Energy Routes and Security: Case of Turkey†

Armağan ÖRKİ*

ABSTRACT

In this article, I referred the subject of energy routes and security by the case of Turkey. As a case study, I emphasized the importance of pipelines and stated their meaning for both suppliers and importers in Turkey and the near abroad.

I tried to emphasize the role of energy in foreign policies by recent history of Middle East: Was nationalism really a source for new countries? Plus, is there any similarity between Middle East and Central Asia? We should consider the new World in terms of US, EU, Russia and China.

Then, I focused on natural gas and oil by the areas of utilization with case of Turkey. Also, I commented pipelines routes by terrorism and possible wars. I shared some current situations as examples from ISIS and PKK. On the other hand, I tried to show different political attitudes such as those in Iraq and Northern Iraq. There may be more than two polarities and their effects are clear in this geography. Finally, I covered some evaluations and referred some possible suggestions.

Keywords: Pipelines, Turkey, Energy Routes, Terrorism

Enerji Rotaları ve Güvenlik: Türkiye Örneği

Özet

Çalışmada Türkiye örneği üstünden enerji yolları ve güvenliği ele alınmıştır. Bir vaka çalışması olarak, boru hatlarının önemi vurgulanmış ve arz ve talep edenler için Türkiye'nin ve çevresinin önemi ifade edilmiştir.

Ortadoğu'nun yakın tarihi gözetilerek dış politikada enerjinin rolü vurgulanmış ve milliyetçiliğin gerçekten yeni ülkeler için bir kaynak olup olmadığı yanıtlanmıştır. Ayrıca Ortadoğu ile Orta Asya benzerliği ifade edilmiştir. Yeni Dünya'da, ABD, AB, Rusya ve Çin'in göz önünde bulundurulması gereği bu bağlamda açıklanmıştır.

Sonrasında doğalgaz ve petrolün Türkiye örneğin kullanım alanlarına yer verilmiştir. Ayrıca, boru hatlarının terör ve olası savaşlara göre değerlendirilmesi yapılmıştır. IŞİD (DAEŞ) ve PKK gerçeğinden bazı güncel örnekler verilmiştir. Diğer yandan farklı politik tutum örnekleri Irak ve Kuzey Irak üstünden gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bölgede ikiden fazla kutup olabileceği değerlendirilmiş ve etkilerinin coğrafya açıkça görüldüğü sunulmuştur. Son olarak bazı değerlendirmeler yapılıp olası önerilere yer verilmiştir.

† This article is selected for Energy System Conference 2016 as a poster presentation and edited for the journal.

* Ph.D. Student, Trakya University, Institute of Social Sciences, International Relations Department, a_orkiavsar@hotmail.com

Anahtar Kelimeler: Boru Hatları, Türkiye, Enerji Yolları, Terör

INTRODUCTION

Increasing population and consumption preferences of individuals increase the amount of energy needed both in the service and the manufacturing sectors. High cost of renewable energy also promotes the use of fossil fuels in energy production. For these two reasons, especially natural gas (also raw or processed oil) trade constitutes a significant share in the international trade. Because, natural gas is one of the most frequently used energy sources in industrial areas and housing, mainly in the electricity production. This applies exactly to Turkey.

Turkey is located in the close proximity to the most important geographic regions with fossil fuels and plays a significant role in transfer with pipelines from these regions both to Europe and itself. Various amounts of natural gas and petroleum are transferred from Central Asia, Caucasus, Russia and Middle East and prospective works are underway.

Except for the fossil fuel wealth, other remarkable features of the mentioned geography are terrorist incidents and authoritarian political regimes. By year 2015, especially related to Turkey, the terrorist organizations called PKK and ISIS and their extensions are active in the said geography. Authoritarian regimes and absolute monarchies took shape before and after the Arab Spring, Middle East and Caucasian countries with criticized democracies and relations of Turkey with the European Union (EU) create an unstable and insecure table in terms of either strategy or political economy. In the face of such a situation, the security of energy routes is of particular importance; because, rather than the natural conditions and costs arising from them, the risks and threats created by mankind are much more serious.

The article focused particularly on oil and gas from fossil fuels. The overall energy routes and the routes used for fossil fuel transfer therein were mentioned in the first part of the study and the security of these energy routes was covered in terms of the Middle East. The energy routes passing from Turkey were mentioned and the situation in the locations they passed was tried to be summarized in the following section. It was focused on the security of energy routes in Turkey. Finally, the general situation was summarized instead of conclusion and different options were mentioned.

1.ENERGY ROUTES AND SECURITY

The problems directly or indirectly faced by Turkey in the security of energy routes have been covered in the next section (2. Energy Routes and Security in Turkey). This section provides a brief overview on the energy routes and the importance of the situation over the case of the Middle East.

In this section, the recent history of the Middle East, which is of particular concern to Turkey, was mentioned briefly and how unstable borders were shaped was tried to be explained. Because, the said case has great importance for many countries as well as Turkey.

Energy is extremely necessary to increase and maintain the quality of life of societies in terms of its different areas of use and rareness of renewable energy sources leads to the problem of sharing scarce resources. Starting after the industrial revolution began in Europe in the 18th Century, colonialism affected many regions of the world in the following decades, and millions of people were killed, captured and enslaved in the occupied territories. The lure of cheap labor and raw materials led a competition between strong countries and even wars were not avoided in order to do business. According to Paxman (2012) during the years when modern politics and international relationships had begun, and even a war called 'Opium Wars' was waged and it took the form of a connection based on trade, privilege (capitulation) and pragmatism. While new inventions and geographical discoveries were reducing the production costs, they allowed the formation of class consciousness in societies and led to the development of consumption culture relatively. On the other hand, the idea of nationalism brought by the French Revolution led to wars and separatist movements and some communities were up in arms against the ruling powers they were tied to either with their free will or through external support. In brief, wars were waged predominantly in order to access resources, rather than religious or sectarian causes.

1.1.Middle East: Gradual Handover

Having most of today's fossil fuel reserves, North Africa, Arabian Peninsula and Middle East were also affected from this and Arabian nationalism won out over the Ottoman policy of Panislamism. Different individuals from the same family acquired the right of independence from Great Britain and France, and they appealed to the meetings held in Europe even for the conflicts between families

(tribes). For example, after losing Hejaz to Saud Family, Şerif Huseyin's son Faysal attended to Paris Peace Conference in 1919; however, when his claims on the borders of the country he wanted were not accepted, he returned to Damascus and attempted to an opposition movement where Sykes-Picot (1916), Balfour (1917) and mandate system were not accepted, which resulted in disappointment. (Mansfield, 2012: 264-266) After being defeated by the Saudis, the said family maintained their presence in Syria and Iraq for a while and formed the origin of Jordanian monarchy. In brief, even if some sources defend that it was affected from the idea of nationalism, it can easily be said that this idea was used only as a means. Due to nationality discrimination disappeared in the said geography; sectarian segregation replaced it after the Ottomans. After all, sections that do not identify with society dominated with "so called" democratic applications. Sunnites, who predominated in Syria and Iraq, were dominated by Nusayri, and Shiites were dominated by Sunni leaders. The region had to cope with war or terror almost unremittingly. Even if none of them engaged in the Second World War, they became parties to wars, which seem as if based on the reasons such as religion, sectarian and nationalism but are rather based on economic reasons. Israel did not lose even one battle in the region, even succeeded to expand its territory and while it was the only non-Muslim country, the Gulf and Western-backed Iraq waged war against Iran for eight years. Then it invaded Kuwait and in consequence, the country was divided into two in practice and this led to the formation of the picture in our day. The Arab Spring turned into social and political riots that threats current regimes in the region; but it came to an end that pushes anti-Westerners off the cliff. The blocks to which countries with liquidated governments belonged had changed and certainly Libya, the biggest loser, was divided into different governments and oil extraction and distribution had completely changed. In a similar situation for Egypt, a new leader who seized power with a military coup superseded the former dictator. Riots in Syria turned into a bloody civil war and had a multilateral and splitting appearance, in which external powers supported different groups to a great extent. In general, even if the raw material market of the Middle East did not get out of the control of national governments, it was divided up in practice between the USA, Europe or China and Russia. In a part of the region, gaining strength in the authority gap caused by the Syrian civil war after the Arab Spring, ISIS dominates some part of Iraq and Syria and the terrorist organization also took hold some oil refineries. Even, the

organization asserts that it produced oil up to 40.000 barrels per day and generated an income of more than one million dollars a day, according to BBC Turkish (2015).

Considering the realities of the free market, the current situation of the Middle East may seem reasonable; however, it is doubtful how humanitarian the process that gave rise to this entire situation. It is not seeming quite possible to forecast the future of these countries, except for the Gulf countries with the clearest policies in the region.

The fate of the Middle East shares similarities with the Central Asia and Caucasus. Because, wars and terrorist incidents in the Central Asia are the developments that have begun to become ordinary. Particularly many Turkic republics established with the end of the Cold War were obliged to show tendency to follow a new path. To pursue a balance policy seemed possible barely in 2000's; because the person who could balance the hegemony of the USA took office in 2000; Vladimir Putin… Having a coast to the Caspian Sea and obtaining a significant amount of income therein, Azerbaijan can be shown as a country, which pursues a more stable policy between the USA and Russia comparing to the other republics of the Central Asia.

The phases passed by the countries established on the fossil fuel resources so far from the last century were determined with compelling methods and the borders these countries took shape accordingly. The oil shock following the Israel-Arab War, commercial propositions based on neo-liberalism which inspired interest in the same years, developments such as governments made concessions to countries with closer relationships easier access to national resources made the Caspian Sea and around more important. Here, the value that Turkey has in terms of energy routes and security develops in this direction. Facing the West as a member of the EU Customs Unions and NATO, Turkey has the feature of a natural harbor/bridge also for the energy demand of Europe. Turkey, who can play an important role in the petroleum transfer to Europe, is in a location where it is expected to transfer the petroleum products with the lowest cost due to being close to the resources.

Security of energy and energy routes, can be associated with the national, regional, international, economic and military security subjects according to the focal points coming up. The when it comes to Turkey, which is located on the junction point of the Middle East, Caucasus and Central Asia, it is understandable the security matter

to cause a serious concern. On the other hand, unpredictable political developments in the region (such as continuing Syrian Civil War, Northern Iraq with uncertainties in the political landscape, Iran's relations with the West, polarization of the new world order consisting of the USA and EU or Russia, China and Iran, and tendencies of the countries in the region, and active terrorist organizations in the region) may cause to uncertainties in carrying long term plans built on a strong foundation into effect. For example, if Iraqi government increases its domination on the Northern Iraq and enters the control of Moscow, Beijing and Tehran, there may be unexpected developments on the transfer of the resources of Mosul and Kirkuk.

2.ENERGY ROUTES AND SECURITY IN TURKEY

There is diversity in energy production in Turkey; however, there is no equality in proportional terms. Different proportions attract the attention between the usages of coal, oil and natural gas from fossil fuels and renewable energy sources such as hydroelectric, solar and wind. Besides, approximately a quarter of the total energy demand is met by local resources, and the rest is imported (T.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015). Even if some resources exist, the amount of imported energy is still very high. In brief, the electricity produced through local resources and facilities is still not in an amount to meet the current need in case of renouncing the imported resources. An important part of the energy is used in the electricity production and the electricity is conveyed to industry (See Table 1, Table 2).

Table-1: Electricity Production in Turkey by Resources between 2010-2013

Years/Energy Resources	Coal	Liquid Fuels	Natural Gas	Hydraulic	Renewable Energy
2010	%26.1	%1	%46.5	%24.5	%1.9
2011	%28.9	%0.4	%45.4	%22.8	%2.6
2012	%28.4	%0.7	%43.6	%24.2	%3.1
2013	%26.6	%0.7	%43.8	%24.7	%4.2

Source: TÜİK, Energy Production and Shares by Energy Resources, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1029, (18.10.2015)

As it is seen in Table 1, Turkey meets almost half of its electricity need from natural gas. On the other hand, coal and hydraulic usages, which are criticized by environmentalist organizations, comprise the other half. Even if the rate of the electricity produced from renewable sources such as geothermal, wind and solar energies, an increase is observed almost every year even if just a drop. Although the bank loans for the costs that pose challenge in benefiting from the solar energy and manufacturer's opportunity to resale the surplus energy are anticipatorily promising developments, their complete implementations seem difficult for now.

Table-2: Use of Electricity by Usage Areas between 2010-2013

Years/Electricity Usage Areas	Industry	Dwelling	Commerce	State Office	Illumination	Other
2010	%46.1	%24.1	%16.1	%4.1	%2.2	%7.4
2011	%47.3	%23.8	%16.4	%3.9	%2.1	%6.5
2012	%47.4	%23.3	%16.3	%4.5	%2	%6.5
2013	%47.1	%22.7	%18.9	%4.1	%1.9	%5.2

Source: TÜİK, Distribution of Net Electricity Consumptions by Sectors, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1029, (18.10.2015).

Electricity consumption has an important place in Turkey, like the case in other developed and developing countries. A large part of the production needs electricity, in a word, energy. Accordingly, production or import of natural gas, the current focal point of the electricity production, coal and hydroelectric energy are compulsory.

Like the case in Turkey, energy consumption to be met by renewable and nuclear sources at a rate of 13% and the remaining part to be obtained from the fossil resources in the rest of the world, and according to Kaya (2012: 272) increase of energy consumption can be interpreted as the basis for sudden changes in energy and foreign policies. Considering the interests and other alliances of the countries and multinational companies the importance of power transmission lines, in other words the crude oil and natural gas pipelines, and the fact that these lines are under risk can be understood better.

Pipelines and sea transport are used in the power supply of Turkey. Natural gas is imported through pipelines or sea transport after being liquefied (as LNG). The oil is imported also in a similar way. Considering the limited nature of railway, land or sea transports, pipelines are the reasonable option for Turkey with such a large amount of energy need, as well as in terms of the reduction of shipment costs. Besides, the interest in the energy transfer in Europe shows that the benefit of the pipelines has increased. On the other hand, the security of pipelines is all important considering either the countries that bears the risk of losing their position as monopolists or the actions of various terrorist organizations that are active in the region.

2.1. Energy Routes (Pipelines) in Turkey

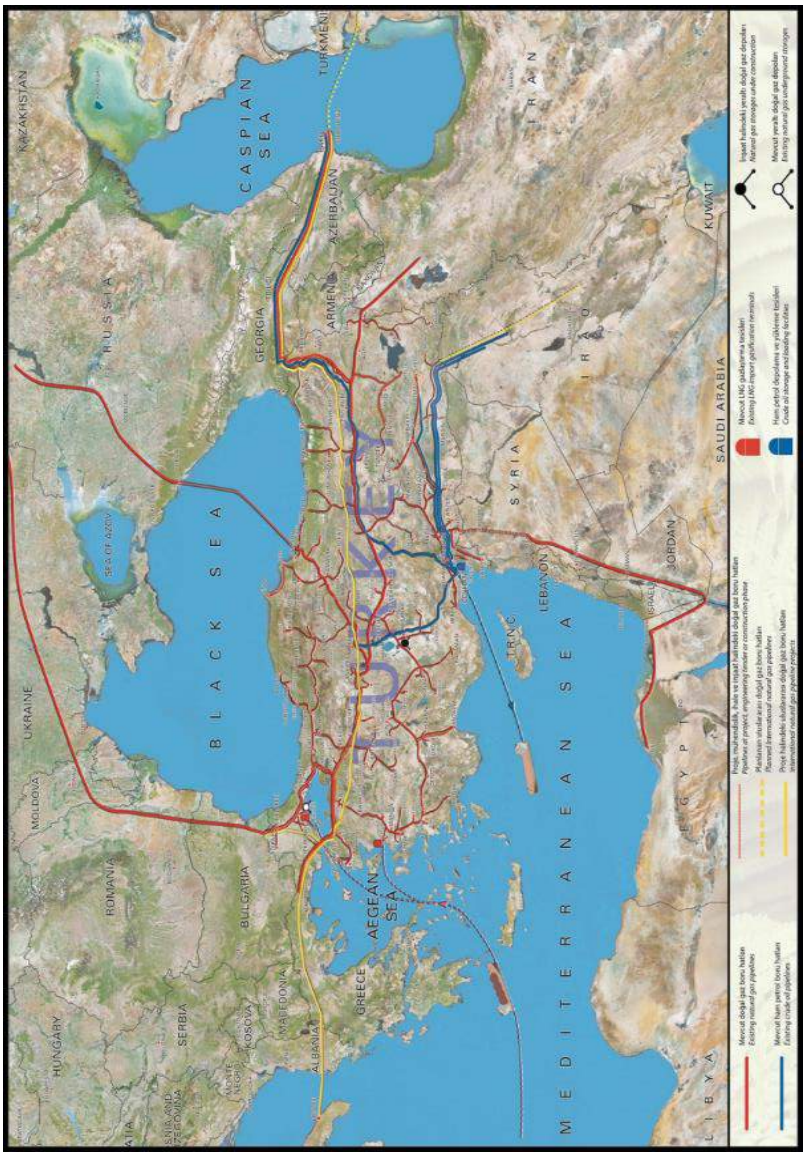
There are natural gas and oil pipelines in Turkey, which are being operated, continued to be built or in the project phase. These routes were determined not only for the consumption of Turkey, but also for the other countries. Besides, options were created for both Turkey and other countries created options regarding the security of the energy routes. With the existence of different options, Turkey tried to create a politic and economic strategy to be freed from dependency to only one country as well as to obtain revenues from such transports, and entered a new era in energy policy with the pipeline from Iraq. With the changing governments, this policy was not given up and kept adopted since the 1970's until today.

As is seen in Map 1, there are projects that are expected to enter into service, in construction or still not initiated except for the current pipelines. As it can be seen in the map, Turkey is in a central location in terms of energy transport from the Middle East, Caucasus, Central Asia and Russia and as it will be stated in the following sections of the article, it has the opportunity to function as a bridge for Europe.

2.1.1.Oil Pipelines

T. R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority (2015) announced that as of the year 2014, approximately 60% of the crude oil export of the refineries in Turkey was from Iraq and Iran, and respectively Saudi Arabia, Nigeria and Kazakhstan followed these countries respectively. Two of these oil pipelines give service and one of them works with double line and there new projects on the way.

Map-1: Current Natural Gas and Crude Oil Pipelines and the Pipelines Planned or in the Form of Project



Source: BOTAŞ, Maps, http://www.botas.gov.tr/images/maps/BotasGenel_full.png, (19.12.2015)

Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Cude Oil Pipeline (BTC): This line with 1million barrels capacity per day is 1760 km long and active since 2006 (T.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015). Except for its

contribution to labor, enabling Turkey to obtain revenue also through export to other countries, this line is convenient for the transfer of one million barrels of crude oil a day (Ener and Ahmedov, 2008: 8). Although Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan officials met in 2006 related to the use of this pipeline, which has partners such as BP, SOCAR and TPAO, the Kazakhstan oil has not been transferred yet; however, the pipeline significantly eased the oil traffic in the Turkish straits with its current capacity (Ateş, 2006). Moreover, almost entire crude oil given to these lines was transferred from Ceyhan from other countries and Turkey met its own need from the other options. There are conflicts about whether economic or politic purposes were at the forefront in the construction of the pipeline; because, it was considered that its capacity could not be filled completely and therefore the oils of other countries may also be involved (Korkmazgöz, 2010: 24).

Iraq - Turkey (Kirkuk-Ceyhan) Crude Oil Pipeline: The use of this line that began operations by the end of 1970s was extended until 2025 with a regulation in 2010 and the line consists of 986 and 890 km long two parallel pipelines. (T.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015) The biggest developments about this line are incrementally stopping of its construction following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, its opening with the Oil for Food Program, and the diplomatic problems arising from that among Ankara-Baghdad-Erbil in 2012. Also, it was damaged with the attacks of the terrorist organization of PKK and oil flow was stopped in times. The indirect prevention of the Erbil visit of the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Taner Yıldız by Baghdad in 2012 is also a reflection of this problem (Al Jazeera Turk, 2015). The annual crude oil transfer capacity of the line is around 71 million tons (T.R. Prime Ministry Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship, 2015).

Unye-Ceyhan Pipeline: This project, which was considered to start from Samsun and reach to Ceyhan, but decided to start from Unye county of Ordu, has the possibility of not being implemented or losing its function. The project focused on the transportation of the oil from the Black Sea to Ceyhan by passing Anatolia in the north-south axis. This line, which was started to be constructed, has the possibility of transportation of the oil arriving to Baku to Ceyhan through BTC with the opening of Baku - Novorossiysk Pipeline[1] in

[1] It is used to transporting oil from Azerbaijan to Russia.

Varol's term (2015) the opposite direction and in such a case, the expected productivity will not be able to get from the project.

2.1.2.Natural Gas Pipelines

T. R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority (2015: 6) stated that Turkey meets its natural gas demand from Russia, Iran and Azerbaijan through pipelines. It procures the great part of its need in this way comparing to the liquefied gas. In this section, the most important natural gas pipelines with continuing construction and projects were mentioned.

West Line: Russian natural gas is exported from these lines, which can be taken under the same title together with the additional West Line. Exported by Russian Gasprom and imported and sold wholesale by Batı Hattı Doğal Gaz Ticaret[2], the route of the gas reaches to Turkey from Thrace by following the Ukraine, Moldova, Romania and Bulgaria route from the southwest of Russia.

Blue Stream: Another routed of the natural gas procured from Russia is Blue Stream. The line passing under the Black Sea went into service in 2005.

Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum (BTE) Natural Gas Pipeline: Constructed in parallel with BTC and went into operation in 2007, this line is considered to be used also for Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan gases. (Ener and Ahmedov, 2008: 9) Also, it is aimed to reduce the dependency of Turkey to Russia in terms of the natural gas; however, the amount of natural gas obtained from this line is not comparable with the rate of natural gas procured from Russia.

Iran-Turkey Natural Gas Pipeline: Reaching from Doğubeyazıt to Ankara, the line is used to transfer the resources of Iran, which is the largest natural gas supplier of Turkey after Russia (T.R. Prime Ministry Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship, 2015). Except for this line that is in service, there is also the Natural Gas Pipeline Project of Iran-Turkey-Europe, which aims to transfer the Iranian and Turkmenian natural gas to Europe. Turkey will ensure supply from this line if it desires in the scope of this project (ITE, 2015).

Turkey-Greece Natural Gas Pipeline: With this line, which entered service in 2007, the natural gas transfer is performed from Turkey to Greece (T.R. Prime Ministry Public Diplomacy

[2] The company and we may translate it like West Line Natural Gas.

Coordinatorship, 2015). Also, there are projects about the extending of this line to Italy.

Nabucco Natural Gas Pipeline: This line, which is supported by the USA and end the dependency of the EU to Russia, has the characteristics of reaching to Austria from the Central Asia (Ener and Ahmedov, 2008: 10). It is thought that the Middle East countries may also be involved in future.

Trans-Anatolia Pipeline Project (TANAP): In case completion of the project, the foundation of which was laid in 2015 in Turkey, the natural gas extracted by Azerbaijan from Caspian Sea will be able to be transferred to Turkey and then to Europe through Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) (Al Jazeera Turk, 2015). This project will enhance the Azerbaijani economy, as well as will have offered a new option for Turkey and especially for the EU countries that are fairly dependent to Russia.

2.2. Security of the Energy Routes of Turkey

Considering the data of 2015 January[3] and February[4], Turkey procured five times of the natural gas it produced from different countries such as Russia, Algeria, Kazakhstan, Nigeria, Norway and Ukraine. These procurements were mainly carried out via maritime transport (from the countries without pipelines). Also, according to data of 2015 February, the liquefied gas (LNG) remained at a very low level comparing to the pipeline gas, 80% of the total imported gas were received through pipelines from Russia and Azerbaijan (T.R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority, 2015).

According to Uluatam (2010: 67) "*About 70% of the global oil and natural gas reserves are located in the regions neighboring to Turkey*" and the number of crude oil and natural gas pipelines possessed by Turkey is not high enough. Two lines from Iraq and one line from Azerbaijan, which are active in crude oil, and three lines from Russia, one line from Azerbaijan and one line from Iran, which are active in natural gas, cannot provide enough diversity to provide the balance between supply and demand.

[3] T.R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority, *Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) Market Sector Report, Ocak/2015*, http://www3.epdk.org.tr/documents/lpg/rapor_yayin/Lpg_YayinRapor_Ocak2015.pdf, (30.11.2015)

[4] T.R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority, *Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) Market Sector Report,, February/2015*, http://www3.epdk.org.tr/documents/lpg/rapor_yayin/Lpg_YayinRapor_Subat2015.pdf, (30.11.2015)

The same foreign-source dependency of Turkey in this particular is also valid for the European countries in general. Making sale of natural gas to Western Europe at a higher price comparing to Eastern Europe, Russia is the one and only supplier of many countries, while meeting 39% of the natural gas need of Germany (Sak and Zengin, 2015: 9). These countries import from Russia to a great extent like Turkey and this politically pressures the EU. The need of the EU to Russian gas became more understandable in Russian intervention on Ukraine and invasion of Crimea. Russian threat of suspending the energy transfer reduced the EU's possibility of imposing sanctions on Russia regarding Ukraine. Similar concerns were experienced also in Turkey after downing a Russian warplane upon air space violation in 2015.

According to Yılmaz (2005: 6) although pipelines are considered as the safest and most efficient way of transfer, some difficulties are experienced regarding their security. Even if there is no risk of reduction in supply, the main problem in its distribution and share "*arises from negative geopolitical developments in the world and especially from the obligation of making trillions of dollars of investments required by the processes of searching of reserves, production, offering to customers*" (Pamir, 2005: 61). Except for the threats created by natural disasters against the security of the lines, war and terrorist incidents are also important risks. And the primary national problem faced by Turkey is terror. Except for the ISIS terrorist organization, which generates revenue through the refinery they have behind the southern borders of Turkey, some difficulties were faced also in the import from Iraq. The problem in Iraq developed upon the conflict between Baghdad and Erbil administrations and debates occurred on how the income will be shared and the constitutional situation of Northern Iraq. KDP and KYB, which were the parties of the civil war in Northern Iraq, were substituted by Baghdad and Erbil governments and they could not agree on the transfer of oil to the world over Turkey, by Al Jazeera Turk (2015). Baghdad to gain a complete control over the resources in the region will enable it to compete with the Gulf countries more strongly that is referred by Özdil (2015) and this will strengthen its hand in the international policy. On the other hand, said resources create the basis of the economy of the region. Another problem experienced more recently in the transfer from Iraq has been PKK. Milliyet (2015) published that PKK attacked to Iraq-Turkey Crude Oil Pipeline (in Şırnak, Cizre) in the summer season of 2015, and this

stopped oil transfer for a while and PKK came in for severe criticism of the Northern Iraq government. The same terrorist organization attacked to BTE Natural Gas Pipeline (in Kars, Sarıkamış) shortly after its attack on the oil pipeline, and caused to closure of the valves (Milliyet, 2015). Korkmazgöz (2010: 26) explained that the line coming from Iraq has been attacked by various groups since the Second Gulf War until today and as it is seen, it is the target of the terrorist actions carried out in Turkey. Delays and interruptions were experienced in the transfers from Iraq also during the Gulf War and the USA's invasion of Iraq; however, these problems were resolved and today, especially the threat created by the terror problem still remains.

Although the countries having the feature of "rentier state" thanks to their oil and natural gas resources have guaranteed their national incomes to a great extent, developments in the recent history showed that the social events may turn into civil wars and resources may pass into other hands with foreign interventions. Libya can be the best example for this. Besides, the monopolization with new oil and pipeline projects creates risk for some countries. It can be foreseen that the transfer from the Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus would reduce the dependency of Europe and Turkey to Russia. Because, a large scale of dependence to one country may cause to one sided changes in the price policies of that country or company that acts like a monopoly. Purchasing around 20 billion cubic meter of natural gas from Russia as a result of the agreement made by the end of 1990's, Turkey conflicted in price revisions and the debates deepened with the following developments (downing of Russian warplane that violates the Turkish air space) (Milliyet, 2015). Following these developments, purchases from Azerbaijan, Qatar and Iraq, or increase of the current transfers sped up in 2015 December. Russian policies except for Turkey are also in this line; because Russia has wanted to gain strength by supporting the north-south directional development in the energy policies over Central Asia and inciting the Eurasian policies, and even it was successful in Turkmenistan, it failed in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan (Korkmazgöz, 2010: 39). In brief, Russia has shaped its policies over Central Asia in this way to control the Turkey and European markets, and become partly successful.

Exporters of energy, who are as important as Russia, and large energy exporters tended to make some changes in their foreign policies. Even, moderation signals were seen even in the tightest

policies. In brief, energy has started to be used as means of foreign policy (Rende, 2006: 4). According to Pamir (2005: 62) considering the remaining 50 years of life of oil and natural gas reserves, it is usual various conspiracies and claims to be kept alive in this particular.

CONCLUSION

Turkey gives and is expected to give particular attention its energy policies to protect primarily its national interests, as well as to function as a bridge in the transfer the resources of Central Asia Caucasus and Middle East to Europe. Thus, Turkey's success in terms of energy routes and security is important both for the interests of the countries such as Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Iran and Iraq, as well as the European countries.

Turkey has to create options to not to have trouble in case of any risk or threat arising from only one country. Even though below and above ground storage works seem to create solution in short term, it is necessary to establish connections with different sellers/countries as a foreign-dependent country. Except for improving the relations or keeping them in their usual course with current exporter countries, finding new suppliers seems more suitable for the national interests. Construction of new pipelines is also necessary to reduce the conveyance expenses.

Construction of pipelines and ensuring their security ease the exportation of imported oil and natural gas to other countries through other pipelines or maritime transport. Even if there is no opportunity to direct export, the income generated by Turkey from transportation and the feature of being the point of transport it undertook are important. This also emphasizes the geostrategic and geopolitical significance of Turkey. Having two straits and being located at the intersection point of three continents, Turkey has the opportunity of increasing its value in terms of energy transport. This is a virtue that it may use in the international policy; because it may create a power of sanction together with the countries such as Iraq, Iran, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan over the European countries who export oil and natural gas over Turkey.

Another point to take into account except for Turkey to serve firstly to its own and then other countries' interests is local resources. Local resources must remind especially the renewable energy. Turkey is located on a geography where it could benefit from solar and wind energies; however, it is located on the other options like biomass and

geothermal as well as these two resources. Apart from the environmental aspect of the case, prudential economic and political reasons require reduction the dependency to crude oil and natural gas and necessitate establishing connections with different suppliers as much as possible.

References

Ener, M. and Ahmedov, O. (2008), "Importance of Turkey-Azerbaijan Petrol-Natural Gas Pipeline Projects in terms of National Economies and the European Union", *2nd National Economy Congress.*

Kaya, İ. S. (2012). "An Overview on the International Energy Policies: Case of Turkey", *Union of Bars of Turkey Journal*, 102.

Korkmazgöz, İ. (2010). *Energy Routes Passing and Required to Pass from Turkey and the Effects of these Energy Routes on Turkish Foreign Policy*, (TC. Atılım University, Institute of Social Sciences, International Relations USA, Unpublished Postgraduate Thesis).

Küçükşahin, A. (2006). *What Should the Energy Strategy Be in terms of Security?*, T.R. Turkish General Staff HARPAK SAREN Directorate, Symposium: What Should Turkey's Energy Strategy Be? (26-27 Ocak 2006), Military Academy Publications, Istanbul 2006**.**

Mansfield, P. (2012). *History of the Middle East,* Istanbul: Say Publications.

Özdil, Y. (2015). "Paris", *Sözcü Newspaper*, November 15th.

Pamir, N. (2005). "Energy Policies and Global Developments", *Strategic Analysis*, 68.

Paxman, J. (2012). "Empire Episode 4: Making a Fortune", BBC.

Rende, M. (2016). *Energy Initiative of the Neighboring Countries ve Its Regional Effects*, T.R. Turkish General Staff HARPAK SAREN Directorate, Symposium: What Should Turkey's Energy Strategy Be? (26-27 Ocak 2006), Military Academy Publications, Istanbul 2006

Sak, H. and Zengin, A. (2015). "International Natural Gas Pipeline Projects; Evaluation of the Projects of Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline in terms of Turkey's Natural Gas Trade (TANAP) and the Trans-Adriatic Gas Pipeline (TAP)", *Istanbul Trade University, Institute of Foreign Trade Discussion Papers*, WPS No: 06, 2015-09, p. 9.

Uluatam, E. (2010). "New Balances in the European Natural Gas Market", *Economic Forum*, August 2010

T.R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority, *Natural Gas Market Sector Report 2014*, Ankara, 2015

T.R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority, *Oil Market Sector Report 2014*, Ankara, 2015

Yılmaz, N. F. (2005). "A General Evaluation on Oil and Gas Pipelines", *Installation Engineering Journal*, 87.

Online Resources

Al Jazeera Turk, *Foundation Laid for Azerian Gas*, http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/azeri-gazi-icin-temel-atildi, (30.11.2015)

Al Jazeera Turk, *Chronology: Turkey-Iraq Relationships*, http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/interaktif/kronoloji-turkiye-irak-iliskileri, (14.11.2015)

Ateş, Z., "East-West Energy Corridor: 2 Complete 1 Lack", *International Journal of Economic Issues*, 2006, Issue: 23, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/dogu-bati-enerji-koridoru_-2-tamam-1-eksik.tr.mfa, (30.11.2015)

BBC Türkçe, *'ISIS' annual oil revenue 500 million dollars'*, http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2015/10/151014_ft_isid_petrol, (01.12.2015)

BOTAŞ, *Maps*, http://www.botas.gov.tr/images/maps/BotasGenel_full.png, (19.12.2015)

ITE, Iran - Turkey - Europe Natural Gas Pipeline Project (ITE), http://www.ite-pipeline.com/pages.aspx?page=2, (30.11.2015)

Milliyet, From *Barzani to PKK "Petrol Pipeline" Condemnation*, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/barzani-den-pkk-ya-petrol-boru/ekonomi/detay/2095775/default.htm, (01.12.2015)

Milliyet, *BOTAŞ commenced Arbitration Process for Russian Gas*, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/turkiye-rus-gazi-icin-tahkime/ekonomi/detay/2138674/default.htm/, (01.12.2015)

Milliyet, *Terrorist attack on the Pipeline*, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/teroristler-boru-hattina-saldirdi-gundem-2107187/, (01.12.2015)

T.R. Prime Ministry Public Diplomacy Coordinatorship, *Turkey's Energy Investments*, http://kdk.gov.tr/haber/turkiyenin-enerji-yatirimlari/496, (30.11.2015)

T.R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority, *Natural Gas Market Sector Report, February/2015*, http://www3.epdk.org.tr/documents/dogalgaz/rapor_yayin/Ddp_YayinRapor_Aylik_Subat2015rev2.pdf, (30.11.2015)

T.R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority (2015), *Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) MarketSectorReport,January/2015*,

http://www3.epdk.org.tr/documents/lpg/rapor_yayin/Lpg_YayinRapor_Ocak2015.pdf, (30.11.2015).

T.R. Energy Market Regulatory Authority (2015), *Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) Market SectorReport,February/2015*, http://www3.epdk.org.tr/documents/lpg/rapor_yayin/Lpg_YayinRapor_Subat2015.pdf, (30.11.2015)

T.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015). *Turkey's Energy Strategy*, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye_nin-enerji-stratejisi.tr.mfa, (20.10.2015)

TUIK, *Electric Energy Production and Shares by Energy Resources*, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1029, (18.10.2015)

TUIK, *Distribution of Net Electric Consumption by Sectors*, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1029, (18.10.2015)

Varol, T., "Offers from Russians to Remove the Samsum-Ceyhan Project", http://www.21yyte.org/tr/arastirma/enerji-ve-enerji-guvenligi-arastirmalari-merkezi/2013/09/11/7206/ruslardan-samsun-ceyhan-projesini-ortadan-kaldiracak-teklif, (20.10.2015).