# THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC'S VIEW OF ENERGY SECURITY

# AS A THEORETICAL PROBLEM

Nowadays the importance of energy security in practice is constantly increasing due to the necessity to follow this issue from both - theoretical and practical points of view. The article analyzes relation between energy security and a possible war, which would concern energy resources of a particular country. The article contains specific analysis of the possibility to maintain energy security of the Slovak Republic, activities of the European Union and the position of the Russian Federation in the field of energetics as well as the prospects for development of mutual energy affairs and ratio of their energy interdependence in the future.

Keywords: energy security, energy interdependence, energy affairs, international affairs.

"...The fifth challenge – global energy security... All the developed countries increase their investments to alternative and «green» energy technologies.

It is obvious, that the era of hydrocarbon economics is gradually running out...

Kazakhstan is of the key elements of the global energy security..."

STRATEGY «Kazakhstan-2050» Address of the President of the
Republic of Kazakhstan to the nation of Kazakhstan.
In.: http://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc\_id=31305418

owadays, energy is an indispensable part of a human's life. It is necessary for modern society to function. At the beginning of the 21st century there was determined a new development model for energy sector alongside with the new approach to energy security. Rapid and harmonic variation of the main energy sources prices such as oil and gas, problems with their supply resulted from natural disasters, transit uncertainties or terrorist actions, as well as extension of mistrust boundaries between suppliers and consumers force to thoroughly speculate about long-term energy cooperation and increase or enhance energy comfort and level of energy security. For today, the energy maps are distributed. There are the players who



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have energy resources, the players who have opportunities to produce, mine, process and supply energy resources. The players, «...who control pipeline routs and the players, who are dependant on supply....»<sup>1</sup>

Energy resources have become a matter of geopolitical disputes since the moment it has been become considered as a part of state security provision. Since the beginning of the 21 century, the lack of raw materials, especially oil and gas, has been called as more probable source of crises and conflicts.

Energy issue is impossible to be a matter of geopolitical gambling with zero score, when the win of the one equals the loss of the other. The perfect solution is to make the matter of energy, which has always been the matter of power confrontation, only the matter of economics and business. Cooperative models of energy security solution offer the way out, when reliability of suppliers, transit countries, and consumers is provided on the basis of mutually beneficial interdependence. Such cooperation will result in «...creation of new, more reasonable energy order, which by itself, would lead to energy savings»<sup>2</sup>

For the last years, the issues of energy security and global trade of the main energy resources such as oil and gas have become interdependent and inter-influential. The participants of the process responded, though not immediately, to this paradigm and developed the range of mechanisms, aimed to decrease risk level, such as forward integration, long-term contracts, mutual entry of capital and so forth.

The category of energy security itself is not so old. It became the most popular in 1973 when the first oil price shock happened. That time it was determined, first, by energy self-sufficiency.

Later it has been found that a state can be simultaneously dependent on supplies, also on their continuity and stability, fair prices and effective diversification, and consequently, to be more or less in stable situation, from the energy security point of view.

This supposes, of course, that a country will be in stable situation in case it possesses other basic categories of human security, such as specified by the UN: economic, food, medical, environmental, political and personal security...<sup>3</sup>

Let us bear in mind the fact, that Europe as a whole (separate countries,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>DUBNIČKA, I., (pub.).: Resursy i energiya v 21 veke, [Resources and Energy in 21 century] University of Constantine the Philosopher, Nitra 2011. P. 9. <sup>2</sup>Idem. P. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>ΠΡΟΟΗ: Report on Development of Humanity 1994: New measurements of a human's security. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994/chapters/, visited 10.10.2014.

included Slovak Republic) at different levels depends on energy feedstock import from the third countries. Consequently, the future of Europe looks very fragile, so it is important to create a complex approach to solve the problem of future energy sector and its security, because the main – traditional resources, such as oil and gas are limited in their amount and disproportionately located in the world.

This can create such a negation idea, that some states or state alliances tend to change this disproportion and make it beneficial for themselves by force actions or war.

The Czech author, Professor Oscar Krejci published the article "Pochemu budet voina ",4 [Why war will happen?], where he expressed the following thought: "...crises is determined by, that the old is dying, but the new has not been born yet or this process is very slow. In this way the hegemon of the global economy changes...". Further, the author says: "...modern weapon has such the characteristics encoded in them, that sooner or later it will be used..."

Therefore, weapons that possess this "special" characteristic encoded in it can be used with the aim to enhance energy comfort of any state that has interest in it. What is more those who are in need of big amounts also need to have forces to increase them.

History has always had various reasons for wars. If we take into consideration the classification offered by the above mentioned author, so in the history of humanity the most wars were launched because of territories, which can be understood as wars for regions rich with strategic raw materials (not only energy feedstock).<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, the problem of war and peace has become or it is an indispensable part of the history of humanity. There is no a common answer to a question about the use of military forces as a tool to solve the problem of energy security.

There is the situation where pacifists and militarists have absolutely different opinions. Such theorists as P. Brock, T. P. Soknat define pacifism as total rejection of any form of war.<sup>6</sup> J. Teichman identifies pacifism with antimilitarism: «...pacifist rejects the idea of war; such a person is convinced that there are no moral reasons to justify war. Anyway, war for a pacifist is abnormal...".<sup>7</sup>

Military-minded philosophy results from the belief that a state has to support constantly its powerful military capability and to be ready to use it to defend its national (energy) interests. Where is the truth?

Every human's behaviour, including behaviour in the field of international affairs (activity, aimed to possess the resources of other states, as well as of «private» companies) should be subject not only to legal control, but, particularly, to moral control.

Apparently, in the time of expanding global demand for oil and gas and decrease of the reserves of many existing resources, now it will be more difficult to retain the balance between demand and supply. This may be almost impossible to do, in the conditions when moral control is impossible as well.

The crucial problems of the modern world are not only separated world, but also the most significant question of all civilizations: who a human is and what the reason for existence is within dynamic vision of

the world transformation, but also: who possesses and who distributes energy resources.

Otherwise, those who control the flows of energy resources, those can possess people in the countries, and those who possess separate states, possess the whole world!

The following coordinated analysis of all stages of energy resources use is necessary to make: consumption, utilization efficiency in different technological processes, movement of energy resources from region A (deposit) to region B (consumer). We are in need of this not only because of the crises, but also because our world develops in such a way. Location of various energy resources in the world is very disproportional, and some new sources of traditional energy feedstock is located on territories, which are more and more difficult to reach (this could be "solved" not only politically), particularly, geologically and geographically.

There is no one who doubts that the global economy has faced the most profound crises since 30-s. A German economist Ludwig von Mises gave a lecture on 28 February, 1931 at the meeting of the German manufacturers' council. In the lecture, he reviewed the reasons of crises, and how businesspeople should behave to help the industry come out of such a profound crises: «...in accordance with the theory, it was supposed that crises will not be so hard. However, in its essence, crises progresses very acutely and we cannot foresee, that the conditions of business activity will improve for a short period of time..."

In the process of globalization, we need to expand further trade of energy resources, while interdependence between suppliers and consumers will continue to strengthen. In this connection, we should take into consideration the fact, that the balance between the club of exporters and the club of energy resources consumers was changing, is changing and will be changing. For instance, for last 30-40 years the club of traditional oil and gas exporters started to take into account this segment of the global trade policy. Particularly we speak about Kazakhstan, Russia and other post-soviet states of Middle Asia and South Caucasus (in English-language books it is called as Caspian region), and also Mexico, Norway, Oman etc.

We have some objective prerequisites to state those facts. Technological threats of supply security and institutional aspects constantly influence integration and development of energy markets. It is meant incompatibility of market control mechanisms in separate countries, clash of interests in national security and problems to provide investment process at international level.

Development of transcontinental markets and necessity to transport energy through several different countries make the topic of stable and reliable transit the most important.

Energy affairs (in terms of gas) of the European Union and the Russian Federation are almost the sample of such changes dynamics. Collaboration in gas supply to Austria, which began in 60-s of the last century was developing relatively successful until destabilization in Ukraine, despite the «iron curtain», ideological differences, cold war, drastic social and political, social and economic changes. It is paradox, but logically, as a part of post-modernity in the field of international affairs, and global politics this cooperation experiences hard times.

The triangle presented above is the sample of potential sources of energy evaluation, which can be used within the EU, even if, the weakest pattern of this triangle is uncertain policy of supply assurance



in conditions of lack of strategy concerning suppliers. The strategy must accept such factors as, reliability of sources, political and technical stability of transit, diversification of sources and routs of transportation and so forth. No country can avoid strategic cooperation with the main countriesmanufacturers.

In 1890 an American Alfred Mahan published his work (1840-1914) The influence of Sea Power upon History, (1660-1783)», where he developed a well-known formula of Sea Power – «Sea Power» and where he believes, that analysis of position and geopolitical role of the state should be made according to the following 6 criteria:

- 1) Geographical position of State;
- 2) «Physical configuration» of State;
- 3) Length of the territory;
- 4) Statistics of population;
- 5) National character;
- 6) Political character of governance.

From this enumeration we can see, that Mahan builds his geopolitical theory exclusively on the basis of "Sea Power" and its interests. The formula by A. Mahan:

### N+NM+NB=SP

(N - navy + NM - merchant navy + NB - naval base = SP - sea power) explains or justifies why a particular country was the most powerful.

Inspired by A. Mahan, we offer to use the following formula, which explains us, which country and why it has energy might

### Z+OK+TS=EM

(Z – sources + OK – volume of trade + TS – transportation systems = EM – energy potential)

The use of this formula explains why the USA from 1993 takes into account Russia and the region of Caspian Sea, as two different regions of energy sources (Z). Moreover, it explains which geopolitical areas are necessary to separate (OK, first of all TS – for instance, oil pipeline Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan) with the help of changes and minimize the energy capability of the main segments of energy Caspian region security, that are Kazakhstan and Russia.

However, energy (from Greek means – will, strength, ability to act) is not an objective physical phenomenon (measurement of all forms of motion), its interpretation in life and development of society (social relationship and activity) gains subjective nature.

Except of Physics the concept of energy exists in various forms in Philosophy, Ecology, Biology, Anthropology, Medicine, Psychology etc. For instance,

Aristotle understood energy as backbone of an item. One more problem is that, in the modern world, energy has a variety of resemblances or it is connected with different definitions, such as: geothermal, atomic, magnet, solar, wind, water energy or biomass energy, sea waves energy, tidal energy and energy of radiation...

All these resemblances (forms, types) have complicated relations, which make energy not only complex, but also a very interesting object for research, with its own history. Notwithstanding that, we have a common definition of energy security; we also can specify the basic array of issues, which affect it. In connection with the topic of the article, we pay our attention to the fact, that what we are talking about is firstly:

- access to energy sources (in required quantity, quality and at a reasonable price);
- energy manufacturing its reliable transportation (delivery, supply);
- energy facility safety, which deals with energy production and distribution.

By humans' determination energy is creative result of a human's nature, namely a human's activity or labour. It is a dynamic, probably the most dynamic element of nature as a whole. According to Albert Einstein, every mass has energy equivalence. Finally, we all know the fundamental Einstein's equation:  $E = m.c^2$ 

Naturally, matter cannot exist without motion, as well as motion is impossible without matter. Matter exists only due to motion, and in its turn cannot be without it. However, motion can and has to happen exclusively in space and time. As a result the following idea occurs, rephrasing Friedrich Engels, motion is nothing but only characteristic of matter. Since motion creates the foundation of its own existence.

Only during the war, when market plunges into fear and chaos, logics of human actions may force it to use energy raw materials as geopolitical weapon. It cannot be otherwise! Nowadays the adequate processes of globalization function. We should consider the fact.

Many theorists paid attention to the problem of energy secure relations. They state it is necessary to create the system, which will take into account all aspects vital to support energy security through various legal changes as opposed to all politicians. Therefore, we will try to specify the theoretical schools, which have modern views on energy security: (energy affairs as a whole):

- first school prefers to evaluate the problems of stability of current market outlets and transit for to provide reliable supply. Accumulation of political approaches to matter of argument solution predominates in energy security itself. Importers of energy resources prefer to have trade affairs with countries that are politically stable, and which have private enterprises to extract raw materials, because it assures the possibility to influence policy of private enterprises:
- the second school deals with predictions on energy consumption rate and how prices influence long-term development, diversification of energy sources, problems of transporting and so forth.;
- the third school is based on optimization (sometimes radical) of interrelation between both economic growth constant sustainability and ecology. It is more predominant in non-governmental sector, than in state institutions.

The states, economy of which depends on energy raw materials export, first of all, consider energy security, as the possibility to provide income for budget at the expense of security of demand.

Countries or alliances (concerns Slovak Republic as well), which are dependent and will be dependent, are more concentrated on the aspects of energy feedstock delivery and transportation reliability.

Eventually we may state that Slovak Republic will be an energy secure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>SLOVO: www.noveslovo.sk/c/27016/Preco\_bude\_vojna, visited 05.01.2015. <sup>5</sup>KRE IČÍ O /KPEŇYM O (Vojna (War) Professional publication Prague 2010 I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>KREJČÍ, О., /КРЕЙЧИ, О./: Voina, [War] Professional publication, Prague 2010, ISBN 978-80-7431-029-4. Р. 115-116.

<sup>6</sup>There are several directions in pacifist ideology, which differ by their complete

rejection of violence - consequential and deontological pacifism, total and minimalistic pacifism, universal, particular or sceptical pacifism See.: HOLMES, R.: On war and morality. TEICHMAN J.: Pacifism and the Just War. NORMAN, R.: Ethics, Killing and War., BROCK, P. – YOUNG, N.: Pacifism in the Twentieth Century. 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>OREND, B.: War and international justice: Kant's view. 2000. P. 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Full lecture is at: www.miles.org, visited 19.07.2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>MOISEEV, A. Nature of globalization and international community development// Law and State № 2(67) 2015. C. 55-62.

state only when it becomes obvious what state is its constant supplier of energy feedstock and what rout of transportation will be used (first of all, we speak about stability of transit countries).

The second aspect is the need to decrease traditional raw materials import and to increase production of local energy from alternative sources.

# П. Юза: Энергетикалық қауіпсіздік теоретикалық мәселе ретінде: Словакиядан көзқарас.

Қазіргі уақытта энергетикалық қауіпсіздіктің маңыздылығы бұл мәселені теориялық және тәжірибелік тұрғыдан шешудің қажеттілігімен байланысты артуда. Мақалада энергетикалық қауіпсіздік пен белгілі бір мемлекеттің энергетикалық ресурстарын қозғайтын соғыс мүмкіндігі арасындағы байланысқа талдау жасалынады. Сонымен қатар, мақалада Словак Республикасының энергетикалық қауіпсіздікті қолдау мүмкіндігі, энергетика саласындағы Европалық Одақтың қызметі және Ресей Федерациясының ұстанымы, сондай-ақ екі жақты энергетикалық қарым-қатынасты дамытудың перспективалары мен болашақтағы энергетикалық өзара байланыстар талданады.

Түйінді сөздер: энергетикалық қауіпсіздік, энергетикалық өзара қатынастар, энергетикалық байланыстар, халықаралық байланыстар, Словакия, Еуропалық Одақ, Ресей.

# П. Юза: Энергетическая безопасность как теоретическая проблема: взгляд из Словакии.

Важность энергетической безопасности на практике постоянно в наши дни увеличивается в связи с необходимостью решать этот вопрос с двух точек зрения – с теоретической и практической. В статье анализируется связь между энергетической безопасностью и возможной войной, которая бы затронула энергетические ресурсы конкретной страны. Статья содержит анализ возможности поддержания энергетической безопасности Словацкой Республики, деятельности Европейского Союза и позицию Российской Федерации в области энергетики, а также перспективы развития двусторонних энергетических отношений и отношений энергетической взаимозависимости в будущем.

Ключевые слова: энергетическая безопасность, энергетическая взаимозависимость, энергетические связи, международные отношения, Европейский Союз, Словакия.

### НОВЫЕ КНИГИ



Сарсембаев М.А. Казахское ханство как суверенное государство средневековой эпохи. Астана: ГУ «Институт законодательства Республики Казахстан», 2015. – 342 с. ISBN 978-601-7366-19-3

В монографии д.ю.н., профессора М.А. Сарсембаева рассматривается функционирование Казахского ханства – первого независимого, самостоятельного государства казахского народа, возникшего в результате распада Золотой орды. Казахская народность составляла основу суверенной государственности Казахского ханства. Казахское ханство имело территорию и границы – в глазах государств региона и за его пределами представало в качестве уверенного в своих силах суверенного государства. Подчеркивается, что ханы Казахского ханства не только руководствовались обычным правом казахов, но и стремились систематизировать и кодифицировать их. Жизнеспособность государства поддерживалась также благодаря достаточно четкой военной организации ханства. Международная правосубъектность Казахского ханства как неотъемлемая часть суверенитета казахского государства нашла свое выражение в осуществлении активной и взвешенной внешней политики и дипломатии его правителей. Несмотря на крутые виражи истории, казахская государственность через различные формы сумела обрести статус в виде современного суверенного, независимого государства – Республики Казахстан.

3.ғ.д., профессор М.А. Сәрсембаевтың монографиясында Алтын Орданың ыдырауы нәтижесінде пайда болған, ұлты қазақ, бірінші тәуелсіз, өзін-өзі басқарған мемлекет –Қазақ хандығын зерттейді. Қазақұлты егемен мемлекет Қазақ хандығының негізі болды. Қазақ хандығының аумағы және шекарасы болды – аймақтағы мемлекеттер мен одан тыс жерлерге өзінің күшіне сенімді егемен мемлекет ретінде жеткізді. Ол Қазақ хандығының хандары қазақтардыңәдет-ғұрып құқығын басшылыққа алумен қатар, оларды жүйелеу мен кодификациялауға ұмтылғандары аталған. Мемлекет өміршеңдігі, Қазақ хандығының айқын жеткіліктіұйымдастырылған әскери ұйымының арқасында сақталды.