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RUSSIA'S NEW IRREDENTIST FOREIGN POLICY APPROACH & ENERGY CARD*

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Introduction

Several geopolitical and economic developments in the first decade of the twentieth century have heightened Europe's sense of vulnerability in respect of its energy supplies.[1] In addition, the origin of the EU at its founding treaties such as ECSC (1951) and EURATOM (1957) base on energy. That is why, EU has to produce joint, sustainable and multi-alternated policies on energy sources, notably on natural gas. In contrary to that fact, Europe is one of the largest natural gas markets in the world and is also world's largest natural gas importer. This situation makes Europe vulnerable for its energy sources. This fact should carefully be considered, so that the only external supplier enjoying a significant or even dominant position in the both Western and Eastern European countries is Russia.[2] Europe and natural gas importing countries such as Turkey have to find out new alternatives for their supply. Energy diversification is both socially and economically vital for all countries. Undiversified energy resource importing led dependence and restricts foreign policy making

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[1] Bahgat, 2006: 961.

[2] Goldthau, 2003: 6.

process. Bearing this case in mind, Europe and Turkey during the last decades have been searching for new energy alternatives and trying to mitigate their unrivaled dependence mostly on one country.

Turkish-Azerbaijan Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Project (TANAP) is the latest initiative for Central Asian energy security and diversified multi-alternative energy supply. The project aims to provide a new route for Caspian Sea energy sources mitigating almost unparalleled Russian monopoly over Turkish and European natural gas based on energy demand. European Countries also supporting TANAP and affording financial contribution for the realization of the project as it is mentioned before the Project provides a strong alternative for source diversification.

Middle East and Central Asia are the main parts of world having rich underground fossil sources. Use of oil increases greenhouse gas emissions more than natural gas. When compared with natural gas, oil also pollutes atmosphere and harms environment. Therefore developed countries had a vital need for natural gas. While Middle Eastern countries mostly oil rich areas, Central Asia has rich natural gas reserves and when compared with the rest of fossil sources, transport and transmission of natural gas from one country to other requires a much more sensitive and complex process.

Despite its high expense transporting oil by tankers on sea or land is possible. Same method cannot be implemented for natural gas which it is not worth to transport it in the same way. It is possible to transport natural gas as LNG but the process is expensive and needs high investment. Therefore especially natural gas transportation depends on transnational pipelines which politically and geographically difficult to build. Moreover, countries which natural gas pipelines constructed through, gains political, strategic and economical rights over the transmission of pipeline. Here, geographical location of Russia gains importance and an initial status.

Russia's geostrategic position ensures it essential advantages. As it is known Russia has the largest soils of the world, almost $^{1}/_{7}$ of total land mass belongs to Russia. Its geographic location provides Russia to connect natural gas reserve rich Central

Asia and industrialized Europe like a bridge. When European dependence on natural gas considered the importance of Russia's bridge role gains a new aspect. In addition to its bridging status Russia is a natural gas seller, also have geographical opportunity to control alternative lines addressing Europe. Moreover, Russian dominance on enriched uranium supply needed by nuclear power plants led twice hegemony over energy sources. All these facts, including its irredentist desires, makes Russia a key game builder in international relations of the region. The last victim of Russian expansive movements is Ukraine, which by a fake referendum discrediting customary and codified international law rules, Russia annexed Ukrainian soil Crimean peninsula. This proactive offensive policy inevitably alarmed Western Europe and Balkan Countries yet there was not too much political tool to force Russia not to annex new soils. The last threat has been put forward by Russia on Finland's possible membership to NATO. NATO considering rising Russian irredentism, during its last summit in Warsaw decided to deploy 4000 soldiers on Russian neighboring members namely Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.[3] Deployment of more soldiers by NATO actually is not a sufficient policy to prevent Russian irredentism.

Nowadays, demand on natural gas is an unrivalled fact at least for a foreseeable future. TANAP ensures e new alternative for Turkey and Europe. Thus, the aim of this paper is to analyze natural gas transmission via TANAP and Russian policies to play energy card as a mean of its offensive irredentist policies. The methodology of the paper will be to unearth realities regarding alternative pipelines before TANAP and bring out a solution for future projects. Related articles, newspapers, columns, official papers and books will be viewed during the study. Natural gas pipeline projects, metric calculations, contracts, subcontracts or undertakings and etc. are complex processes needs extensive mathematical skills to be evaluated truly. Because of said reason all kind of calculations and technical data regarding natural gas are out of the scope of this paper and will not be studied. The aim of this paper is to underline natural gas based energy position of supplier Central Asian

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[3] *Cumhuriyet* (10 July 2016), "NATO İttifak Tazeledi [NATO Renews its Support]" p. 8.

countries, Russia's role and aspects on this transmission which improved by natural gas importing European policy makers. Thus in this paper it is purposed to shed light on realpolitik in the region based on balance between energy supply and demand.

Russian Irredentism: Role of Energy Card

Soon after Industrial Revolution humankind has an insatiable and unsatisfied need for energy. As it is known to run gears of industrial plants fossil sources still were/are the basic source of energy. Efforts for renewable energy supply and self-sufficiency still far from covering the great demand for fossil sources. Modern society has grown more dependent on energy in almost all human activities. Different forms of energy are essential in the residential, industrial and transportation sectors.

Energy is also crucial in carrying out military operations and it is an important tool to achieve war aims. Indeed, the attempt to control oil resources was a major reason for the II. World War. In addition Cold War mostly was a controversy over Middle Eastern and Asian energy sources. The European Commission defines energy security as "the ability to ensure that future essential energy needs can be met, both by means of adequate domestic resources worked under economically acceptable conditions or maintained as strategic reserves, and by calling upon accessible and stable external sources supplemented where appropriate by strategic stocks."[4] Here it is seen that energy must be safely accessible, stable and strategically reserved. In contrary, due to balance, developments and real political selfish interests of states, it is not an easy work to ensure above said concepts regarding energy resources.

Political developments closely affect energy policies. Soon after the collapse of Soviet Union former Iron Curtain countries in Balkans accelerated their integration to the Western Block while after a decade lasting shock the legal successor of Soviet Union, Russia put its heavy hand on those who would like to disintegrate from the old structure. During Soviet period especially throughout the rule of Stalin, numerous people living under SU had been expelled or forced to emigrate from their mother lands. That

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[4] Bahgat, 2006: 965.

policy led two important results. Respectively, (a) fertile areas where non-Slavonic races were living had been emptied and (b) demographic structure of western borders had been changed. That policy was a kind of replacement which empty areas filled by Slavonic Russian races. Said policy of course both changed existing demography of non-Slavonic areas and after the collapse of SU afforded Russia a chance to intervene domestic affairs of newly liberated former Iron Curtain countries. To intervene others' domestic affairs, Russia put in use above mentioned irredentist imperialistic policies.

When Russian irredentism and use of energy card considered as the two components of one apple, it is easy to shed light on Russian irredentist policies and generate some realistic predictions about future. So far Middle Eastern countries' monopoly over oil resources was a well-known fact. Despite frequent attempts neither SU nor Russian Federation had a strong hand on Middle Eastern oil resources. Nowadays, accelerated use of natural gas and monopoly of Central Asian countries over this newly invented energy source provided Russia a key role in its newly designed realpolitik. The first area which Russian irredentism could achieve success are Balkan countries. Hegemony over energy ensures Russia's said policies and promotion of a new alternative or diversification of energy sources are a vital fact for Europe and Turkey.

Russian energy priorities and use of energy as a foreign policy tool should be analyzed under the shed of Russian desires addressing to re-seize its hegemonic role in the Balkans. Because Russia especially during the last decade put in use a new tsarist policy trying to annex new lands throughout its western borders, and enlarge its soils to the Balkans as possible as Tsarist Russia had done a century before.

The failure of Nabucco pipeline project which bypassing Russian soils, empowered Russia's self-confidence and encouraged it to use energy card as a tool to achieve political gains.[5] Parties to Nabucco were, Turkey, Bulgaria, Hungary, Austria, Germany and Romania. Turkey, also one of the countries receiving its gas need mostly from Russia by Blue

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[5] Demirmen, 2016.

Stream and Western Pipelines facing a vital need for a new alternative. As it is seen countries siding Nabucco were dependents of Russian gas supply. That was a kind of humiliation for the rest and TANAP became a new hope to cope with Russian irredentism. It is expected that it will create a new alternative and change said dependence.

Soon after 2008-2012 Global Economic Crisis, a new economic recovery period arrived into world markets. Russia evaluating this new phase, put in use new energy policies in regional energy game. The aim of Russia was/is to keep its key energy source supplier role and use energy card as a means of foreign policy to bring its political aims into true. Russia's main stream energy policy is to resize energy cooperation, create unrivaled dependency, building monopoly in domestic markets, constructing or buying stocking, distribution and carriage pipelines, sale discounts, signing private agreements, if it is needed using hard policy and put in use some sanctions, if all do not work to construct new alternative pipelines.[6]

Considering above mentioned attempt, soon after signing of TANAP, Russia concluded a contract with Turkey to transmit its natural gas to EU region by Southern Stream Project (SSP) or as it is informally known "Turkish Stream". SSP, bypassing Ukraine, through Turkish exclusive economic zone in Black Sea arrives EU region.[7] As it is seen Russian policies not to lose energy card and keep control on former Iron Curtain countries still prevails. Contrary to the common idea of experts that TANAP undermined Nabucco, actually it was SSP which destroyed all policies related to Nabucco. Nowadays EU had provided continuous support to Nabucco.[8]

In the year of 2009 due to the crisis between Russia and Ukraine, most of the European countries' energy need were cut-off and not all import demand could be fulfilled.[9] That was not the first crisis, in 2006 Russia and Ukraine had a crisis after western sided

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[6] Çelikpala, M. (7 February 2012), "Enerjide Yeni Dönem [New Era in Energy]" *Cumhuriyet,* p. 7.
[7] Dilek, B. S. (7 February 2012), "Enerjide Kartlar Dağıtıldı [Cards Resdistributed on Energy]" *Cumhuriyet*, p. 6.
[8] European Commission, 2015: 4.
[9] European Commission, 2015: 2.

President Viktor Yushchenko led the so called Orange Revolution defeated Kremlin's favored candidate in Ukraine's presidential election and pursued a pro-western foreign policy.[10]

Beside Russian energy card and energy based irredentist policies, lack of adequate infrastructure was another reason of fluctuated transmission. This was important because gas was the backbone of EU's energy supply. Disagreement over gas prices and border disputes between Russia and Ukraine led to several problems over supply to the European downstream market. During the crisis the flow of natural gas to EU area came to a complete halt and caused severe economic and political results.[11] Ukraine crisis and Russian irredentism actually was a dramatic challenge to EU reminding one more time its dependence to Russia. EU, as soon as possible should find out a new alternative and force Russia to stop irredentist policies on former Iron Curtain countries. Most of former Iron Curtain countries had been granted EU membership and Russian policies one way or another started to clash with EU's common foreign policy approaches.

As the rest of world EU politicians had expected that Russian irredentism addressing its newly emerged western post-iron curtain neighbors would slowdown. Nowadays, a few year after the Ukrainian crisis and illegal annexation of Crimea, other additional Russian interventions and escalations of internal affairs of Balkan and Baltic Countries proved that in the near future stability of common EU-Russian border is not possible. This fact of course inevitably directed EU's energy supply policies. Because as it is mentioned above, natural gas is backbone of EU's energy supply. Therefore new policies on pipelines transmitting natural gas must have been produced and conducted. Considering this reality, efforts are being made at national and EU level to enhance the security of gas supplies for the winter of 2015/2016 and beyond.[12]

In the year of 2010 EU had issued a Regulation 994/2010 on safeguarding of resilient gas supply. Five years after, at the beginning of 2016 gas supply

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[10] Bahgat, 2006: 961.
[11] Goldthau, 2003: 14.
[12] European Commission, 2016: 2.

was a highly topical issue for EU. A large proportion of such gas is imported into the Union from third countries mostly through the eastern borders of the Union.[13] Basic aim of the Regulation was to ensure that all necessary measures are taken to safeguard an uninterrupted supply of gas throughout the Union, in particular to protect customers in the event of difficult climatic conditions or disruptions of the gas supply.[14]

Since gas supplies from third countries are central to the security of the Union energy requirements, the Commission led coordinated actions with third countries, worked with supplying and transit countries on arrangements to handle probable crisis and ensure a stable gas flow to the Union. The Commission has been entitled to deploy a task force to monitor gas flows into the Union in crisis periods, in consultation with the third countries involved, and, where a crisis arises from difficulties in a third country, to act as mediator and facilitator.[15] Market conditions and competitive distribution of natural gas is an important fact nowadays, domestic political situation and foreign policy approaches of supplier countries and pipeline transmission are also as important as EU market conditions.

Russia's Energy Card: EU's Struggle for Pipeline Diversification

Tsarist Russia especially after Peter I (1682-1725) was among European big powers. After that dates, notably since French Revolution (1789) some European countries were alliance seekers with Russia for balance of power of Europe. In the Russian political discourse, being a great power is not only regarded as a natural feature of the country's past and present. But it is also seen as essential for its functioning foreign policy and, indeed, as the key precondition for the survival of Russia as an entity. While traditional realist accounts indicate that being a great power is derived mainly from the relative material power of the country, there is no doubt that, as with

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[13] European Commission 2016: 14.
[14] European Commission 2016: 14.
[15] European Commission 2016: 21.

sovereignty, the great power status is primarily subject to scrutiny of other actors, and is thus intersubjective.[16]

Russia's irredentist Balkan policies should be analysed under this fact. None the less, after collapse of SU, Russia retained its vital role as a dominant gas supplier after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Europe's high dependence on foreign sources of natural gas, notably from Russia has caused security concerns for EU members and Turkey.[17]

So far European Union had issued some directives to regulate natural gas market. In 2009 a new agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulations has been established.[18] The basic aim was to balance Russian monopoly on EU countries' energy demand and find solutions for diversification. One of the basic aim of directives passed by EU to regulate internal gas market and produce sustainable policies regarding external natural gas sources. Directive 2003/55/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2003 concerning common rules for the internal market in natural gas and Regulation 1775/2005/EC of the European Parliament had been issued and put in force. European Council also had issued a directive in 28 September 2005 on conditions for access to the natural gas transmission networks.[19]

In the year of 2009 EU passed a new directive including descriptive explanations for natural gas works. At the directive the terminology of "transmission", "transport contract", "capacity", "unused capacity", "congestion management", "secondary market", "re-nomination", "system integrity" etc. have been clarified.[20] EU's main aim was to adopt necessary rules for domestic competitive regulated distribution of natural gas and encourage diversification of sources. The directives have made significant contributions towards the creation of such a regulated internal market in natural gas. About seven years before the directive of 2009, in 2003 at Madrid, a European Natural Gas Forum had been adopted to regulate the market.[21] In the year of 2015

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[16] Kratochvil, 2008: 408.
[17] Goldthau, 2003: 6.
[18] *Official Journal of EU,* (14 August 2009).
[19] *Official Journal of EU,* 2009: 35-36.
[20] *Official Journal of EU,* 2009: 35-36.
[21] *Official Journal of EU,* 2009: 35-36.

EU published a new directive amending the natural gas directive of 2009.[22] At the beginning of 2016 European Parliament passed another directive to regulate internal market and adopt common rules regarding import processes.[23]

As it is seen by the frequency of directives, EU had realized that domestic natural gas transmission networks will be a vital issue for Europe over the next few years. This approach obvious on EU directives published throughout last decades. The unobvious invisible fact on EU papers is the doubts on Russia's irredentism and use of energy dominance to achieve that imperialistic aims. For this aim it was as vital as to construct good-working domestic pipelines and well infrastructure. Particularly construction and contracting of diversified external pipelines also much more important than internal undertakings. It is thought that focus on energy networks will be a key aspect of European integration and cooperation in the sphere of energy more generally.[24]

To analyze EU's aspect on energy especially after the crisis escalated by Russia in Balkans, notably during last years in Ukraine and Crimea it is needed to focus on energy supply policy of the Union. In 2014, the situation in Ukraine reawakened concern in EU circles about natural gas supplies. Because reserves from North Sea and Dutch gas fields have been declining, diversification of import sources was a major issue, along with the Union's capacity to cope with potential interruptions in supply. This meant that, over the coming next few years EU has planned initiating or completing a number of cross-border projects for gas pipelines, compressors to reverse flows if necessary, as well as methane terminals. At the same time, intra-European infrastructure will be needed to promote integration of the internal market and prevent bottlenecks from causing price discrepancies.[25] It is not openly declared by EU but, Russia's dominance on the supply was a major challenge for future aspects.

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[22] *Official Journal of EU,* (5 May 2015).
[23] European Commission (16 February 2016).
[24] *Official Journal of EU* (14 August 2015).
[25] *Official Journal of EU*, 2015.

There is another problem which use of fossil carbon sources such as oil, natural gas, coal etc. cause acceleration of global warming. The Union always declaring its aim to support policies addressing mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions. Thus, energy transition is unsettling the outlook for the gas industry in various ways by sending signals that can sometimes be contradictory. Gas infrastructure effectively relies on investment that is recuperated only over decades. The wish to reduce energy consumption or shift energy use from carbon-based to renewable energy sources consequently does little to encourage investment. In addition, the development of shale gas in the United States, plus imports of American coal to Europe, was not foreseen and has led to overinvestment in combined-cycle electricity generation, which was intended to counterbalance intermittent generation. On the other hand, energy transition entails developing biogas, which will require some adaptation of networks to take account of the dispersed nature and collection of this type of energy.[26] Below paragraph quoted from the Opinion paper of European Economic and Social Committee clearly shows the view of EU circles:

The EU's objectives for 2020 and 2050 -taking account of the climate and the environment, security of energy supply and competitiveness- are prompting a surge in investment in decentralized electricity generation from renewables. In France and Germany, and also Spain and Italy, some 95 % of such power plants are now connected to the electricity grid (low- and medium-voltage). This decentralized energy is essentially produced intermittently, i.e. when it is windy or sunny. The role and tasks of electricity distributors are therefore likely to change radically. In the past, the distribution network faced few 'electricity bottlenecks', and it distributed electricity generated centrally and routed through the transmission network (high- and ultra-high-voltage) to the end-user in a 'top-down' way. In future, the grid will be managed differently.[27]

From the text it is obviously understood that, the Union has been trying to diversify its energy sources and provide strong support for renewables. But, in a

[26] *Official Journal of EU*, 2015.
[27] *Official Journal of EU*, 2015.

predictable near future it is not easy for the Union to replace fossils with renewables generating alternative for natural gas.

The increasing proportion of decentralized renewable energy feeding into the grid, charging of electric vehicles and the greater role of customers who can be actively involved in the load management market will change the responsibilities and operations of electricity distributors, as well as the relationships between distribution and transmission networks. Thus distribution networks will in future be increasingly interconnected and complex, with multiple power generation sources and connecting increasingly diverse and fluctuating consumption patterns; electricity flows may even be reversed so that electricity moves from distribution to transmission networks when more power is generated than is consumed locally. The difficulties facing electricity transmission networks today, especially congestion management, can generally be expected to impact on the everyday management of electricity distribution networks in the near future.[28]

As it is known, in the world including EU region, use of renewable energy sources to produce electricity still insufficient. Except renewable global friendly sources, electricity may be produced by nuclear energy plants, hydroelectric plants and plants using coal or natural gas. Europe's energy sector is currently dominated by oil, natural gas and coal, with lesser contributions from nuclear power and renewables. Heavy dependence on fossil fuels is predicted to continue for the foreseeable future.[29] Natural gas is cheaper and more environment friendly than the coal i.e. UE's dependency on this fossil resource will be vital in the coming future. At this point diversification of suppliers is a matter of foreign policy for EU. Otherwise, as European policy makers are very well aware of, Russia's irredentist policies always will find a route to work out.

At the first days of 2016, European Economic and Social Committee on Energy published an opinion paper asking energy source diversification. The paper underlined natural gas pipelines passing through Turkish soils. The importance of SSP (Turkish

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[28] *Official Journal of EU*, 2015.
[29] Bagdat, 2006: 966.

Stream) connecting with TAP (Trans-Adriatic Pipeline) Azerbaijan and Italy link emphasized by EU.[30] As it is known Turkish Stream is a pipeline put forward by Russian State Company Gazprom passing through Turkish exclusive zone in the Black Sea will arrive Europe. There is some crucial points here should be clarified.

First of all, it has been seen that insofar EU's basic policy was on diversification of natural gas suppliers and removing Russian dominance on EU's demand. Thus Russia's cross-border foreign policy approaches could be minimized and its use of natural gas as a realpolitik tool would be prevented. Secondly, pipelines starting from Azerbaijan, especially from Shah Deniz II fields do not have any connection with Russia and Turkish Stream. Shah Deniz II and possible Turkmen gas bypassing Russia as EU asked, can only reach Europe through Turkey. This line is named TANAP and right now is under construction. If EU really desires to diversify its suppliers and minimize Russian irredentism it has to support TANAP. Turkish Stream is a Russian originated project which Russia will be able halt it whenever it desires.

Need for a New and Sustainable Alternative: TANAP

Different gas pipeline projects had been constructed between Turkey-Azerbaijan; between Turkey-Russia and between Russia-European Countries. Some of those lines are still in use such as Blue Stream and Baku-Tiflis-Ceyhan, Nord Stream, Comecon Pipeline, Yamal-Europe NG Pipeline, Opal and NEL Pipelines, Central Asian Pipeline etc. All previous projects' common characteristic is to carry Russian or Azerbaijan gas to Turkey and if possible transmit towards world markets. Therefore, until TANAP reaching to world markets by pipelines through Turkish soils was limited even sometime insufficient.

This situation paved the way of Russia's overwhelming monopoly over European gas demand. New alternatives had to be put in use to mitigate Russian monopoly. The first talks on *Trans Anatolian Gas Pipeline* (TANAP) started during the year of 2011 and on November 17 at the 3rd Black Sea Energy and

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[30] *Official Journal of EU,* (28 January 2016).

Economy Forum the talks reached an understanding. About one month after, on 26 December a memorandum of understanding signed between both Turkish and Azeri Ministers of Energy. Before signing the memorandum there were ongoing discussions whether TANAP would use existing national Turkish pipelines or a new line would be constructed. Azeri State oil and gas company SOCAR being overwhelming stake holder of the project (80%) asked construction of a new pipeline through Turkey for transit stream of Azeri Shah Deniz II gas to the Europe.[31]

Infrastructure of TANAP had been prepared three months before in Izmir on October 25. At that meeting again between two country's energy ministers it was agreed that Azeri gas would be carried Europe through Turkey.[32] One of the crucial point of both agreements was the clause affording transit passage of Azeri gas and the second the changing policy to put Nabucco aside.

Nabucco was an important project for energy source diversification. It was planned that by Nabucco, Caspian Sea and Middle East Regions' natural gas would be transmitted to Turkey and EU region. The last terminal of Nabucco would be Austria. Nabucco also would carry Shah Deniz II and Turkmen, may be later Kazakh natural gas to Turkey and Europe.[33]

In 2012 feasibility studies launched and at the beginning of 2015 Turkish, Azerbaijan and Georgian Head of States met in Kars decided to get start the work. Estimated cost of the project is about 10-11 billion dollars, and expected completion is the year of 2018. According to predictable plan, Europe will get first stream in 2020. Currently, the shareholders of TANAP are: the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan (SOCAR) 58%; BOTAŞ 30% and BP 12%.[34] The participation of BP is important because it means Europe's support to the project. The planned annual capacity of the project is about 16 billion cubic meters.

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[31] *Cumhuriyet,* (13 March 2015), "BP TANAP Projesine Giriyor [PB Participating into TANAP]" p. 9.
[32] *Cumhuriyet* (27 December 2011), "Doğalgazda Son Perde [Last Negotiations on Natural Gas]" p. 11.
[33] Demirmen, F. (2 February 2012) "Nabucco Projesine Ne Oldu? [What Happened to Nabucco Project?]" *Cumhuriyet,* p. 2.
[34] *TANAP,* 2016.

Total investment sum of the project is about 45 billion dollars.[35] This amount most likely big enough to absorb all future Azeri gas exports to Europe and even capable to be in use of additional Turkmen gas export. TANAP also will provide Azerbaijan to export additional gas volumes to Europe when offshore fields Absheron, Umid, and possibly Shafag-Asiman come on-stream.[36]

Trans Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP) is actually a new plan consisted three different parts respectively; the starting point in Caspian Sea on Azeri part of the sea called Shah Deniz II, the line between Shah Deniz II and Turkey passes from Azerbaijan dividing the country into two parts as north and south, bypassing Armenia arrives Georgia passes this country's southern part. That part of the project is called South Caucasus Pipeline Expansion (SCPX).

The line enters into Turkey from Ardahan district, alternating above said monopoly passes from central Turkey dividing the country into two parts similar to Azerbaijan, arrives Canakkale city, passes Canakkale straits and arrives Tekirdağ city of Turkey. The number of cities TANAP passing in Turkey about 20. That part is called Trans Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP) which also is the generally known name of the whole project. Leaving Turkey, TANAP enters into Greece same as Turkey and Azerbaijan, divides the country into two, passes Albania and arrives Adriatic Sea which is the second waterway passage of the project. The last point after Adriatic is Italy thus the line enters into Southern European area through Italian city of San Foca. The name of that part is Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP). Total length of the line is about 1850 km. if a branch line which is under consideration built through Bulgaria it would be possible to reach Hungary and Austria. As it is seen, when completed and connected each other, TANAP could construct a strong southern natural gas corridor.[37] In this case Russia will lose its energy card and its policy to use energy supply for irredentist policies will be at least minimized. Meanwhile TANAP will increase Turkey's role as a regional energy bridge.

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[35] *Hurriyet,* (28 February 2014), "TANAP 21 İl'e İş Kapısı Açacak [TANAP will provide employment in 21 Provinces]"

[36] Demirmen, 2016.

[37] Demirmen, 2016.

Despite its entry into Europe from the south having a definite distance from Central Europe, European Union supports TANAP. This support and financial contribution is important because possibly a pipeline passing from Russia and entering the continent from the north could arrive central Europe cheaper. This choice proves the fact that EU wants to alternate Russia's monopoly over its energy supply and also wants to mitigate Russian irredentist policies using energy sources as a foreign policy brinkmanship tool. At this point Turkey has a vital role, to bypass Russia, Turkey provides mere land passage for any kind of pipeline starting from energy source rich Caspian Sea or Central Asia. Except Turkish alternative there is no any kind of possibility to connect energy resource rich areas by land way, even though Turkish passage also needs to go through two straits named above.

TANAP and the support of EU to the project was a challenge to the ongoing Russian foreign policy priorities. That is why, Russia's State supported company Gazprom tried to bypass Turkish alternative and created a new alternative to prevent Turkmenistan's any connection to Europe bypassing Russia. For this aim Russia escalated disturbances in Caspian Sea arguing that continental shelve sharing of the coastal countries were not solved yet. Ignoring Russian complicated efforts and put-off, EU officials aware of the realpolitik launched talks with Turkmenistan before the fall of Nabucco, nowadays Turkey preferred to stay on sidelines during said talks.[38] No result could be achieved during those talks yet it is still possible for Turkmenistan to participate TANAP.

Because no productive common ground could be achieved during the talks with Turkmen leaders EU policy makers to find an alternative to Russian monopoly turned their bid on Azerbaijan. This was a compulsory choice due to fact that EU giving primary importance to energy security and diversification of energy suppliers.[39] If Turkmen and Kazakh gasses can be included into TANAP, Turkey could have a key role in EU circles.

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[38] Demirmen, 2016.

[39] Kosolapova, 2016.

Moreover realizing Russian irredentism and realpolitik use of energy card, EU had put in use some measures. Nabucco was one of that attempts which would bypass Russia and supply a new alternative natural gas to EU region. TANAP is a strong alternative for Nabucco still provides an alternative for EU market. Turkey is the most economic destination for transportation of Middle Eastern and including Caspian Sea, Central Asian gasses to EU region.

As underlined above, European Union has established several initiatives aimed at enhancing diversity of supply and transport routes, and at building partnerships with producer regions (notably the Caspian) and transit countries (notably Ukraine and Turkey). New alternatives of course will bring new solutions challenging Russian dominancy. Nowadays, still there is no joint venture among EU members. Some EU member states have also signed up for various planned pipeline projects sourcing from Russia, the Caspian region, or elsewhere such as Middle Eastern countries so on.[40]

It is clearly seen that, the interests of supplier and transit countries are the determining factors in regional political dynamics. Here Russian irredentism must be taken into account. Gas producers and pivotal transit states frequently try to play EU member states and their companies against each other. Here some words should be said about TANAP. The Interconnector Turkey-Greece-Italy (ITGI), backed by the three countries the pipeline was supposed to connect, and the Statoil-led Trans Adriatic Pipeline - both part of the EU's Southern Corridor project aimed at sourcing gas from the Caspian have most recently lost against the TANAP. This Azeri-Turkish project involved BP, a partner in developing Azeri gas field Shah Deniz II.[41]

Meanwhile the Western consortium of Nabucco, a competitor project, disintegrated because of faltering sourcing opportunities and also because some consortium members opted for alternative projects, such as Hungary's MOL buying into South Stream, the Russian project.[42] As it is obviously mentioned above, Russian project through Black Sea bypassing

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[40] Goldthau, 2003: 21.
[41] Goldthau, 2003: 21.
[42] Goldthau, 2003: 21.

Ukraine had already undermined Nabucco. Nabucco was actually a stubborn project that did not have the source guarantee. TANAP, if could be realized can be a cornerstone of source and pipeline diversification for EU and Turkey.

Conclusion

The span of Industrial Revolution brought numerous developments in human history mostly making life easier. In contrary to the positive developments dependence on fossil energy resources led to numerous crisis and conflicts. Industrialization process irrevocably needs fossils and as it is very well known fossils are not equally spread around the world. When industrialization started basic energy fuel was coal which European continent had rich reserves. At the threshold of the twentieth century oil replaced coal and this time it was Middle East keeping rich oil reserves.

After WWII, nuclear energy gained importance yet it is risky, expensive and dangerous to transform fusions into healthy energy. During last decade before the end of Cold War natural gas and shale gas have been discovered but it was again Middle East and Central Asia having rich reserves. The last discovery furnished Russia a new chance after the Cold War to achieve its realpolitik aims due to use of energy card.

Developed European countries have obvious essential need to natural gas for daily life and industrial plants because natural gas is more environment friendly and cheap. Turkey a developing country also vitally needs natural gas for its industrial development and daily life. Differing from oil, natural gas cannot be transported by dangers. It is LNG that could be carried by dangers but this method is not lucrative. Transmitting natural gas by pipelines is always a much easier and cheaper method. Jeo-strategical location of Russia ensures its heavy hand over pipelines between natural gas rich reserves owing central Asia and including Turkey natural gas importing European countries. Almost all notable natural gas pipelines have to pass through Russian soils to reach Europe. Due to this key position, Russia directly or indirectly controls the energy need of

above said countries. Said key role encourage Russian policy makers to use energy card as a tool to stir up old Iron Curtain countries and realize its irredentist policies. The developments throughout last decade, occupation of some Ukranian soils, intervention to Romania, Bulgaria and other Baltic countries are a few samples to said policies.

Europe and Turkey realizing this fact and dependence on natural gas in a predictable future decided to diversify their import suppliers. Several projects were produced during the last decades nowadays Russia undermining those initiatives generated different alternatives. Nabucco was the last project until the signing of TANAP, would provide a new alternative for Caspian and if possible Central Asian gas resources to be transmitted into Europe. But, after Russia's Southern Stream Project Nabucco had a little chance to come into true.

The last chance actually insofar is TANAP, which will transmit Azeri Shah Deniz II gas reserves to the Europe by a pipeline passing throughout Turkey, Greece, Albenia and Italy. European Union at the beginning had some doubts on TANAP but participation of BP shows that European Countries also decided to support TANAP. The Project when realized will contribute diversification of European energy import suppliers and discredit Russia's energy card preventing usage of as a realpolitik tool.

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RUSSIA'S NEW IRREDENTIST FOREIGN POLICY APPROACH & ENERGY CARD

Abstract: Soon after Industrial Revolution fossil energy resources became extremely one of the irrevocable essentials of humankind. Nowadays, use of fossil energy resources paved the way of several problems. Throughout last two hundred years of human history disagreements to share energy resources led dramatic conflicts and wars broke out. Notably WWII and Cold War were a kind of proxy clashes over energy resources. In 1991 the long lasting Cold War came to an end yet neither energy disputes nor conflicts related to the sharing of energy resources have not ended. Starting with Industrial Revolution so far oil and coal are were unmatched basic energy sources to run the engines of industry.

Especially after 1980's hitherto natural gas and shale gas gained a new status in the energy need of humanity. Because both are more effective, clean and environment friendly. Beside shale gas, Europe and Turkey do not have natural gas reserves nowadays border neighborhood of Russian Federation has rich reserves. In other words Russian Federation is between rich reserves owing Central Asian countries and importer European countries. This fact led Russia to use energy card as a tool of foreign policy. Especially after the collapse of SU, the successor state Russia has not stopped intervening domestic affairs of post-communist countries. While intervening domestic affairs of former Iron-Curtain countries Russia uses numerous excuses such as to protect the rights of Russian originated people, to save its former citizens' lives despite the fact nobody asked such a protection. Russia also argues that it has cultural and territorial rights in former Iron-Curtain countries. This kind of foreign policy aspects in international relations are called "irredentism" and European states could not force Russia to stop such conflict escalating policies. European dependency on Russian natural gas and energy problems one way or another affects European foreign policy priorities on prevention of Russian irredentism which stirring the region. That is why European states and Turkey to mitigate Russian dependency, looks for a new alternative bypassing Russia and diversify energy sources. TANAP replacing Nabucco is a good chance for such an initiative yet there are a lot to be done for the realization of the Project.

Key Words: TANAP, Russia, Natural Gas, Irredentism

RUSYA'NIN YENİ IRREDANTİST DIŞ POLİTİKA YAKLAŞIMI & ENERJİ KARTI

Özet: Endüstri Devrimi'nden hemen sonra fosil enerji kaynakları insanlığın vazgeçilmez temel ihtiyaçları arasına girdi. Buna karşın fosil enerji kaynaklarının kullanımı çok sayıda soruna neden olagelmiştir. İnsanlık tarihinin son

iki yüz yıllık dönemi boyunca enerji kaynaklarının paylaşımı üzerindeki anlaşmazlıklar çok sayıda çatışmaya neden olmuş, bu yüzden savaşlar çıkmıştır. Özellikle II. Dünya Savaşı ve Soğuk Savaş enerji kaynaklarının paylaşımı üzerindeki vekalet savaşlarıydı denilebilir. 1991 yılında Soğuk Savaş sona erdi fakat ne enerji anlaşmazlıkları ne de enerji kaynaklarının paylaşımıyla ilgili çatışmalar sona ermedi. Endüstri Devrimi'nden bugüne kadar petrol ve kömür enerjinin çarklarını döndüren rakipsiz iki kaynak olma konumlarını korumuşlardır.

Özellikle 1980'lerden günümüze kadar geçen sürede, daha temiz ve çevre dostu olmaları nedeniyle doğalgaz ile kaya gazı insanlığın enerji ihtiyacında önemli bir yere sahip oldu. Kaya gazı bir tarafa bırakılırsa, Avrupa ve Türkiye doğalgaz rezervine sahip değildir buna karşın Rusya Federasyonu'nun sınır komşuları zengin rezervler barındırmaktadır. Diğer bir ifadeyle, Rusya Federasyonu zengin rezervleri bulunan Orta Asya ülkeleriyle ithalatçı Avrupa arasında bulunmaktadır. Bu durum Rusya'ya enerji kartını bir tür dış politika aracı olarak kullanma olanağı sağlamaktadır. Sovyetler Birliği'nin çökmesinden sonra, halef devlet Rusya Federasyonu eski Sovyet Bloku ülkelerinin iç işlerine karışmaya ve müdahaleye devam etmektedir. Rusya'nın müdahaleleri genellikle, eski vatandaşlarının hayatlarını korumak, Rus menşeli insanların haklarını korumak gibi çok sayıda bahane ile meşrulaştırılmaktadır. Aslında böyle bir korumanın talep edildiği durumlar oldukça nadirdir. Bunlara ek olarak Rusya, Demir-Perde ülkelerinde sınır aşan toprak imtiyazları ve kültürel haklara sahip olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bu tür bir dış politika yaklaşımı uluslararası ilişkilerde "irredantizm" şeklinde adlandırılmaktadır ve Avrupa devletleri Rusya'nın çatışmaları kızıştıran politikalarına set çekmekte yetersiz kalmaktadır. Avrupa'nın Rus doğalgazına bağımlılığı ve enerji sorunları bir şekilde bölgeyi karıştıran Rus irredantizmini engellemeye yönelik Avrupa dış politikasını da şekillendirmektedir. Bu nedenle Türkiye ve Avrupa devletleri Rusya'ya enerji bağımlılığını azaltmaya çalışmaktadır ve bu amaçla Rusya'yı bypass eden yeni alternatifler üretilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Nabucco'nun yerini alan TANAP bu anlamda iyi bir şanstır fakat projenin gerçekleştirilmesi önemli miktarda ortak girişim ve yatırım gerektirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: TANAP, Rusya, Doğalgaz, İrredantizm