# Energy Security Strategy and Its Impact on Turkish Foreign Policy إستراتيجية أمن الطاقة وتاثيرها على السياسة الخارجية التركية

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# Abstract

Turkey, like other emerging countries, seeks to achieve energy security in a way that guarantees the achievement of political and economic goals established in the present and future, but the lack of locally produced quantities of oil and gas compared to the volume of annual increasing consumption has made Turkey rely heavily on importing these two suppliers from abroad, and this is what made Achieving energy security for it is a very important and sensitive matter, given that the effort to achieve energy security is linked to the internal and external conditions surrounding Turkey and how to direct her foreign policy , which necessitates it to take these parameters into consideration when developing its energy strategies.

Keywords: Turkey; Energy Security; Turkish Economy; Energy Strategy; Turkish Foreign Policy.

الملخص

تسعى تركيا وكغيرها من الدول الصاعدة إلى تحقيق الأمن الطاقوي بما يضمن تحقيق الأهداف السياسية والاقتصادية المسطرة في الحاضر والمستقبل، إلا أن قلة الكميات المنتجة من النفط والغاز محليا مقارنة بحجم الاستهلاك المتزايد سنويا جعل تركيا تعتمد على استيراد هذين الموردين من الخارج بشكل كبير، وهذا ما جعل تحقيق الأمن الطاقوي بالنسبة لها أمرا في غاية الأهمية والحساسية نظرا لارتباط مسعى تحقيق أمن الطاقة بالظروف الداخلية والخارجية المحيطة بتركيا وبكيفية توجيه سياستها الخارجية بما يحتم عليها أن تأخذ هذه المحدادات بعين الاعتبار عند وضع استراتيجياتها الطاقوية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تركيا؛ أمن الطاقة؛ الإقتصاد التركي؛ الإستراتيجية الطاقوية؛ السياسة الخارجية التركية؛

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# Ali Hached Ammar Bensoltane Introduction

Energy has become a vital resource indispensable in the continued rotation of economic development in all countries of the world, as in Turkey, and an important influence on both domestic and foreign policy, and in addition to economic considerations, energy for Turkey has special features related to turkey's geopolitical location in terms of its presence between the export and major import areas, which lends many reflections that have affected Turkey's policies aimed at achieving strong security as a result of the interference of the energy factor working with geopolitical factors.

Therefore, given the nature of the topic studied, the article will seek both the approach of the political economy to study the impact of the economic and energy variable specifically on the policies of the Justice and Development Party internal, while the geopolitical approach will be concerned with analyzing Turkey's energy policies depending on its geographical location as a bridge between energy exporters in the East and its consumers in the West.

As a result of the nature of the topic, the problem of the study will be about the impact of internal and external determinants on Turkey's efforts to ensure energy security and its impact on the direction of its foreign policy?

In response to the problem, we considered that we should study the subject in accordance with the following four themes:

- -Turkey's concept of energy security and its internal determinants
- External determinants of energy security in Turkey
- Turkey's energy strategy and efforts to achieve future energy security
- Impact of energy strategy results on Turkish foreign policy

# 1. Turkey's concept of energy security and its internal determinants

The definition of energy security varies from country to country because of its own internal and external determinants, and internal determinants contribute significantly to the conceptualization of the definition of energy security and its components, as is the case with Turkey.

# 1.1 Turkey's concept of energy security

Both oil and gas direct the state's foreign policies and relations with producers, especially if the state has geographical and historical relations with these producers, as is the case with Turkey with its neighbors in the east and south, turkey's lack of energy resources and increased consumption annually is an additional factor affecting Turkey's foreign relations with these producing countries. Countries producing and consuming both.

However, securing turkey's growing oil and gas needs is a challenge in order to ensure that the economy continues to spin, making it imperative for the FAIR and Development Party to shape its foreign policies in accordance with this endeavor, and as Daniel Jürgen explains, achieving energy security depends on how countries manage their bilateral relations in a bilateral or multilateral formula. In this context, the concept of energy security refers in the first part to the term security, which has known many changes to its concept and components, making the concept of energy security as a whole problematic as other concepts in the social sciences.

As this concept varies from country to country, the definition of energy security by producing countries differs from that of consuming countries, but there are many other considerations that are included in this definition, such as differences in levels of economic progress, geographical location, population, amount of energy consumed to other differences.

The definition of energy security has previously been generally based on 'supply security', through the availability of sufficient production quantities that achieve adequate supply of energy and the focus on supply security as a definition of energy security, And that's because of the energy crises of the 20th century and the conflicts that were going on over oil, but this concept raises the problem of determining the appropriate price for consumers and producers and the differences that arise between them as a result, the appropriate prices of the product are not appropriate prices for the consumer but may reflect the high prices of oil negatively on the producing countries themselves ,and this The repercussions of the economic crisis that began in 2008 on oil-producing countries have been confirmed.

In general, the International Energy Agency defines energy security as 'the "solidarity and abundance of affordable energy supplies" (Yılmaz, 2016, p. 108), for his part, former Turkish Energy Minister Taner Yildiz presents Turkey's definition of energy security as 'providing energy resources at the lowest price and best quality for all consumers (Sun&Li, 2011, p. 152) speaking on the Energy Period Policy Margin (2011-2015).

#### 2.1 Internal determinants of energy security in Turkey

Turkish geography lacks energy resources, especially oil and gas, importing between 90 and 95 percent of its oil and gas needs, respectively (MENR, 2015, p. 209) while the resources available from these two energy suppliers are limited to very small quantities. Compared to the volume of large and growing consumption annually, the imported energy expenses contribute a significant percentage of the budget deficit scored by the Turkish trade balance annually, where the cost of importing energy in the first half of 2017 reached 12,950 billion dollars, while the amount reached The cost of importing energy in 2012 when oil prices were at record levels above \$100 per barrel to \$60.1 billion (Süzer, 2013, p. 112) The difference in energy cost for imported from year to year is mainly due to volatile oil prices, especially when oil reached more than \$100 per barrel, while gas prices, which are determined in long-term deals, are a secondary contributor to raising the cost of energy imports and thus their prices remain stable and stable according to the agreements between producers and consumers.

In addition, there are other interrelated effects caused by the increase in oil prices contributing to the impact on the performance of macro indicators in the Turkish economy, which is recorded especially during periods of high price of oil, where high

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energy costs lead to a rise in inflation to about 0.5 percent ,and a decrease in economic growth by about 0.3 percent, so these interrelated negative economic effects related to the increase in the energy bill have negatively affected the results of the Justice and Development Party in the elections, which depends on its political success and continued power mainly on its economic success, The party owes its continued economic improvement in Turkey throughout its years in power beginning in 2002, as the expansion of its electoral base is not limited to conservative groups but to secular liberal groups as well as conservative Kurdish groups, and the multiplicity of ethnic and ideological backgrounds of the party's electoral base enabled it to remain in power as no Turkish political party has done before.

On the other hand, turkey's per capita income increased by 274 percent between 2002 and 2016, which means an increase in per capita energy consumption as an indicator of improved living standards, especially in turkey's more developed and industrialized regions, and gdp during the same period (2002-2016) increased from \$230 billion to \$861 billion, with an average growth of 5.6 percent during the same period (https://www.aa.com.tr2017, 2017) In view of the importance that the state attaches to the energy sector, it has carried out many projects in the sector and opened it to domestic and foreign investment, Turkish investments in turkish domestic sector in the sector have recorded rising numbers every year, according to former Energy Minister Taner Y1ldızma. It is worth \$8 billion in annual ized since 2002, surpassing the education and health sectors, while investments in the sector as of 2017 amounted to \$18 billion of total foreign investment sought in the same period.

Turkey's energy consumption is also increasing annually due to the vast industrialization that has entered the country, especially since the AKP came to power, improved living standards and income, and increased population from year to year, for example, in 2013, Turkey imported 18.6 million tons of oil while producing only 2.4 million tons of oil in the same year (<sup>(Strategic Plan(2015\_2019), 2015, p. 35)</sup>, while oil reserves discovered within Turkish territory did not reach 382.8 million barrels by 2017 7.7 percent of domestic consumption in the same year, the same applies to gas imported from abroad through a network of pipelines from the Middle East, Central Asia, Russia, Iran and Azerbaijan or through imported LNG transported by ship, including the network of suppliers to Turkey in this area, Algeria, Nigeria and Qatar.

On the other hand, the economic growth rates recorded in Turkey annually are mainly linked to increased energy consumption, especially since the rising industrialization dynamic in Turkey and other development experiences requires increasing quantities of energy resources, especially in the field of transport, as a vital artery for the continued operation of sectors such as industry, agriculture, services and transport, as economic studies have shown that there is a direct relationship between increased energy consumption and increased economic growth, whether it is increasing energy consumption as a component of production or complementary to the elements of labor and capital (dumrul, 2013, p. 22) This study, after surveying growth and energy consumption figures since the 1970s and 1980s and entering the economic liberalization phase, confirmed that the relationship between increased

economic growth and increased energy consumption, especially oil (Saatci&Dumrul, 2013, p. 27).

The analysis of these figures shows that the high economic growth rates recorded annually are in line with the high annual energy demand in Turkey, which is one of the highest in the world behind China, where energy consumption in Turkey is expected to increase annually by 9.5 percent annually until 2025 (Bilgin, 2015, p. 82), the following table presents the quantities of gas and oil imported annually throughout the period (2019-2000):

Years	Oil imports	Gas imports
	(Thousand	(Billion cubic
	barrels)	meters)
2000	472.3	14,300
2001	482.9	15,870
2002	486.6	17,620
2003	478.4	21,180
2004	469.3	180.22
2004	470,1	26,672
2005	436.6	26,672
2006	485.9	30,221
2007	473.4	35,832
2008	438.7	37,155
2009	287.1	35,776
2010	342.3	38,037
2011	365.1	45,922
2012	392.4	42: 243
2013	374.8	42.390
2014	353.1	49,262
2015	505.9	48,427
2016	502.4	46,352
2017	519.6	55,121
2018	422.6	50,007
2019	627.1	45,172

The table prepared by the researcher depending on the following source: https://asb.opec.org/index.php/data-download

By observing the table, we note that the significant increase in oil and gas consumption parallel to the high rates of economic growth during the same period as we mentioned previously, as the table shows the growing quantities of imported gas as Turkey is a transit country for the passage of its supplies to Europe, on the other hand, the large and annually increasing quantities of gas consumed Especially offset

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by a severe shortage in local production, and this is what the following table shows for gas production in Turkey during the period (2004-2019):

Unit: 1 million cubic meters

Years	2019		2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004
		2012							
Production	473.8*	0.66	0.726	0.729	1.014	0.893	0.907	0.896	0.707

The table prepared by the researcher depending on the following source: : https://asb.opec.org/index.php/data-download

# \* https://cutt.us/ZezI8

The above table in turn shows that gas production in Turkey is very small, Compared to annual consumption, this will have a negative impact on the Turkish economy as a whole., and requires the decision maker to take these indicators into account, when drawing up the energy strategy that Turkey develops every five years, However, statistics in 2019 show that there has been an urgent development in gas production in Turkey as a result of increased exploitation of discovered sites.

# 2. External determinants of energy security in Turkey

The geographical factor is one of the most important external determinants that contribute to the formation of the general energy landscape within Turkey, and accordingly the oil lines, especially gas passing through Turkey, are one of the most important external determinants contributing to the formation of the general picture of the energy sector in Turkey and its vicinity as well.

# 1.2 Energy supply and its relationship to Turkey's geographical location

Turkey seeks the 21st century to be free from Western employment and works to make Turkish geography a center not a bridge to serve the interests of others, and the subject of energy transfer is one of the main pillars of achieving the goal of the central state from a geopolitical point of view, as well as the position of Turkish geography among the most important areas of energy production in the east on the one hand and the most important consumers in the West (Muharrem, 2010, pp. 60-61)

Turkey is located close to the concentration areas of the world's largest energy reserves, the Caspian Basin contains more than 200 billion barrels of oil (5 percent of the world's reserves) and 180 billion cubic meters of gas (4 percent of the world's reserves, and the northern region of Iraq bordering Turkey in the south contains 3 to 6 trillion cubic meters of gas (Tuncalp, 2015, p. 73) and the Middle East in general contains more than 80 trillion cubic meters of gas (43 percent of the world's reserves) and 54 trillion cubic meters in Russia (29 percent of the world's reserves) (-http://www.enerji.gov.tr, 2019). While Turkey is a land bridge to transport such huge amounts of energy through pipelines to European markets where the largest consumers such as Germany, Italy, France and other countries are in dire need of these energy supplies, especially in the field of gas, in order to expand the supply network and reduce its dependence on gas supplies coming from Russia, this opens up for Turkey to develop its energy strategy in cooperation with Europe in the West on the one hand and energy-producing countries in the east on the other.

# 2.2 Gas and oil pipelines passing through Turkey to Europe

Turkey seeks to transform its geography into an energy hub in the sense that Turkey buys energy resources on its borders and re-exports them to final buyers and determines the terms of sale independently of the original supplier and the last buyer and the other component of the geoenergy axis is the appropriate infrastructure for the manufacture and re-export of oil and gas' " (Tuncalp, 2015, p. 69) at the regional and international levels, where it has been able to establish many power lines from Russia, Iraq, Iran and Central Asia. :

Oil lines:

Beginning from 1977 Iraq Line - Turkey

Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey line from 2006

Gas lines:

Line: Iran- Turkey starting in 2001

Line: Russia- Turkey via the Balkans starting in 1987

Russia-Turkey line via the Black Sea from 2003

Line: Azerbaijan - Georgia - Turkey starting in 2006

In addition to the Russia-Turkey line across the Black Sea, it is currently in the process of being completed.

The following map shows the network of gas and oil pipelines linking production areas and

Consumption in the West through Turkish geography:



**Source** Austvik, O. G., & Rzayeva, G. (2017). Turkey in the geopolitics of energy. Energy Policy, 107,: ,P542

By establishing a cross-border energy supply network, Turkey aims to be a geographical energy hub between producers and consumers, reflecting its vision of its geography as a central state, not as a bridge state (Aras&Fidan, 2009, p. 201) allowing it to put Turkey at the heart of the regional energy system to effectively influence the surrounding regional systems (Middle East, Balkan, Caucasus) that Turkey is the link

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between them. (Tekin&Walterova, 2007, p. 84) which means that Turkey will achieve one of the objectives of its energy strategy on integration into regional and global energy markets and play a global role in this area.

For Turkey, the development of a maritime and land-based transport, energy and infrastructure strategy between these regions is one of the pillars of the regional strategy to shift power from the regional to the international level depending on the geopolitical, geoeconomic and geocultural factor in Turkey's international relations.

Thus, the strengthening of Turkey's strong presence in the Central Asian, Middle East and Caucasus regions is part of this strategy, where Turkey is located alongside the regions that supply the EU with 17 percent of its energy needs (Austvik&Rzayeva, 2017, p. 545), and this percentage is expected to increase in the future after the completion of the projects currently under way.

# 2.3Turkey's energy diplomacy

The dimensions of Turkish projects and strategies in the field of energy cannot be understood without linking them to its foreign policy strategy ,That based mainly on the geopolitical factor where Turkey wants to achieve energy security to transform the Turkish geography into a global energy center, Through the construction of pipeline networks or oil and gas exploitation projects in Iraq and Central Asia or through gas pipelines passing through its territory towards Europe, in order to enhance its energy security and seek to contribute to the strengthening of the energy security of Europe as well as Turkey is located along the regions that supply the European Union with 17 percent of its energy (Austvik&Rzayeva, 2017, p. 545), and this percentage is expected to increase in the future after the completion of the projects currently under way.

Turkey's adoption of its Her energy diplomacy on its geographical location precisely because it is the most permanent factor in foreign policy as long as the officials of the state come and go, but the geographical terrain remains its place, and this is what Ahmet Davutoglu calls the activation of Turkish geography by creating a positive reciprocal movement between the fixed geographical realities and the ability to adapt to it, and as long as the topic revolves around the activation of Turkish geography in order to achieve energy security, it is necessary to study it through geo-energy and its role in the geographical location of geo-energy. The demand for energy is also understood through the country's location, availability, control and cost, alternative ways of transporting energy, market mechanisms, control, political decision-making and prices in general. This applies to Turkey's geographical location by its presence near the most important oil and gas-rich areas in its east and near the most important consumption areas in its west.

Turkey's diplomatic flexibility, particularly on the issue of energy, requires abandoning the one-axis Western foreign policy, as it has done since the AKP came to power in 2002, and thanks to this diplomatic flexibility, Turkey has benefited from Western support in the construction of oil and gas pipelines from Azerbaijan and Central Asia as a whole without hitting Russian interests, as Turkey exploited Russia's differences with Europe and the United States over the gas crisis with Ukraine in 2006 and 2009 to begin construction of a gas pipeline through the Black Sea (TURK STREAM)., where work began in 2014, has excluded Ukrainian geography as an alternative to Turkey for the passage of gas pipelines between Russia and Europe.

In addition to the principle of flexibility in Turkish foreign policy in general and in the field of energy in particular, another principle of balance of power, such as the geopolitical principle in Turkish foreign policy, Enabling Turkey to improve its energy situation amid competition from major powers in Eurasia, where Turkey is at the heart of the economic and geographical dynamics of this region, and the principle of balance has enabled Turkey to phase out its dependence on the West and play the contradictions of major powers, especially between Russia and Europe. Specifically in the field of energy, the energy projects in which Turkey has engaged with the European Union, Russia and central Asian countries and the results of which emerged through the so-called pipeline policy is a natural result of activating Turkish geography in order to achieve the objectives of the state's foreign policy.

Turkey's balanced policies are not limited to its foreign relations, but also to the reality of the energy sector within it and its direct and indirect repercussions on its economy. In order to reduce the share of Russian gas consumed in both Turkey and the European Union and to eliminate Russian pressures that use gas supplies as a pressure sheet.

On the other hand, Russia shares with Turkey the construction of gas pipelines to southern Europe, as is the case with the Turkish Torrent project, which began in 2014, which enhances Turkey's contribution to the energy security of southern European countries such as Greece and Italy, in return, Russia benefits from increasing its share of gas consumed in these countries, enabling it to gain a strong pressure on eastern and southern European countries, which rely more on the import of Russian gas than western European countries.

# **3.** Turkey's energy strategy and efforts to achieve future energy security

In order to secure the annual growing needs of the Turkish economy in terms of gas and oil, the Turkish Ministry of Energy and Mines developed an energy strategy for the period between (2015-2019) and included a set of measures and goals to achieve them, based on a set of the most important internal and external determinants of Turkey within its regional and international environment.

#### 3.1 Turkey's energy strategy

Turkish Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources provides five-year strategies for the sector every five years, the last of which was that sector-related strategy for the period (2015-2019), which was approved and published in February 2015 on the Internet, and participates in drafting this strategy, in addition to the Ministry of Energy, other parties, the most important of which is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Industry and the Turkish Intelligence Authority, reaching unofficial parties such as private companies, whether Turkish or foreign, due to the linkage of their activities with the Turkish government, whether inside or outside Turkey.

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. In general, the energy strategy for the period (2015-2019) is an example that the article uses to study the impact of Turkish efforts to achieve energy security on foreign policy, considering this strategy for this period of time is an extension and a culmination of all previous strategies since he took over

The Justice and Development Party came to power in 2002, and this strategy set sixteen goals to achieve (Plan2015\_2019, 2015, p. 209) in the future, the most important of which are the following

-Providing an effective infrastructure for the energy sector.

-Achieving the highest percentage of energy diversification.

-Merger with regional energy markets.

-Play a key role on the international scene.

The strategy also set a set of partial objectives associated with achieving the overall objectives (Plan2015-2019, pp. 59-102)

- Raising domestic crude oil production to 13.6 percent of domestic consumption in 2019.

-Reducing the share of gas in electricity production to 38 percent.

- Increase the storage capacity of natural gas from 2.6 billion cubic meters to 3.5 billion cubic meters by 2019, accounting for 10 percent of total consumption.

Improving energy efficiency up to 20 percent.

Increasing the contribution of renewable energies to total energy consumption.

Construction of nuclear power plants to cover domestic consumption

Involving the private sector in implementing the objectives of the National Energy Strategy

# 3.2 Measures to achieve Turkey's future energy security

The most important measures taken to ensure turkey's future energy security can be seen through every set of measures taken:

- Working to achieve energy security by expanding storage capacity to 10 percent of domestic gas consumption by 2020.

Raising the contribution of renewable energies to domestic energy consumption to 30 percent by 2023 (MENR, stratigic plane 2015-2019, 2015, p. 54)

- The use of two nuclear power plants in the Mersin region on the Black Sea coast in the north in cooperation with Russia, which will contribute to 10 percent of domestic energy consumption when it reaches full operation in the 2026 horizon, and the Ak Koiku plant on the sea coast The Mediterranean in cooperation with South Korea, which in turn will enhance the contribution of nuclear energy to Domestic consumption.

-Expanding investments in energy infrastructure in cooperation with the domestic private sector and foreign partners, particularly Europeans.

- Focus on gas as a clean energy focused on consumers in Europe, where the supply of gas within the total energy supply between 1973 and 2011 increased from 18.9 percent to 25.7 percent while the energy supply of petroleum derivatives decreased from 46 percent to 36.1 percent in the same period.

- Directing surplus gas supplies coming through pipelines after they are recalled with renewable energies and future nuclear power to European markets as the maximum priority.

However, the achievement of these internal objectives is not isolated from the regional and international environment where Turkey has engaged in increased activity within the energy diplomacy, enabling it to embody a network of existing oil and gas pipelines on the ground. Locally (Kahraman, 2015, p. 11)

# **4.**Assessing energy strategy in light of its impact on foreign policy

Assessing the results of the implementation of turkey's energy strategy for 2015-2019 means presenting its positive and negative results, and its impact on the Turkish economy in general and foreign policy in particular, because the assessment of energy strategy for 2015-2019 is being studied This article indirectly means an assessment of the energy strategies implemented by the AKP since it came to power in 2002, so the assessment of the energy strategy for 2015-2019 will be based on successes on the one hand, and on existing failures and obstacles.

#### 4.1 Successes achieved

Many new energy consumption indicators in Turkey provide real evidence of progress in achieving the targets, and the most important features of energy strategy successes can be identified at the following points:

- Turkey's annual gas production increased to 738 million cubic meters, up from 0.66 million cubic meters in 2012 for example, thanks to the expansion of discovery and exploitation.

- Increased the rate of domestically extracted oil to 47,000 barrels per day in 2019, and this figure was raised to more than 51,000 barrels per day in 2020. A further 117 research, production and oil well points were opened in 2019.

- The discovery of 405 billion cubic meters of natural gas in the Black Sea in 2020, and the history and quantities of gas discovered is expected to affect Turkey's negotiating position with the countries from which it imports gas, as this year (2021) will see a renegotiation between Turkey and Russia on long-term gas import contracts.

- Diversification of locally produced energy sources is vital for all countries of the world, especially since fossil sources such as gas and oil exceed their expected expiry period only between 65 and 40 years respectively (Alkan, 2020, p. 712) so the proportion of locally produced renewable energy in electricity production increased by 64% in the first nine months of 2019, as the contribution of natural gas to electricity production decreased to 30% in 2018, directing the surplus to export through pipelines and thus reducing the cost of Import total energy.

-Increasing the amount of electricity produced locally and diversifying its renewable and locally produced sources, all of which have enabled Turkey to export significant amounts of electricity to Greece, Bulgaria and Iraq recently.

- Turkey's annual dependence on gas imported from Russia was reduced from 50% to 35% in the first three quarters of 2019.

- The proportion of local renewable sources of locally produced energy reached 50% in 2019 (Erdin, 2019, p. 02) · and 46% of electricity production was reached based on locally produced renewable energies, thus achieving and exceeding the previously established target.

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- Increase the quantities of gas imported through the pipeline from Azerbaijan, and the pilot phase of the new gas pipeline began in 2020 linking Russia and Turkey via the Black Sea (Blue Flow).

### 4.2Recorded failures and obstacles

- Energy imports are the most important cause of the annual budget deficit, with the value of imported energy in 2019 amounting to \$41 billion from \$202 billion as a total of deposits.

- Turkey's excessive dependence on energy exporting countries, where Turkey imports more than 90% of its gas and oil needs from abroad.

- The lack of quantities exported through gas pipelines passing through Turkey to Europe starting from Greece, due to the increase in the amount of energy consumed locally,

-The lack of locally achieved oil and gas production despite efforts.

-Low energy efficiency.

-Weak gas storage capacity locally.

The high contribution of coal to electricity production is causing increased emissions, and this exposes Turkey to further criticism from international institutions.

- The passage of gas and oil pipelines into areas of geopolitical tensions, which means that Turkey's energy security is at risk.

#### **4.3Impact of energy strategy results on Turkish foreign policy**

All energy indicators achieved thanks to the energy strategy of 2015-2019 and the strategies that preceded them have direct and indirect effects on Turkey's foreign policy, which will be highlighted in a range of the following points:

- Turkey's discovery of gas in the Black Sea in terms of value (405 billion cubic meters) and in terms of circumstances (towards the end of gas supply contracts in 2021) is of negotiating importance, putting Turkish diplomacy in a strong position before gas exporting countries Russia and Azerbaijan, by negotiating an appropriate price and conditions beneficial to Turkey.

- Reducing the contribution of imported Russian gas to its annual consumption is significant, enabling Turkey to ease its dependence on Russia in the field of gas, which will strengthen Turkey's position against Russia on other issues such as Syria, Libya and the renewed conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

- Increasing the amount of electricity produced locally enabled Turkey to conclude a contract to export electricity to Iraq, where Turkey began exporting electricity to Iraq on a contract that runs from January 1, 2021 to November 30, 2021, which means strengthening the Turkish position in Iraq versus Iran, which has been unable to continue exporting electricity to Iraq on the pretext of delaying its financial dues to Iraq.

- Starting the gas pipeline between Russia and Turkey(Blue Stream) to Europe via Greece will enhance Turkey's contribution to the eu's Energy security, thereby winning a trump card for Europe and using it on other issues, such as the Syrian refugee file, immigration and Turkey's accession to the European Union.

- Increasing the quantities of gas exported through pipelines passing through Turkey towards Greece and Europe and the start of the operation of the gas pipeline coming from Russia to Turkey and Europe will strengthen Turkey's attitude towards Greece in the face of rising tensions over Eastern Mediterranean gas. And the reason for that. is that The cost of the proposed gas pipelines to transport Eastern Mediterranean gas will make them uncompetitive to pipelines passing through Turkey, in terms of price, security and cost.

- Thanks to its strengthened energy security, Turkey was able to conclude a maritime demarcation agreement with Libya in 2019 without being subject to Western pressure, and thanks to the agreement with Libya, Turkey was able to block egypt and Greece's attempts to establish a similar agreement, if it had been done, the maritime economic zone and turkey's continental shelf would have been cut off from Libya's maritime economic zone.

# CONCLUSION

A study of the impact of the energy strategy on Turkey's foreign policy has shown that it has several implications, because the overall energy strategies implemented in Turkey in 2002 directly or indirectly affected its relations with countries from which it imports energy, and this has affected other countries and files. The implementation of the energy strategy for 2015-2019 is the culmination of previous strategies, so the results achieved are cumulative, as the site helped Turkey's geography and passing gas pipelines turn Turkey into a global energy hub, one of the most important energy strategy objectives since 2002, which in turn serves the foreign policy goal of turning Turkey into a major regional power.

Although the cost of importing energy is the most important contributor to the annual budget deficit, Turkey has recorded encouraging developments in the field of locally produced renewable energy, particularly in the field of electricity, so this is expected to be reflected in Turkey's relations with Greece, Iraq and Bulgaria, where Turkey is now exporting electricity to these countries.

As for gas, Turkey has achieved important results, such as diversifying the number of suppliers and discovering huge quantities in the Black Sea, these developments come in a sensitive context where long contracts for gas imports from Russia end.

As for oil, it has also witnessed significant developments, with average domestic oil production increasing significantly, yet Turkey continues to import oil worth more than 90% of its annual consumption.

Overall, the energy strategy has had an important impact in guiding Turkey's foreign policy, and Turkey's successes and energy failures are its foreign policy successes and failures.

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