

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

In 1998, John J. Maresca, vice president of international relations Unocal Corporation, during a hearing with the committee on international relations house of representatives, stated that Central Asia became important for U.S. interest because this region has tremendous untapped energy resources. It is estimated at about 236 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves and 200 billion barrels of oil which represents about 5 percent of world's oil production. These vast natural resources will be sufficient for energy demand in both European and Asian markets. Central Asia has a problem to be solved since this region is landlocked both economically and politically, as well as the problem to bring its energy resources to international markets. Every country in the region is facing economic and political challenges, because it still depends on markets and security protection from Russia. China as a new regional actor also tries to involve in both economic and politic aspects of Central Asia. Thus, the writer will analyze and elaborate the U.S. involvement in Central Asia concerning energy control. The title proposed in this research is "*The U.S. Foreign Policy Concerning Energy Control in Central Asia*"

### A. Background

The vast economic growth of the world since 1995-2010 is reckoned to increase the demand of energy. While the oil producer countries are

East region have reached oil peak production and those countries are required to fulfill world energy need. The high demand of energy and the lack of energy resources will raise oil prices that will affect the condition of economic world. Economic growth of West Europe, East Europe, Central Europe and the former of Soviet Union which are estimated at about 1.2 – 1.5 percent since 1995-2010 was fulfilled by Russian energy supply. In addition, the demand of energy in Asia will rise and as estimated by UNOCAL, the demand of oil in the world will double in 2010. If the energy demand of Asia cannot be fulfilled, it will give pressure to global market and price rises everywhere<sup>1</sup>.

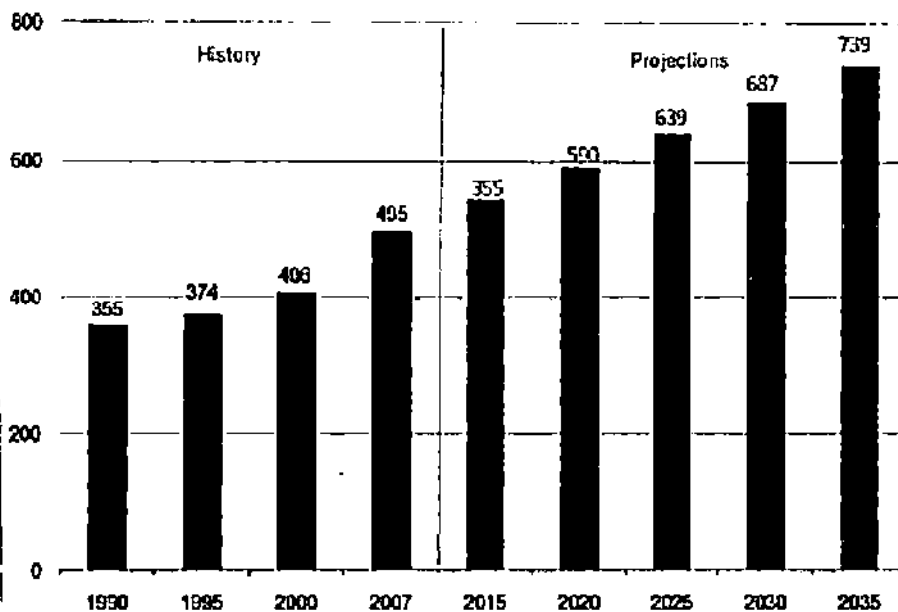
According to the U.S. Department of Energy's *International Energy Outlook 2007*, world consumption for energy is projected to grow 49 percent from 2007 to 2035. Energy demand in non Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries increases by 84 percent and 14 percent in OECD countries.<sup>2</sup> In this case, United State as one of the world's energy regulator should take a role to solve this problem instead of securing their interest among world energy competitors. The U.S. views the Central Asia region which has tremendous energy resources, especially oil and gas that has not exploited to its maximum. This region is estimated for fulfilling energy demand globally, particularly energy demand for Asia.

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<sup>1</sup> Mareska, J.J (1998), *U.S. Interest in the Central Asian Republics*. Retrieved from <http://whatreallyhappened.com> .Accessed on 19 September 2010 at 08.10 pm

<sup>2</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ (2010). *International energy Outlook*. Retrieved from

**Figure1. World marketed energy consumption, 1990-2035**



Sources: <http://www.eia.doe.gov/oiaf/ieo/world.html>

Central Asia, also known as the corridor of Eurasia is the world trade center in the past because it connected the West and the East. Central Asia was an important trade route known as Silk Road. Silk Road connected Asia market, particularly China with European market. However, the discovery of new route using the sea has made the Silk Road redundant. Central Asia is very fertile with rich natural resources but this area was isolated both politically and geographically. Central Asia was fought by great countries such as England and Russian Empire because it has strategic position. The region has fallen to the Russian Empire and Soviet Union managed this region after the Bolshevik revolution. After the fallen of the Russian Empire, Central Asia divided into several independent countries which are Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. According to UNOCAF, this region has 236 trillion

cubic feet of hydro carbon and 60-200 billion barrel of oil reserve that represent 5 percent of world oil production.<sup>3</sup>

Central Asia is an important region for U.S. interest especially in energy security since its region has strategic location and rich of natural resources. The U.S. sees Central Asia as an important region for fulfilling energy demand globally, particularly energy demands for Asia. Another interest of the U. S. in Central Asia is stabilizing the region. However, this region has problems to be solved because Central Asia is isolated and their national resources are land locked both geographically and politically. Each country in this region faces difficult economical and political conditions. Politically, this region is still under Russian influence, because they need security protection from external threats, such as, the threat from Islamic militant and trans-national crime<sup>4</sup>. Economically, this region still depends on Russian influence, because during the Soviet period the economic development centered to the north and west toward Russia.<sup>5</sup>

However, the U.S. interests in Central Asia are facing challenges by its rivals, Russia, China, Iran and Islamic militancy. These are both military forces and economic threats. Military force threats for the U.S. can be seen from military cooperation between Russia and China that binds Central Asia countries onto their

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<sup>3</sup> Cohen, A, ET.A(2008),*The Proposed Iran-Pakistan-India Gas Pipeline: An Unacceptable Risk to Regional Security*. Retrieved from:<http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/05/the-proposed-iran-pakistan-india-gas-pipeline-an-unacceptable-risk-to-regional-security>, Accessed on 19 September 2010.

<sup>4</sup> The term of Islamic Militant cited and taken from Rashid, A. (2001) "Jihad; The rise of militant Islam in Central Asia" New Haven and London: Yale University Press, page: 137-154

<sup>5</sup> Mareska, J.J (1998), *U.S. Interest in the Central Asian Republics*. Retrieved from

sphere of influence and threats from Islamic militants will destabilize the region. Besides, economic threat for the U.S. is economic dependency from Russian market, such as the pipeline system under Russian control, as well as Russia and China efforts to bind Central Asia countries into their market. Considering big interest of the U.S in Central Asia is facing many threats, the U.S. decided to run a strategy for controlling energy resources in this region.

### **B. Research Question :**

From the exploration of problem background above, the research question rising is “What is the U.S. strategy to secure the energy control in Central Asia?”

### **C. Theoretical Framework**

To answer the research question above, the writer uses two theories, namely Foreign Policy and Geopolitics. These theories are best described and analyzed this case and in the end, it will answer the question.

#### **1. Foreign Policy Theory**

Coulombis and Wolfe stated that foreign policy is the synthesis from national interest and capabilities of the state (power)<sup>6</sup>. Foreign policy is an effort of the states through all actions and activities in order to reach their external benefit. It aims to maintain and to defend continuity of the state survival. Foreign policy is a strategy or action plan which is made by state decision makers in

facing other states or international political units, and controlled to reach a specific aims which defined as national interest. Every foreign policy is planned to serve its national interest. National aims which made by foreign policy is concrete formulation and planned by connecting national interest toward international situation and the power capability to reach.<sup>7</sup>

We can use typology to describe empirical phenomenon which are compatible with the categories in that typology. Typology is making a scheme to classify and to describe a phenomenon. To simplify its understanding John Lovell made a typology of foreign policy strategy.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 1: Typology of Foreign Policy Strategy**

		The Assessment of the rival strategy	
		Threat	Support
Self-Capabilities measurement	Stronger	Confrontation	Leadership
	Weaker	Accommodate	Concordance

Source: Mohtar Mas'ood : *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional, Disiplin dan Metodologi*

U.S. foreign policy under the Clinton and Bush administration has tried to diminish the influence of Russia, China, Iran and Islamic militancy in the region. The economic growth, political and powerful security cooperation among South

<sup>7</sup> Ikedinma H.A.( 2002), *What is Foreign Policy?*, Retrieved from [http://www.nou.edu.ng/noun/NOUN\\_OCL/pdf/pdf2/INR%20321.pdf](http://www.nou.edu.ng/noun/NOUN_OCL/pdf/pdf2/INR%20321.pdf) .Accessed on 19 September 2010 at 10.014 pm

Caucasian countries, Central Asia and West countries will create stable conditions and release the region from economic and political influence of Russia, China and Iran as U.S rivals. The cooperation covers military force cooperation and militarization in an area supported by NATO and U.S. Militarization in the region is needed to secure pipeline routes of oil and trade routes among those countries. Militarization in Central Asia is important because the region requires military force to secure itself from militancy threats. With the security protection from U.S., the region will not depend on security protection of Russia so that it will avoid Russia domination in this region.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. Geopolitics Theory

The term Geopolitics was first used by Rudolf Kjéllen a political expert from Sweden in 1905. As a branch of Political Geography, Geopolitics focuses on the development and the need of space for a country. A combination between the theory of natural development of a country by Friedrich Ratzel's and Heartland Theory (theory of the core region) of Sir Halford J. Mackinder's to justify the practices of expansionist from several countries.<sup>10</sup> Geopolitics is the development of Political Geography, where the state is seen as a living organization that evolved spatially within the framework meets the needs of his people or the demands of the need for Lebensraum (living space) which is explicitly associated with the development of national culture with a territorial expansion, which is

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<sup>9</sup> Chossudovsky, M(2008), *The Eurasian Corridor: Pipeline Geopolitics and the New Cold War*. Retrieved from <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=9907> Accessed on 19 September 2010 at 10.09 pm

<sup>10</sup> Mill, W.G(2010), *Power Politics and Geopolitics*. Retrieved from

then used to provide academic legalization for imperialist expansion of the German State in 1930s<sup>11</sup>

In the hands of German thinkers at the time, especially Haushofer, Geopolitics is growing rapidly as a branch of science where the power (political) and space (raum) is a central element. So then Haushofer named Geopolitics as a science of the state which includes the fields of politics, geography (space), economics, sociology, anthropology, history and law and was first described in his famous book "Macht und Erde (power / power and world).<sup>12</sup> He argued that Germany needed to enlarge its Lebensraum in order to create equality between German population and natural geography space. He believes that U.S. succeeds in exploiting geopolitical within its region. With Monroe Doctrine U.S. implemented its regional hegemony. He argued that the similar regional hegemony could be implemented in Europe which dominated by Germany.<sup>13</sup>

Geopolitics term has being popular during the late nineteenth century. It is an idea where politics and space could be used in national policy. Geopolitics is related to the relation among the states, external strategy, and global balance of power.<sup>14</sup> Geopolitics is related to the idea how geographical factors including territory, strategic location, population, natural resources, modified by economic and technology influences the interaction among the states and struggle for world

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>12</sup> Perdana, Sukma, *Konsep Geopolitik*. Retrieved from: [http://www.geounesa.net/news/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=93:konsep-geopolitik&catid=54:geografi-politik&Itemid=96](http://www.geounesa.net/news/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=93:konsep-geopolitik&catid=54:geografi-politik&Itemid=96), Accessed on 29 September 2010 at 09.10 pm

<sup>13</sup> Foster, J.B (2006), *The New Geopolitics of Empire*, Retrieved from <http://www.monthlyreview.org/0106jbf.htm>, accessed on 23 September 2010 at 07.45 pm

<sup>14</sup> Jones, M., Jones, R., Woods, M. (2004). *An introduction to political geography. Space, place and politics*. London: Routledge.



domination. Franz Neumann stated that geopolitics is an ideology of imperialist expansion and represents a specific way of organizing and developing empire. Michael Clare stated in his pages "The New Geopolitics" as imperial philosophy has become pragmatics tools for the U.S. to integrated imperial goals after Cold War.

Mackinder is a British geographer, economist, and politician which know because of his doctrine about "Heartland". He stated that geopolitics is about the Endgame of controlling Heartland or transcontinental mass land in Eurasia including East Europe, Russia, and Central Asia. Heartland defines as a land lock or difficult access to the sea, so it becomes "the greatest natural fortress in the world". He argued that the control of land will determine the development of land transportation and communication and compete with sea power. And he believed whoever can control Heartland which followed by modern naval power would be able to outflank the maritime world which controlled by British Empire and U.S. He designed Eastern Europe as a strategic additional of Heartland which this region as the key to command Eurasia. He quoted that "who rule East Europe command the Heartland, Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island, and who rules the World-Island commands the world"<sup>15</sup>

U.S. developed "Mineral Geopolitics" as reaction from post colonial regimes to create "International Economic Order" U.S. was vulnerable to loss of strategic oil and raw material route and force Washington to compromises its idealistic foreign policy with the revival of geopolitics. To response this demands,

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<sup>15</sup> Foster, J.B (2006), *The New Geopolitics of Empire*, Retrieved from:

President Reagan establishes Central Command (CENTCOM) in 1983. CENTCOM is one of the five regional “ unified command” which governing by U.S. combat force around the world including 25 states in South-Central Asia( include Persian Gulf) and Horn of Africa in order to protect oil route. This army has work in Iran-Iraq war 1980-1988, Gulf War in 1991, Afghanistan war in 2001 and Iraq war in 2003. <sup>16</sup>

#### **D. Hypothesis:**

The U.S. developed the strategy to reduce the threat of Russia and China by implementing the Silk Road Strategy (SRS) to control Central Asian energy by constructing the pipeline to create economic corridors in Eurasian, and militarization of Eurasian corridors.

#### **E. Research Method:**

This is a library research. In this model, researcher is allowed to collect the data, explaining the problem, and to analyze the hypothesis, analyzed data will be taken from books, encyclopedia, newspapers, journals and internet.

#### **F. Range of Research:**

In order to avoid this topic from being out of context and over expanded we have limited the period of this research. According to this title and related to

“ U.S. Strategy to Control the Central Asia Energy” the

writer limits the period from 1995-2010. Because, this is the period when U.S. planned this project and implemented its policy in Central Asia. This period showed the implementation of its strategy plans.

### **G. Systematic of Writing**

**Chapter I: Introduction;** This chapter describes the background of the case in the research, research question will trigger the researcher to answer what are exactly problems to answer, describes the purpose of the writer to do this research, analyzes theoretical and conceptual framework which is used in this research, gives the temporary answer of the question research in the hypothesis, gives the limitation of the period since 1990-2010, and describes the method of the writer in conducting this research.

**Chapter II:** This chapter will describes energy plans in Central Asia and the target for the U.S. interest. It also describes potentials of economic, politic, and social in this region.

**Chapter III:** This chapter will describe the threat and obstacle of U.S. project from its rivals (Russia, Iran, China, and Afghanistan).

**Chapter IV:** This Chapter describes the U.S strategies to control Central Asia energy and how to implement it.