BEZPIECZEŃSTWO SPOŁECZNO-EKONOMICZNE

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ENERGY SAFETY: POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY

Modern publications and scientific researches,[1] comments of politicians and political scholars, economists, and journalists show that problems of power safety, policy, and diplomacy are treated differently and, most likely, interpretations will diverge further as political and economic interests are different. Nowadays, this problem is multidirectional and multidimensional.

The concept of "energy policy" ranks with such definitions as "energy safety", "energy diplomacy", and "external energy policy". We focus on some approaches to understanding of the "power security". J. V. Vutyanova believes that under the present "globalization conditions" power security has begun to play a major role in cooperation among different states. Energy security guarantees the countries' sovereignty and well-being. Thus, energy security is a culmination of an efficient development and functioning of all branches of the Fuel and Energy Complex that provides uninterrupted delivery of power resources to the domestic regions and abroad and also enhance political, economic and social stability.[2] The Chinese political scholar, Fang Tingting, notices that the term "energy safety" has not yet received an unequivocal interpretation either in Russia, or abroad. Differences in treatments of the "energy safety" concept are based on the fact that in relation to power resources one country acts as an exporter while another is an importer thereof. The supplier is interested in high, but the consumer in low prices for a product, and both crave for reliability and stability of supply. The power resource exporting countries mostly emphasize "demand stability" for their export, which eventually provides significant (often prevailing) share of their public revenues. The power resource importing countries render more attention to steady sup-

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[1] See: К. В. Братковский, *Энергетическая политика России в контексте взаимоотношений Россия – ЕС*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2010; О. Н. Володин, *Основные правовые тенденции европейской интеграции в практике реализации энергетической политики ЕС*, автореф. дис. к.ю.н. Москва 2010; А. С. Гусев, *Политические аспекты энергетического диалога РФ и ЕС: проблемы и перспективы*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Нижний Новгород 2009; А. В. Жильцов, *Деятельность Российской Федерации в сфере внедрения новых энергетических технологий на внутригосударственном и международном уровнях*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Нижний Новгород 2009; Д. С. Куров, *Европейский вектор энергетической политики России*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2009; Т. Малек, *Эволюция энергетической политики России и стран Евросоюза в условиях глобализации*, дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2011; А. И. Никитенко, *Россия и ЕС: опыт и перспективы политического взаимодействия в условиях развития интеграционных процессов*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Орел 2010; А. В. Пантелеев, *Политическое измерение конкурентоспособности Российской Федерации в глобализирующемся мире*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2010.

[2] See: Я. В. Вутянова, *Энергетическая политика как фактор геополитического влияния России*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2013, p. 17.

ply of the power resources for the needs of their economy and to diversification of energy supply sources.[3] The Czech political scholar T. Malek focuses on global energy safety, which does not exist in itself. It is connected directly with a wider complex of relations between the separate states. Global energy security is a complex concept, which includes not only providing a country with a necessary amount of energy resources, but also a protection of the world community against possible risks (threats to political, economic and social stability, natural accidents etc.) related to the present and the future condition of the world energy industry.[4] Dr. I. A. Nosova finds that ordering of theoretical approaches to issues of energy safety has been under strong pressure of political and economic interests of direct players of the world power market. Under such an influence, the researchers tend to invent simplified concepts matching more political, rather than scientific application. Such over-simplified concepts include the so-called "Four A"[5] (Availability, Accessibility, Affordability, Acceptability), and "Three E" (Economic Growth, Energy Efficiency, Environmental protection) etc. Given the high profile of the topic, the noticeable absence of an agreed definition of the "energy safety" concept in the scientific literature is a reflection of difficulties that arise when summing a uniform conceptual foundation for the problems of energy safety. In particular, the expert B. K. Sovacool from Singapore lists 45 specific definitions.[6] A search for more all-encompassing theoretical platforms is in progress.[7]

Energy safety is a condition of security of the vital interests of a person, a society and a state from the threat of insufficient provisioning with economically accessible fuel and energy resources of acceptable quality for their needs, and also provisions against the threat of disruptions in fuel- and energy-supply for consumers.[8] This definition is well-articulated enough, but it is not universal as it focuses on security of an object from threats, instead of prevention or mitigation thereof, and also it does not connect energy safety with the purposes of a long-term development of related subjects. Energy safety of any economic system (a state, a region, a branch, enterprises) should be treated as the minimum probability of external and internal threats to its power supply, which does not disrupt a long-term steady functioning of the system.[9] To manage this, first of all it is necessary to define the kinds of threats and to reveal their indicators and to estimate the values thereof, which do not disrupt steady functioning of the system (i.e. to define the threshold values). An analysis of possible consequences of the

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[3] See: Фан Тинтин, *Энергетическая политика КНР на современном этапе*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2012, p. 15.

[4] See: Т. Малек, *Эволюция энергетической политики России и стран Евросоюза в условиях глобализации*, дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2011, p. 39.

[5] See: *A Quest for Energy Security in the 21st Century*, "Asia Pacific Energy Research Center" (APERC), 2007.

[6] See: B. K. Sovacool, *Introduction. Defining, measuring and exploring energy security*, in: *The Routledge Handbook of Energy security*, ed. B. K. Sovacool, New York 2011, p. 3–6.

[7] See: И. А. Носова, *Внешнеполитические аспекты энергетической безопасности Японии (1973–2011 гг.)*, автореф. дис. к.и.н., Москва 2012, p. 19–20.

[8] See: *Энергетическая безопасность и интересы стран*, http://www.unitednations.ru/articles_25_1162284255.html (12.05.2013).

[9] Ibidem.

threats realization is also necessary as is development of measures for their prevention or liquidation.

Each state treats the energy safety concept as it is applicable to the country's conditions. The exporting countries focus mostly on the "stability of demand" for their export which, eventually, provides a prevailing share of their public revenues. Russia sees its goal in restoring and increasing the state control over strategic resources as well as over the basic pipelines and trade channels on which its hydrocarbons arrive to the world markets.

One could agree with the concept of "energy security" consisting of the three basic elements: providing of uninterrupted and sufficient delivery of energy resources; guaranteed stable total purchases; and the prices based on the modern transparent market mechanisms.[10] Energy safety is often defined only by the first element, and is treated as "safety for a consumer". It is simply not intended or even directly refused to consider "safety of the producer" which is provided with the second element. In particular, Russia has faced the harsh pressure form the united front of the EU countries demanding Russia to ratify the European Energy Charter. This demand is the key aspect of the Energy Safety topic now.[11]

President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin especially underlined, in due time, that the energy safety is expedient for treating in the broader context. In his opinion, it will be a protection of interests of not only countries consuming the energy resources, but also of states engaged in extraction, transportation and sales thereof.[12] Energy safety means the same things for both the producers and consumers: stable supplying and environment protection.[13] For Russia, energy safety is reliability and durability of demand for gas first of all and the *Gazprom* admission to the European local networks. Russia has offered a new concept of energy safety including inter alia stability of demand that means an adequate demand for products at a reasonable price for the countries supplying energy resources. It allows to compensate for earlier investments into the power sector and to develop it further (a political support of the demand stability in the power sector is very important for Russia). In particular, it is a question of various measures and approaches to ensure transparency, predictability and stability of the market. It is one of the main mechanisms for the safety of the power resource market now.[14]

Despite the revealed difference in approaches of the dominating countries, there are also obvious points of similarities in understanding of energy safety. As a matter of fact, it is possible to identify basic principles characteristic of all states to some extent. These are:[15]

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[10] See: М. Г. Делягин, *Энергетическая безопасность: проблемы мнимые и реальные*, http://www.zlev.ru/93_35.html (12.05.2013).

[11] Ibidem.

[12] See: Ю. Солозобов, *Энергетическая безопасность: понятие по интересам*, "Промышленные Ведомости" 2006, No. 7–8.

[13] See: В. Алекперов, *Понятие «энергетическая безопасность» утратило национальную окраску*, http://www.polit.ru/news/2006/03/13/vagitalikperov.html (15.06.2012).

[14] See: *РФ ждет от саммита G8 поддержки в вопросе обеспечения надежного спроса на энергоносители*, http://www.g8russia.ru/news/20060714/1179539-print.html (15.06.2012).

[15] See: *Энергетическая безопасность и интересы стран*, http://www.unitednations.ru/articles_25_1162284255.html (15.06.2012).

– responsibility under mutual dependence conditions. Power safety is a mutual responsibility of the consumer and the supplier of power resources. Everyone recognizes that but problems begin where the consumer and the supplier start to demand guarantees of deliveries or payment of these deliveries from each other. Thus, it is a question of a principle of responsibility, interdependence of consumers and suppliers;
– diversification of deliveries and sources of power resources. Despite the limited number of the countries which supply power resources, a situation development shows that there is a competition among them, and moreover the limited number of the suppliers might toughen this competition at times. And the factor that stimulates the competition among the suppliers is the consent of consumers on another energy safety principle, which they formulate as a diversification of deliveries. At the same time, it is necessary to notice that the given principle is also adhered by supplying states. Today, in the world community there is an understanding that the hydrocarbon resources, which are the basic for our civilization at present, can be depleted over a limited time. Accordingly, supplying states just like all the others will gradually come to necessity of changing the fuel and energy balance with an ever-increasing attention to alternative energy sources. Nevertheless, there is a competition among suppliers of power resources and it also should be an integral part of the global energy safety system. The major condition for this is depoliticization of the energy safety sphere. The competition based on economic principles, a competition for the consumer is the logical and clear phenomenon. However, any use of power resources in political purposes under the current conditions of advancing demand will result in conflicts with an unpredictable development. An attempt to make energy – a necessary condition for economic growth – a subject of political infighting is a grave challenge to the global energy safety system;
– depoliticization and fair competition. Thus even if it is possible to assume a presence of a competition among suppliers, a much more serious competition is among the consumers. As a matter of fact, considering that energy is a necessary condition of the economic growth, the given competition should not be present. Moreover, considering the cited data on the fact that a third of the global human population has no access to power resources, a global social aspect of the energy safety is also obvious.

Energy safety should not mean prevention of conflicts for power resources between suppliers and consumers only within the group of the supplying countries and group of the consuming countries, but also expansion of the access to the energy resources. The impossibility of development of economy without energy industry means also an impossibility of overcoming problems recognised by the world community for a long time as global: poverty, epidemics, a low educational level, etc. It should be kept in mind that the energy safety should be a component of global system of safety. So, it is possible to identify two more principles of energy safety: globalism and social aspects.

The problem of energy safety for international community as a whole, as well as for separate regions and countries becomes a major factor of their sustainable development. Functioning of technologies for producing goods (services) for industrial and personal application in all civilised world is based now on primary use of power resources, both primary (coal, oil, natural gas, etc.) and modified (distillates, electric and thermal energy of different forms, etc.) with the latter having higher consumer proper-

ties and use potential. In the foreseeable future, no change of traditional provisioning for vital needs of the people living on our planet can be expected and numbers of those people multiple each year by hundreds of millions.

Providing energy safety, states realize the so-called energy policy and diplomacy. For example, A. Voskresensky defines it as a "set of diplomatic approaches of a state aimed at providing uninterrupted and stable presence of energy in various forms, sufficient amount and at reasonable prices both in the country as a whole, and in its key regions".[16] Energy diplomacy means practical activities of foreign policy, economy and power departments together with the national companies on realisation of an external energy policy for the purpose of protection and upholding of national interests in producing, transportation and consumption of energy resources.[17]

Currently, for example, a basis of energy diplomacy of the Chinese leaders is cooperation in the energy sphere with the countries of the Near East, Africa, Central Asia and Russia. Strengthening of cooperation with the governments of the energy resource-exporting and importing countries, international energy organisations and multinational energy corporations, establishment of steady economic relations with them is a basis of power diplomacy of the Chinese government. The Chinese national oil and gas corporations occupy important position in realisation of an external energy policy of China. They not only have their own commercial interests in various regions of the world, but also advance political and economic interests of the country with assistance from the government of the Peoples Republic of China and its diplomatic corps.[18]

Since the first oil crisis of 1973, one of key factors of foreign and domestic policy of Japan has been a set of problems related to national energy safety. Position of Japan on the world power market, and a practically complete dependence on the import of resources, reliance on the military-political union with the USA in the sphere of national security as well as absence of large national companies, capable to join in a raw-material competition, have caused an important role of an active policy of the state in solving problems of energy safety with an effective energy diplomacy occupying a special place therein. Problems of providing energy safety make essential impact on working out and realization of diplomatic strategy of Japan. In the course of accumulation of conceptual and practical experience in energy safety, the Japanese government have developed an extensive set of energy diplomacy vehicles, including a diversification of sources and kinds of power resources, maintenance of strong relations with traditional partners and search for new ones, promoting of regional and international energy safety, etc.[19]

In Russia the energy policy and energy diplomacy are being developed and regulated by a wide spectrum of regulatory in and other documents.[20] The basic aspects of

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[16] See: А. Воскресенский, *Большая Восточная Азия: мировая политика и энергетическая безопасность*, Москва 2006, p. 58.

[17] See: *Энергетическая дипломатия России*, http://www.mid.ru (15.06.2012).

[18] See: Фан Тинтин, *Энергетическая*, op. cit., p. 15.

[19] See: И. А. Носова, *Внешнеполитические аспекты*, op. cit., p. 16–17.

[20] See: *Энергетическая стратегия России на период до 2020 года* – утверждена распоряжением Правительства Российской Федерации от 28 августа 2003 г., No. 1234-р, http://www.minprom.gov.ru/docs/strateg/1 (13.05.2013); *Доклад о результатах и основных направ-*

energy safety of the state are as follows: reliability of power supply for national economy and public with due account of ecological requirements as well as increase in efficiency of the Fuel and Energy Complex; stable maintenance of the international demand for the energy resources by means of diversification of export; mitigation of risks related to internal and external threats in the power sector of Russia; information policy of Russia in the world, reflecting its interests in power industry; maintenance of ecological safety.[21]

The Asian-Pacific region is a promising area for the Russian energy diplomacy. Energy is a key element of relations with the region's countries within the APEC framework. Some Asia-Pacific countries are potential investors for development of the raw material potential of the Russian Far East and Eastern Siberia. In turn, development of the Fuel and Energy Complex will promote not only salvation of the sharp social and economic problems of those regions, but also development of the power and industrial infrastructure, and economic and geopolitical positions of Russia in Asia. One of the major priorities of the Russian diplomacy is facilitating of an effective cooperation in the field of energy industry within the post-Soviet territory. The energy factor plays a key role in multilateral diplomacy of Russia under CIS, the *Eurasian Economic Community* and the *Common Economic Space* in the process of formation.[22]

According to some experts, unique competitive advantage of our country in the field of energy is bound to be used to solve foreign policy problems of Russia and "displaying of its power" in the cases and in that volume in which it will be necessary for maintenance of our national interests. It should be pointed out that the energy resources and the transit infrastructure of Russia have to be used effectively to strengthen the role and the status of the Russian Federation on the global level. Russia, which objectively remains an important energy partner of leading world powers for the next decades, will need to develop its own line of conduct in the given sphere on the basis of thorough

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лениях деятельности Министерства промышленности и энергетики Российской Федерации на 2007–2009 гг. – доклад Минпромэнерго РФ, http://www.bestpravo.ru/rossijskoje/hu-pravila/w0a.htm (13.05.2013); *Основы энергетической политики государств-членов евразийского экономического сообщества от 28 февраля 2003 года* – утверждены Решением Межгоссовета ЕврАзЭС от 28 февраля 2003 г., No. 103, http://www.mfa.kg/zasedanie-evrazes/osnovi-anergeticheskoi--politiki-gosudarstv-chlenov-evraziiskogo-akonomicheskogo-soobshestva-5_ru.html (13.05.2013); *Глобальная энергетическая безопасность* – документ принятый на саммите Большой Восьмёрки: Санкт-Петербург – 16 июля 2006 года, http://www.g8russia.ru/docs/11.html (13.05.2013); *Российская программа развития возобновляемых источников энергии* – концепция проекта, Москва 2005, http://www.energoinform.org/normatives/renewableresourcesproject.aspx (13.05.2013); *Концепция энергетической стратегии России на период до 2030 года* – утверждена распоряжением Правительства Российской Федерации от 13 ноября 2009 г., No. 1715-p, http://minenergo.gov.ru/aboutminen/energostrategy/ (13.05.2013); *О стратегии развития атомной энергетики России до 2030 года и на период до 2050 года*, http://www.wdcb.ru/mining/articls/strategia.html (13.05.2013); *Стратегия развития атомной энергетики России в первой половине XXI века, утверждена решением коллегии Минатома 21 декабря 1999 г.*, http://www.reactors.ru/pub/strat/strategy.htm (13.05.2013).

[21] See: Я. В. Вутянова, *Энергетическая политика как фактор геополитического влияния России*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2013, p. 17.

[22] See: Г. В. Коваленко, *Энергетический фактор в современном развитии Российско-таджикских отношений*, автореф. дис. к.полит.н., Москва 2012, p. 13.

analysis of all this experience.[23] Russia aspires to become more independent from the energy resource transporting and consuming states. It is this background that reveals obvious contradictions in interpretations of energy safety between Russia and Europe. It creates a breach or a frontier of interests and cooperation and establishes two new contradictory parties in the world policy, but this time on the energy-related basis rather than ideology.[24]

According to a number of experts, strategy of development of the Fuel and Energy Sector should provide for a more active participation of the Russian business in global power space by means of its transnational diversification. These concerns, first of all, purchase of the core assets by the domestic companies in the CIS and non-CIS countries that provides not only an access to the domestic markets of those countries without numerous intermediaries, but also a high return on investment.[25] For example, the Fuel and Energy Complex is a major sphere of cooperation between Ukraine and the Russian Federation and a stumbling-block at the same time. It is just since January 1, 2010 that the parties have moved to the market prices in gas settlements. Before Ukraine bought the Russian gas with a 20% discount, and the transit rate for Russia was 1,7 dollars per one thousand cubic metres for 100 km. The mid-annual price for natural gas for Ukraine was 228,8 dollars per one thousand cubic metres in 2009. Currently, an average cost of the Russian gas for the Western Europe (including the customs duties, but without the VAT) is 11.7 thousand roubles for one thousand cubic metres while for the countries of the former USSR it makes 9.1 thousand roubles. It will make 369 dollars and 287 dollars accordingly at the current exchange rate. Meanwhile, Ukraine received gas from Russia at 426 dollars in the third quarter 2012. The huge difference in the prices means that any country, for example, Slovakia, Poland or Germany using political disprove of *Gazprom* with Ukraine can do quite good business simply on resale of the Russian fuel back to the east. Under a condition, of course, that such opportunity existed. Gas is not oil, however, and it can not be "taken out" from the pipeline to load into tanks and send back by rail. Therefore the *Gazprom* had not to be afraid of re-export of the Russian gas to Ukraine for the time being.[26]

According to the Ukrainian Ministry of Energy and the *Gazprom*, Russia has suspended negotiations about a consortium on management of the Ukrainian gas-transporting system now. The reason for that is in the fact that Ukrainian Government is unilaterally reconsidering conditions of the long-term gas contracts with Rus-

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[23] See: А. А. Арбатов, М. А. Белова, *Единство и борьба сырьевых противоположностей*, "Россия в глобальной политике" 2006, No. 1.

[24] See: В. Шиманский, *Россия теряет друзей из-за энергетической жадности*, http://lenty.ru/go.html?http://glavred.info/archive/2007/06/14/160302-6.html (15.06.2012).

[25] According to many analysts, the export component of the fuel and energy complex should be closely coordinated to expansion of the domestic power companies into foreign markets and be supported with control over FEC in the third countries. Another important problem for the Russian business is advancing onto domestic markets within Europe through acquisitions of processing plants and sale assets and also through participating in development of oil- and gas-pipelines and electric power networks connected to Russia.

[26] *Веселящий Украину газ*, http://korrespondent.net/worldabus/1422808-lenta-ru-veselyashchij-ukrainu-gaz (12.05.2013).

sia. At the same time Ukraine has been refraining from purchase of Russian gas for a long time. In addition to that Ukrainian representatives refus to recognise penal sanctions from Russia. As of the beginning of 2013, the sanctions have reached 7 billion dollars, but taking into account the absence of purchases in March, penal claims can reach 9 billion dollars in the near future.

At the same time, a new gas pipeline is planned to be created within the EU bypassing Ukraine. It is envisaged to go through Belarus (*Yamal-Europe-2*) in parallel to the currently operating gas pipeline. This way provides a shorter and cheaper transportation as compared to the one through Ukraine. The vice-president of the *Gazprom* board Alexander Medvedev has declared that the Polish party supports the project *Yamal-Belarus-Europe-2*. Its capacity will make at least 15 billion cubic metres per year with construction operations to begin during the current year.[27] The first pipeline in this direction has been in operation at full capacity since 2006 transporting almost 33 billion cubic metres a year. During the periods Russian-Ukrainian "gas switching-off", various circles in Poland and Lithuania expressed opinions in favour of either creation of its second turn, or for branching it out into the neighbouring countries of Baltic region and Eastern Europe.

Re-export of Russian gas from the Eastern Europe to Ukraine that is from EU region, compels Russia to doubt again about both reliability of export through Ukraine and in the EU position on this issue. That is why the *Yamal-Europe-2* project has gained such a strategic meaning. If it and its first line work at full capacity the volume of the Russian gas transit through Ukraine will be reduced by at least 60%.

Mr. I. Sechin CEO of the world-leading oil producer *Rosneft* delivered a report etnitled *New era of oil* at the 32nd annual conference on oil and gas CERAWeek in the American city of Houston (2013).[28] The theme of his report was the technological revolution in oil extraction, which would relieve mankind of threat of the energy resource shortage. As recently as ten years ago scientists made alarming predictions of exhaustion of world's oil and gas reserves and competed in apocalyptic scenarios for the global civilisation. The calamity is not going to happen, the lecturer said, for the simple reason that new technologies which the *Rosneft* and its international partners have, allow to extract oil and gas "from the remote regions, deep-water shelf, Arctic areas, and also from tight formations including slate ones". The head of *Rosneft* has pointed out: "all fears of insufficiency of resources of oil are unreasonable", and has explained why.

First, the reasonably assured new, nonconventional reserves of oil and gas have already reached the same amount as those from the old traditional deposits and they keep on increasing in line with improvement of new innovative technologies. Secondly, new spheres of the hydrogen and condensed gas industries are in the process of rapid development now. These aspects are also parts of the *Rosneft* field of activities and formation of these branches will definitively remove a question on power shortage from the world agenda. The head of *Rosneft* has specified in important geopolitical aspect of achievement of global energy safety because: "it decreases risks of new conflicts". Un-

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[27] See: А. Чичкин, *Россия приостановила переговоры по газу с Украиной*, http://www.rg.ru/2013/04/05/gaz-site-anons.html (12.05.2013).

[28] See: *Началась новая эра нефти*, "Литературная газета", 24.04.2013.

der the new conditions the leading oil and gas companies are becoming technological leaders for the world economy and will receive substantial incomes from not just oil extracting, but also from selling high technologies. Mr. I. Sechin remarked: "we are observing and we welcome approaching of the new era – an era of hi-tech oil and gas".[29]

Thus for Russia, the energy safety and the energy policy should be aimed at transition from the country's current predominant position of a raw material supplier to the position of an independent player on the world market of energy goods. This target is caused by both the trends of the international integration in the power sphere, and potential benefits from qualitative change of the Russian role in the world trade of power resources. Strengthening of Russian positions in the world oil and gas markets, fulfilment of export capabilities of domestic Fuel and Energy Complex, maintenance of economic safety of the country with stable partnership with the whole world community is strategically important for Russia. Global nature of the energy problems as well as the prominent position of the Fuel and Energy Complex of Russia within the world energy industry have put forward the energy factor as one of the base elements of the Russian diplomacy.

ABSTRACT

There is a spectrum of approaches to understanding of the energy safety, policy, and diplomacy. Each country draws on the conditions of its power security. Global, regional and local levels of energy safety are identified. Nowadays, this problem is multidirectional and multidimensional. A unique competitive advantage of Russia in the field of energy industry is used for solving its foreign policy issues. This tool will be applied in those cases and in that volume in which it will be necessary for maintenance of national interests. Energy resources and the transit infrastructure of Russia should be used effectively for strengthening of the role and the status of the Russian Federation on the global level.

BEZPIECZEŃSTWO ENERGETYCZNE: POLITYKA I DYPLOMACJA

STRESZCZENIE

Istnieje wiele podejść do zrozumienia problemów bezpieczeństwa energetycznego, polityki czy dyplomacji. Każde państwo określa swoje bezpieczeństwo energetyczne, rozumiane jako stan braku zagrożenia przerwaniem dostaw paliw i energii. Wyróżnić możemy globalne, regionalne i lokalne poziomy bezpieczeństwa energetycznego. Współcześnie, problem ten ma charakter wielopłaszczyznowy. Przewaga konkurencyjna Rosji w sektorze energetycznym powoduje, że państwo to wykorzystuje ją do realizacji celów polityki zagranicznej. Narzędzie to należy jednak stosować w takich przypadkach i w takim zakresie, w jakim będzie to niezbędne dla zabezpieczenia interesu narodowego. Rosyjskie zasoby energii oraz infrastruktura tranzytowa powinny być skutecznie wykorzystywane w celu zwiększenia roli i statusu państwa na arenie międzynarodowej.

[29] Ibidem.