the external powers in spite of their potentially intersecting geopolitical objectives. Moreover, it is important that Kazakhstan always strives to consolidate balanced energy cooperation among the external powers (China, India, Russia, etc.).

Discussion

1. Geopolitics and geostrategic importance of space and natural resources: case Kazakhstan

Since Kazakhstan is located in the epicenter of oil geopolitics, the Central Asian region is very sensitive to changes in this sphere. Through looking at the size of the Kazakhstan oil sector, the republic has a unique and critical role in the regional power game. However, Kazakhstan regarded geopolitics as a suitable instrument for evolving cooperation and mutual interdependence among major powers. This is based on the fact that diversified and open oil policy can create favorable conditions for resolving

complex problems related to economic development and independent foreign policy of the country. Kazakhstan never takes part in such actions which can inflict damage on the interests of other players in the global oil market.

Therefore, Kazakhstan draws the attention of the two major Asian giants, India and China, which are competing with each other to harness the energy resources of the region. Both countries try to strengthen their focus on the region for their own advantage and sustenance. Hence, the implications of their energy policies in Kazakhstan for both, India and China, are much wider and deeper than it appears at first sight. The geographical positions of China and India make their rivalry in Central Asia inevitable. China and India are fighting for the right to exploit oil and gas fields in Kazakhstan and other energy-rich countries. Liu Qian (2014) gives a pragmatic explanation of the competition between China and India: «China and India, the emerging countries with emerging economies, look like natural competitors in the struggle for global energy resources. These two countries combine similar trends in energy demand and consumption patterns. Both are densely populated states and their industries are developing rapidly, despite relatively low efficiency at the present time. Meanwhile, both of them have the weak positions in the international energy market as they have neither a strong energy base nor a voice in the international energy pricing system».

In accordance with these strategies, oil companies are looking for resources abroad expanding cooperation with the rich hydrocarbon reserves countries and helping to lay the main pipelines for energy transportation. Oil companies from the two countries fought in Angola and Ecuador for the right to exploit oil there. Nevertheless, we must not forget about the close cooperation of oil companies on the Nile (Egypt). The two countries are also promoting projects in Iran, Myanmar and Russia and these are the promising prospects for cooperation.

The Chinese and Indian state-owned companies were twice engaged in serious competition for Kazakhstan's oil and gas assets. For the first time, in 2005, it was about acquiring Petro Kazakhstan from its Canadian owners, who are developing the Kumkol field in the Kyzylorda region. The second time it was in 2013. In both cases, the Chinese ones won. They bought Petro Kazakhstan for \$4.18 billion. China bought an 8.4 percent stake in the US group ConocoPhillips in the project of developing the Kashagan field for \$5 billion.

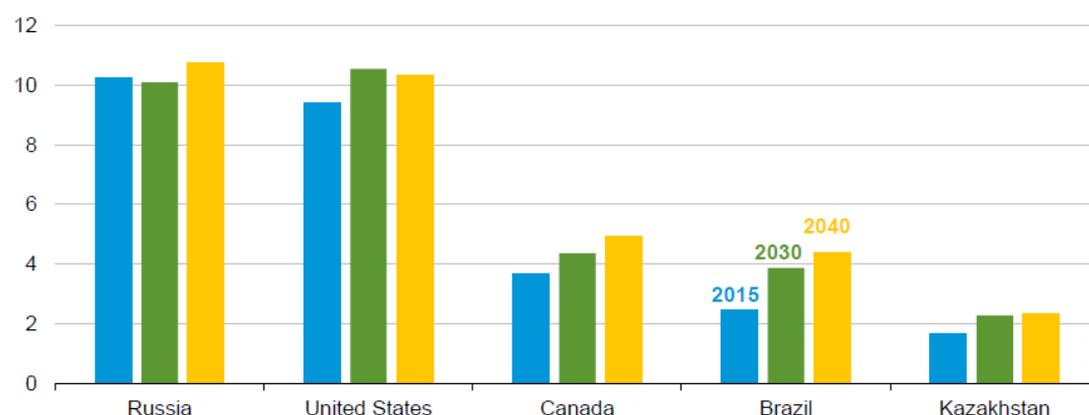
It is clear that the energy resources of the Central Asian region are attractive for the large

powers in their aim to maintain and balance their economies. At the same time, energy security is a key factor of international stability and is one of the main political and economic priorities of the nations. Therefore, Kazakhstan is seeking to build the constructive energy interaction with the major powers like the EU, the USA, Russia and China which is clearly guided by the principle of non-discrimination. It is also important to note here that Kazakhstan also strives to consolidate a balanced regional system of energy cooperation with all the powers. The republic maintains its relations with foreign investors in line with the policy of mutually beneficial cooperation. The major priority of the national energy policy of Kazakhstan is to provide stable and diversified supplies of hydrocarbons to the international markets. The current transit potential is exploited with a view of maintaining the balance of interests of the major consumers of energy resources, especially India and China. China and Kazakhstan are close neighbors. The length of the pipelines connecting the two sides is relatively short. And the investment looks relatively small. On the contrary, if India builds pipelines with Central Asia, it will have to lay them through Pakistan and Afghanistan. This is difficult to implement, because it requires a large distance covering at a high cost. So, each of the countries strives to focus on energy policy in relation to the region.

According to the Indian scientist Ajay Patnaik (2010), India's policy in Central Asia has shown new strength, its emergence as a global economic and nuclear power allows India to play an active role near the neighboring region, in Central Asia and Afghanistan. However, there are two significant underlined changes in the Indian approach towards the region. The first was in November 2003 when the Indian Prime Minister visited Tajikistan and decided to renovate and upgrade the Ayni air base. The second was in August 2005 when the Indian state-owned company ONGC combined with Mittal Industrial Group to form the OMEL and made a serious effort to acquire energy assets in Kazakhstan. Though the OMEL eventually lost to the China's state-owned CNPC in the acquisition of the Canadian oil company Petro Kazakhstan, its bid of \$3.9 billion was a huge effort of the Indian company at the time. From an insignificant \$43.96 million trade turnover with the Central Asian republics in 1996, India's trade with the region increased to \$366.73 million by the end of 2008. On the other hand, China's policy towards Kazakhstan has been wider enough than the Indian one. China wants to link along the development of its economy and infrastructure with the fight against religious extremism and seeks to squeeze Russian influence in the region. As we can see, China has achieved significant results in recent years in cooperation with Central Asia in energy.

Non-OPEC crude oil production increases less than 2% between 2015 and 2040, but growth in Russia, Canada, Brazil, and Kazakhstan increases by 24%

Crude and lease condensate production
million barrels per day



Source: EIA, *International Energy Outlook 2017*



Dr. Ian Mead, CSIS
IEO2017, September 2017

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U.S. EIA (2017) Energy Information Administration, «International Energy Outlook», Statistics & Analysis, DC, September 14, 2017 [https://www.eia.gov/pressroom/presentations/mead_91417.pdf]

BP Statistical Review (2013) provides that ample data that Kazakhstan has 30 thousand billion barrels (bb) oil reserve and 1728 trillion cubic feet of gas reserve in comparison to world reserve. Moreover, Kazakhstan has untapped oil fields in Kashagan and Tengiz region with its little domestic consumption and growing export capacity has become the focal point of strategic rivalries amid major powers United States of America, Russia and China. According to U.S. Energy Information Administration (2013) and Official Energy Statistics from the U.S. Government – US EIA (2017:22) Kazakhstan is a major oil producer since 1991, has the second largest oil reserves as well as the second largest oil production.

Thus, Kazakhstan is a strategic linchpin in the vast Central Asian-Caspian Basin zone, a region rich in energy resources and a potential gateway for commerce and communications between Europe and Asia.

2. Energy Dimensions of Kazakh – China Relations

Energy in China is a strategic issue because it fuels its economic growth rates and stimulates the demand for diversifying energy supplies. In this regard Blank (2006) argues that China's hunger for energy has become a driving factor in contemporary world politics and a precondition for sustaining China's continuing high economic growth. Therefore, reliable access to energy is a vital to Chinese interest which cuts to the heart of the Chinese leadership's in most primal domestic and foreign policy obsessions. According to US Energy Information Administration, EIA (2013) China is the world's most populous country and has a rapidly growing economy, which has driven the country's high overall energy demand and the quest for securing energy resources. In this context, International Monetary Fund, IMF (2012) highlights that China's real gross domestic product (GDP) grew at an estimated 9.2 percent and 7.8 percent in the first half of 2012 after registering an average growth rate of 10 percent between 2000 to 2011. Thus, energy has become the prime anchor of China's economic growth and development for which Zhao (2008:209) argues that China has adopted a state-centered approach towards energy security to deepen political and commercial relationships with all energy producing nations and to aggressively invest in oil fields and pipelines around the world especially with Central Asian states According to Patnaik (2010) China since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, has considered Central Asia

as significant to its national security and territorial integrity.

It is also the largest trade partner of most Central Asian states. In this context, M. Bhalla (2013) also points out that China's relationship with Central Asian states reveals a matrix of geopolitics, resource hunger and its pressing need to ensure energy security. Further, H. Zhao (2007) views that energy has become a central focus of China's strategy and diplomacy in the Central Asia because of two reasons, first; the growth in China's energy demand and second; the change in international situation after the events of 11 September 2001.

However, China's energy interests in Central Asia mainly concentrated in Kazakhstan, which has become the main reserves of oil and gas and it ranks as the largest producer in the region. According to Dash (2013) Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian country China has chosen to have extensive relations in the realm of energy cooperation. It is the former Soviet state that shares the longest border with China and due to vast natural resources; it has attracted Chinese attention both in strategic and energy terms following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, the energy cooperation between China and Kazakhstan began in 1997, when the two signed an agreement to build a 3,000 km oil pipeline across their borders, running from Atyrau in Kazakhstan to the west to Altaw Pass in China in the east. Kazakhstan due to its advantageous geopolitical location and vast deposits of oil and gas has become one of the main participants in the huge energy sector in the Central Asian region.

Though, Kazakhstan is a landlocked state and shares borders with Russia, China, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. Traditionally, it has been an ally and a partner to Russia since the two countries have the same cultural, ethnic, language and historic backgrounds. Therefore, Kazakhstan has declared a «multivectoral» policy to develop and improve strategic, diplomatic and economic relations with the major geopolitical powers in the international arena, namely, China, Russia, the US and Europe (Gubaidullina, 2007). Within this list, China ranks as one of the highest priorities for Kazakhstan to collaborate with for many reasons.

Kazakhstan is also the second largest trade partner to China and there is still a lot of potential for further growth in this sector. However, particular attention has been paid to Kazakhstan's energy resources for entering into the Kazakh energy market. This aim was achieved by purchasing a production company, a refinery in the South of Kazakhstan, and the construction of two oil

pipelines. In this regard Liao (2006) has observed that China's recent engagements with Central Eurasian and Caspian countries, namely Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, have unsettled the Americans. The region's political turbulence, and the geopolitical energy rivalry instigated by the Americans, has propelled Russia and China to build regional strategic partnerships, through Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). In this context Kazakhstan has to evaluate and appraise China's energy development tendencies properly, to create a balanced policy towards this country and find an acceptable and convenient form of collaboration.

Further, Kazakhstan's massive oil reserve makes it very attractive to China in boosting energy cooperation. The development of Sino-Kazakhstan energy cooperation brings more opportunities to the region. Kazakhstan and China have considered three opportunities. The first is to prolong the existing pipeline between cities of Uzbekistan-Bukhara and Tashkent to Almaty, then through Taldikorgan to Alashankou. The second is the construction of a new gas pipeline connecting Ishim (western Siberia) and Alashankou and the one going through Astana and Karaganda. The third is a variant of constructing a pipeline from Shalkar (western Kazakhstan) and one coming through Kizilorda until Shimkent, with connection to the pipeline Bukhara-Tashkent-Almaty.

Nevertheless, in the realm of Sino-Kazakh energy cooperation Dash (2013) argues that China has signed four major oil and gas deals with Kazakhstan in recent years running to billions of dollars. By emphasizing the energy aspect Kazakh-China, Wong (2011) points out that Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, as an important element in its energy equation and hopes to obtain more and more resources from the region. It is very important that China will continue for increasing its oil and gas imports from Central Asia particularly Kazakhstan and guaranteeing the expansion of the energy sector in Central Asia's hydrocarbon-rich states. Moreover, Chinese purchases of Central Asian oil and gas provide the region not just with a massive source of income, but also with a powerful alternative to Russia as a transit country, increasing the political maneuvering space of the Central Asian governments. It is also worthwhile energy cooperation mutually beneficial to both China and Kazakhstan. China considers Kazakhstan a key factor in its energy security nexus, and sees the cooperation as helping strengthen and secure its northwestern borders of the volatile Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. In this regard, Liao

(2006) views that the cooperation provides new energy support to China's «Go West» program and it helps to gain greater access to the markets of Central Asia. Some experts also see the increasing Sino-Kazakh cooperation in the energy field as tied to the long-term strategic interests of the two countries, especially when faced with greater U.S. military presence in CA.

However, for Kazakhstan China can help to diversify its energy sector by balancing against Russia's influence in its energy field. With the steady growth of the Chinese economy and its energy demands, Kazakhstan together with other central Asian state has become one of the key sources for China's energy supply. Thus, the bilateral strategic partnership underpinned by energy cooperation which is believed to fit the fundamental interest of both nations. During Hu Jintao's 2005 visit to Kazakhstan, it highlighted «to expand and deepen cooperation in areas of oil and natural gas is of strategic importance to the economic development of the two countries» (Xinhua News Agency, 2005). Further, BBC Monitor (2006) identified that On 11 January 2006, during his fourth day official visit to Kazakhstan, Chinese Vice President Zeng Qinghong signed a joint communique with President Nazarbayev. The two leaders praised the completion of the Sino-Kazakh oil pipeline and vowed to promote energy cooperation between the two countries as part of their strategic partnership.

Close energy cooperation with Kazakhstan has not only strengthened its position over energy security, but has also produced a major loss for the United States «over the entire strategic Eurasian region with the latest developments. But it is less likely that China will become another «superpower» in the region for three reasons. First, China stands strongly against unilateralism in international affairs. Because of its recognition of the dominant influence of former Soviet states in central Asia, China prefers to rely on the multilateral Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) mechanism to maintain regional stability, and it has done so since the SCO's establishment. Secondly, China does not face practical threats from any central Asian states, and its strategic partnership with Russia is working well to ensure it a collective role in dealing with central Asian affairs. Finally, China is still a developing country and needs a peaceful environment for its modernization program. China's global energy search, including its actions in Central Asia, serves the purpose of economic development and seeks to ensure a better living standard.

3. Kazakhstan and India's Energy Security

The concept of security plays a vital role in formulating the domestic and foreign policy of a state. The security has broader connotation than the terms, self-preservation, survival, defence-preparedness, guiding one's frontiers etc., though they are often interchangeably used. It relates not only to the ultimate desire of the survival of state but also to live without serious external threat to its interests or values that are regarded as important or vital. Today, security concerns not only the defense of the territory but also the problems of access to raw materials at reasonable prices and how to alter and satisfy the expectations of social and economic stability. However, the economic stability and viability of any country largely depends on the durable and long term availability of energy. In fact the notion of «energy security» exemplifies the availability of energy at reasonable and affordable prices to the users according to their needs of the consumers.

According to IEA (2013) energy security has many aspects; long term energy security and short term energy security. Long term energy security is mainly linked to timely investments to supply energy in line with economic developments and environmental needs. Short term energy security focuses on the ability of the energy system to react promptly to sudden changes in the supply demand balance. More than 60% of the increase in energy consumption by 2040 comes from non-OECD Asia, which includes China and India. Demand in the residential and transportation sectors grows more rapidly. The industrial sector still accounts for over 50% of delivered energy consumption in 2040. Transportation energy use rises by nearly 30% between 2015 and 2040 with almost all of the growth occurring in non-OECD regions (*EIA, 2017*).

Energy security not only ensures the stable political development but also constitutes a critical component of national security. Energy security in India has been mainly protected by the Central Asian region particularly from the Kazakhstan region. India cannot ignore the importance of the Central Asia as in future, it will have to depend on this region for meeting its energy need. By looking at energy importance of Central Asian region for India Patnaik (2013) argues in three respects; first, markets have to very attractive not just in commercial terms but also in terms of legal institutional frameworks for business; secondly, chances to repatriate our profit and thirdly, institutionalized economies. In the era of faster economic growth, energy security emerged as a key determinant in defining the policy

of any country. In this regard Central Asian region play very supreme role in appeasing India's energy demand. However, Pandey (2013) has argued that India's engagement with energy exporting states of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan is quiet significant. It is also estimated that the three Central Asian republics have about 300 trillion cubic feet of gas and 90 to 200 billion barrels of oil. Among all the energy exporting countries, especially Kazakhstan has huge potential of energy reserve and it helps in fulfilling the India's increasing energy demand. In this regard has highlighted the importance of Kazakhstan for India by three relevant factors. First, its geostrategic location, secondly, it's economic potential, especially its energy resources, and thirdly, its multi-ethnic and secular structure.

India recognized the independence of Kazakhstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992. In this perspective India has sought to increase its commerce and strategic ties with Kazakhstan, which is the largest nation of the former Soviet republics and occupies a major expanse of territory in Central Asia with extensive oil, natural gas and mineral reserves. However, both the nations tried to develop economic and commercial ties. India's emergence as an economic and military power has enabled to play an active role in its «extended neighbourhood» in pursuit of its economic and security interests.

Nonetheless, to continue their economic modernization and sustained growth, India and Kazakhstan rely strongly on energy imports and exports, respectively. In the present economical and political scenario, the relations between Kazakhstan and India are assuming interests by their direct influence on the region for maintaining stability in the Eurasian continent in broader canvass. According to US EIA (2013) India was the fourth largest energy consumer in the world after the United States, China and Russia in 2011. But, India's economy grew at an annual rate of approximately 7 percent since 2000 and proved relatively resilient to the 2008 global financial crisis. The India's energy policy largely focuses on securing energy resources to meet the need of its growing economy. To sustain its economy India strongly emphasizes on Kazakhstan for its energy resources. Kazakhstan is a fast emerging key player in Eurasia region. Hydrocarbon rich Kazakhstan is located in India's extended neighbourhood, presents alluring prospects of supply diversification for energy starved India because it is the sixth largest energy consumer in the world with coal, oil, and gas. However, looking at the increasing importance of energy Mediakhabar (2011) highlighted that «Kazakhstan is the fourth

largest proven reserve of uranium and is going to play a vital role in the world energy security in the coming years. From the outset of its independence, Kazakhstan has pursued development of friendly and mutually beneficial ties with all countries of the world. And India became one of our key political and economic partners. India is a huge country with an exceptionally brilliant past and vibrant present».

India attaches immense importance to Kazakhstan in the field of energy security. After Russia, Kazakhstan is the only country which is endowed to help and to meet India's energy security. This includes nuclear fuels and hydrocarbon. Joshi (2012) argues that India was a key actor on the energy scene of Central Asia particularly in Kazakhstan's oil and gas sector. In this regard, Muzalevsky (2013) views that on 15-16 April 2011, the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev adopted a «Road Map» for strengthening strategic partnership between the two countries, signing seven agreements in various areas such as energy cyber security, space exploration education and development of technology.

Thus, India's policy makers sharply drew the attention towards the energy security of the country. Moreover, from the nuclear energy perspective the Embassy of India in Kazakhstan observed that India and Kazakhstan also actively cooperate in the energy sector under the aegis of multilateral organizations including CICA, SCO and the UN organizations in the field of energy security. CICA (Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia) has been involved in the dialogue over three significant issues-military-political affairs, socio-economic development and humanitarian concerns. India has the larger objectives and goals which have been achieved through these multilateral organizations. On the other hand, strong India-SCO relationship bring major trade and investment opportunities for India with other SCO states, as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is gradually realizing its ambitious through economic integration agenda, including formation of a free-trade zone and setting-up rules for the free movement of goods, services and technologies within SCO member states. India's interest in SCO has been primarily in engaging the relatively younger Central Asian Republics.

This is partly so, because both Russia and China have had active bilateral interactions. Due to this reason India is making a value adding to the SCO's multilateralism. Thus, accentuating the role of SCO in India Sachdeva (2006) argues that India

has a positive perception of the potential of the SCO as an instrument for promoting regional economic integration, trade and ensuring energy security. Nevertheless, both SCO and India share common interest in disrupting terrorist networks in and around Afghanistan, as both SCO and India view Afghanistan as a crucial strategic challenge. India also focused to build a «development partnership» in the region not only extracting resources but also developing human capital.

Singh (2011) observed that India attaches immense importance to Kazakhstan in the field of energy security. India faces formidable challenges in meeting its energy needs. Moreover, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh identified energy security as one of the major challenges to the national security of India. Beyond the challenges of energy security and stability, Kazakhstan and India share certain critical political and cultural values and commitments and along with the imperative for energy cooperation, should become the cornerstone of India's partnership with Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan could become a good partner for India in the area of energy security. It also seems to have achieved a sense of worth and as such, it seeks due political recognition.

Conclusion

Kazakhstan is a strategic hub in the vast Central Asian-Caspian basin zone, a region with rich energy resources and potential gates for trade and communications between Europe and Asia. Energy has emerged as the most important factor in shaping the geopolitics of Kazakhstan. The geostrategic location and its natural resources have yielded the geopolitical significance of the region.

Energy resources allow Kazakhstan to balance the engagement of major powers (example of India and China) in the country and make it a subject of geopolitics rather than an object. China's energy policy in Kazakhstan is a part of its broader geopolitical approach towards the region that includes economic and infrastructure links, fight against the so-called «three evils» (terrorism, separatism and extremism), and using multilateral organization like the SCO. While China is seeking to extend its sphere of influence as a regional power in order to enhance its economic and energy security but not seeking territorial expansion into the regions of Central Asia. Notwithstanding India's limited economic role in Central Asia in general, its recent willingness to be associated with multilateral organizations like the CICA, the SCO and enter into bilateral Custom Union

arrangement have opened prospects for expanding India-Kazakhstan energy cooperation. In addition to SCO, India's aim of obtaining energy security could be served through SCO forum which might not be possible in isolation.

The time has come to put energy firmly on the agenda in India's relationship with her extended neighbourhood. If India does not get into the act quickly, Kazakhstan may well sign off all its forthcoming production to western firms (**India-Ka-**

zakhstan Perspectives, Mahalingam, 2007:62). The global energy sector will transform through 2050 and will become increasingly complex and risky. The pressure on decision makers in both the public and private sectors will increase and, in particular, the demands on those responsible for energy policy will intensify. Policies formulated today and the resulting actions and behaviours of citizens will have effects and consequences far into the future (World Energy Council 2013).

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