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ҲИНДИСТОН МАРКАЗИЙ ОСИЁДАГИ ТАШҚИ СИЁСАТИДА ЭНЕРГЕТИКА ОМИЛИ

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Аннотация: Мақолада Ҳиндистоннинг Марказий Осиёдаги ташқи сиёсатида энергетика омили кўриб чиқилган бўлиб, Ҳиндистон томонидан Марказий Осиё энергетик бозорида қандай ўрин эгаллаганлиги, Марказий Осиёдаги Ҳиндистон энергетик стратегиялари, Ҳиндистон энергетик сиёсатидаги омиллар таҳлил қилинган.Бундан ташқари муаллиф томонидан Ҳиндистон Марказий Осиёдаги ташқи сиёсатининг устувор йўналишлари ўрганиб чиқилган.
Калит сўзлар: Энергетик ресурслар, Марказий Осиё, Ҳиндистон ташқи сиёсати, энергетика стратегиялари, ташқи сиёсий стратегиялар, энергетик геосиёсат.

ЭНЕРГЕТИЧЕСКИЙ ФАКТОР ВО ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ ИНДИИ В ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ

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Аннотация: В статье рассматривается энергетический фактор во внешней политике Индии в Центральной Азии, анализируется роль Индии на центральноазиатском энергетическом рынке, энергетические стратегии Индии в Центральной Азии, факторы энергетической политики Индии. Кроме того, автор изучил приоритеты внешней политики Индии в Центральной Азии.
Ключевые слова: энергетические ресурсы, Центральная Азия, внешняя политика Индии, энергетические стратегии, внешнеполитические стратегии, энергетическая геополитика.

ENERGY FACTOR OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS CENTRAL ASIA

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Abstract: The article examines the energy factor in India's foreign policy in Central Asia, analyzes the place of India in the energy market of Central Asia, Indian energy strategies in Central Asia, and factors in India's energy policy. In addition, the author studied the priorities of India's foreign policy in Central Asia.
Keywords: energy resources, Central Asia, Indian foreign policy, energy strategies, foreign policy strategies, energy geopolitics.

1. INTRODUCTION

The growth of the Indian economy creates an ever-growing demand for energy and natural resources to fuel and maintain the momentum of economic growth. The discovery of large reserves of hydrocarbons and other resources needed for sustaining economic growth makes the Central Asian region immensely attractive for forging a mutually beneficial cooperative relationship. Relations that are based on a shared commitment to open and progressive societies, secularism, democracy, and improving the lot of the common people, have been reinforced by a similarity of views in the fight against terrorism, drug trafficking and in many other areas of security.

Realizing its omissions, India launched various official frameworks such as "Extended Neighborhood", "Immediate and Strategic Neighbourhood" and the "Look North Policy" and the latest 'Connect Central Asia' [1, 20] for making its space in the region.

India has multifaceted interests in the Central Asian region from a geopolitical and geostrategic point of view. These changes in geostrategic and geopolitical dynamics in Central Asia forced India to revise its foreign policy in relation to the region. Against this background, Indian politicians realized that India can no longer remain an indifferent observer of this dynamic. The power politics of the major powers, the expansion of the geopolitical interests of such regional powers as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, as well as bilateral disputes in Indo-Pakistani relations were among the factors shaping Indian policy towards the region.

2. METHODS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The geostrategic concerns like extremism, Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism etc. have also obligated India to reorient policy towards the region [11,161]. The turbulence in Afghanistan, China's strategic assertiveness, some of the other reasons for India to look towards the CARs (Central Asian Republics), it is noted these concerns obligated India to protect its interest not allowing the external powers to change the geopolitical balance in Central Asia and

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consequently, create grave consequences on the strategic balance in South and West Asia [3, 2].

Central Asia is an energy-rich region, while India is an energy-deficient country [8, 3]. Thus, India's desire for energy can be easily met from the region through the Turkmenistan – Afghanistan – Pakistan – India (TAPI) pipeline [1,21]. With the assistance and coordination of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the three parties to this pipeline, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan, have signed an agreement to transport Turkmen gas to Pakistan through Afghanistan. Realizing the importance of this project and its desire for energy, India also joined TAPI in 2008. Turkmenistan is a major source of gas reserves, and proven reserves are estimated at about 8 trillion cubic meters. This pipeline will connect the Daulatabad gas field in Turkmenistan and pass through Herat, Helmand and Kandhar in Afghanistan, as well as Quetta and Multan in Pakistan and come to India. About 33 billion cubic meters of gas per year will be transported [2, 4].

Since its inception, the TAPI project has not materialized due to geopolitical and geostrategic dynamics. Strong United States support is critical to this project. However, India's desire to get energy from Central Asia has faced a number of geopolitical problems. The Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) and Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipelines have not been materialized. The geopolitical maneuvering of some external powers, such as the US and China, the changing geostrategic situation and bilateral relations between India and Pakistan, in fact, are the main obstacles to the implementation of this project. However, several initiatives were taken by Indian politicians to realize their interests and unite Eurasia.

India is also lacking in the generation of hydro-electric power but whereas some countries of the Central Asia like Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are holding immense potential for the generation of hydro-electric power. Particularly, Tajikistan has huge untapped hydro-electric potential, each sq. km. of the territory has up to 2 million kwh of hydel resources and thus holding very high potential for hydel power generation. In the summer season, Central Asia used to have surplus production, whereas India reels under chronic shortage of power. Thus, developing the region's hydel power potential is an investment area which India could seriously consider [3, 2].

The technical and economic potential of both regions can be realized within the framework of a cooperative, mutually beneficial partnership. Central Asia's desire to diversify its hydropower and energy export routes will be consistent with India's desire to diversify imports. India will seek to invest in lower production capacities, rather than exporting raw materials from the region through expensive pipelines. Infrastructure construction and construction activities have long-term opportunities for cooperation with India. After gaining independence in these countries, the rapid development of infrastructure is being carried out. This is a good opportunity for Indian companies specializing in infrastructure and construction. This sector is key to the Central Asian market.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In the last ten years, energy diplomacy has become central to India's foreign and security policy. India is serious about pursuing nuclear energy as well as diversifying its energy imports by securing suppliers beyond the Middle East. Apart from Russia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan could play key roles in this regard. India has invested in Russia's Sakhalin-I oil and gas field, and the Indian state-owned company Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) has purchased British-based Imperial Energy, whose key assets are located in Siberia. Competition in the region has been tough, however, because China has been pursuing a similar strategy. India and China may be cooperating in other areas, but when it comes to Eurasian energy, their rivalry has been fierce. This was clearly illustrated in late 2005 when China outbid India to acquire PetroKazakhstan, Kazakhstan's third-largest oil producer, by placing a bid of $4.18 billion[4,235].

After many years of unsuccessful attempts to enter the energy sector in the region, India is now slowly moving in that direction. ONGC Videsh Limited (OVL), the division of ONGC responsible for foreign assets, has been seeking a foothold in Kazakhstan since 1995 [7,2]. These efforts got a boost in 2005, when

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OVL and the Kazakh state energy company, KazMunaiGaz, agreed to cooperate in the hydrocarbon sector. In 2011 during then-Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Kazakhstan, a final agreement was signed for OVL to take a 25-percent stake in the Satpayev oil block, which holds estimated reserves of 1.8 billion barrels in Kazakhstan's sector of the Caspian Sea. Drilling was launched during Modi's 2015 visit to the area, and OVL is investing about $400 million in the project, with oil expected to flow by 2020. OVL also bought a 2.7-percent stake in the Azeri-Chirag-Guneshli oil field in Azerbaijan, along with a 2.4-percent stake in the associated Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline [7,3].

In 2013, however, India again suffered a setback in Kazakhstan, losing its bid to acquire a 8.4-percent stake in the North Caspian Sea Production Sharing Agreement from ConocoPhillips. It would have given India a stake in the vast Kashagan oil field in the Caspian Sea, and OVL came very close to finalizing the deal for $5 billion deal after getting approval from its partners. But the Kazakh government used its own legal rights to sell this stake to the China National Petroleum Corporation instead, for a sum reported to be between $5.2 and 5.4 billion [1,2].

Altogether, by some estimates, India has lost at least $12.5 billion of deals to China in recent years. And when the Kazakh government reportedly offered the ONGC a stake in the mid-sized Abai oil block in 2014, India rejected the deal. With the declining oil prices, the ONGC did not find the offer particularly attractive [7,3].

Another initiative, the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline, has seen tentative movement. Following two decades of discussion, leaders from all four countries held a groundbreaking ceremony in Mary, Turkmenistan, in December 2015. The event defied many skeptics who had long considered TAPI's relevance limited to academic and diplomatic conferences. The project has enormous strategic potential: once completed, the pipeline could become a game changer in regional geopolitics and a force for economic integration. It would also generate significant transit revenues for Afghanistan and thereby help ease its economic difficulties.

4. CONCLUSION

The Central Asian gas market has been undergoing significant change, due to China's slowdown and Russia's declining demand. Turkmenistan currently exports gas to China, Russia, and Iran—and the latter two have lately reduced their imports. Russia in particular was mostly re-exporting Turkmen gas to Europe, and as both energy prices and European demand declined, its long-term contract with Turkmenistan became unprofitable. After efforts to re-negotiate the deal failed, Moscow has unilaterally reduced its imports. For its part, Iran, too, is likely to cut gas imports now that the lifting of international sanctions allows it to build domestic and export infrastructure. This means that China, already the largest export market for Turkmen gas, will only grow in importance, leaving some in Ashgabat worried about this overdependence and searching for alternative buyers. If TAPI becomes a reality, it will open new opportunities for Turkmenistan in South Asia.

Moreover, TAPI would likely also encourage Russia to send hydrocarbons to South Asia by pipeline. New Delhi and Moscow have already set up a working group to explore the possibility of bringing Russian energy to India either via the Afghanistan-Pakistan route or via China.

Finally, an emerging area of Indian and Central Asian cooperation is uranium purchases from the region. Kazakhstan has large reserves of uranium, and India is keen to import it for its growing nuclear industry. In 2011, Kazakhstan agreed to supply 2,100 tons of uranium to India's nuclear plants by 2014, and it pledged an additional 5,000 tons for 2015–19 during Modi's visit to Astana in 2015 [9,3]. Similarly, the state-owned Uzbek mining firm NMMC has agreed to supply 2,000 metric tons of uranium ore concentrate to India between 2014 and 2018 [2,4].

India's Central Asia Policy received a significant boost in 2018, when New Delhi's diplomatic efforts paid dividends in the form of admission into the

Ashgabat Agreement, signed in 2011 between Iran, Oman, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan and Qatar, for the establishment of an international transport and transit corridor. In 2016, Kazakhstan and Pakistan joined the group. This agreement allows India to use the existing land connectivity networks to facilitate trade and commercial interaction with both CA and Eurasia, by exploiting the natural resources of the region and exporting products to CA. One of the railway lines under the Ashgabat Agreement that connects Iran Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan became operational in 2014.

Such high-level engagement in the last five years is reflected in increased trade between India and CA countries.

CA countries, particularly Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, are keen to have India as a key partner in their quest to consolidate their position in the global arena. In February 2019, Kazakhstan's ambassador to India, Bulat Sarsenbayev, said, "Our trade is growing but the potential is much more. Chabahar and Bandar Abbas are part of one project in reality. Chabahar will be completed, they (Kazakhstan) will construct a railway from Chabahar to the Iranian railway network; it will later go to Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan." [10,1]

To sum up, a direct access to Central Asia will help India to not only establish itself as one of the major players in energy market of Central Asia but also undermine China's much-hyped BRI flagship projects. Afghanistan factor and sanction on Iran by US play decisive on realizing Indian energy projects in Central Asia. Besides, recent escalation of problem between India and Pakistan gives us to analyze the situation in South Asia.

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