

**TURKEY'S ROLE IN SILK ROAD ROUTES: ENERGY SUPPLY SECURITY OF EUROPEAN UNION AFTER UKRAINE – RUSSIAN WAR**

DOI: 10.17261/Pressacademia.2022.1545

JMML- V.9-ISS.1-2022(2)-p.16-26

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Date Received: January 15, 2022

Date Accepted: March 22, 2022

OPEN ACCESS

**To cite this document**

Toraman, Y., (2022). Turkey's role in silk road routes: energy supply security of European Union after Ukraine-Russian war. Journal of Management, Marketing and Logistics, 9(1), 16-26.

Permanent link to this document: <http://doi.org/10.17261/Pressacademia.2022.1545>

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**ABSTRACT**

**Purpose-** The aim of the research is to examine, analyze and provide insight into possible future projections of Turkey's role in the security of energy supply and the formation of new trade routes of the European Union (E.U.) after the Ukraine-Russia war within the scope of data obtained from experts. In addition, the current research has been understood that the EastMed project has reached a stalemate with Turkey's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) agreement with Libya and has emerged due to the necessity of new solutions. In addition, Turkey's strong position is mentioned, emphasizing that it is an important stakeholder in world politics and trade.

**Methodology-** Since research requires expertise in a particular field, it is determined according to the purpose and scope of the research to be carried out with a specific focus group. The experts in the focus group were reached by the snowball sampling method. In this context, an in-depth interview technique from qualitative data analysis methods was carried out to a group of experts in international relations, international trade, and logistics departments. The research data were obtained from the faculty members and faculty members included in the group between 28.02.2022-09.03.2022 through Google Docs, and the analysis process was started.

**Findings-** When the data obtained from the experts included in the research are examined, the perspective against the Tr-Med project, which is the recommendation of the research, is very positive. One reason is that the EastMed project is already known to be unsustainable, and in addition, the United States has withdrawn its support from the project. It can also be seen as the E.U.'s production of alternatives to existing energy supply processes in order to ensure energy supply security after the Ukraine-Russia war. In addition to the Tr-Med project, it is foreseen that the main routes of east-west-axis trade will shift to Turkey due to future sanctions against Russia.

**Conclusion-** Turkey is foreseen to continue their union in the future because it is already a stakeholder of the E.U. in the TANAP project, has a partner in imports and exports, and is an actor who will play a role in the process of establishing relations with countries such as Iran, Israel, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Qatar in the supply of energy supplies. However, the increase in freight prices in the post-COVID-19 period increased transportation costs, and in addition, the increase in raw material prices caused global inflation. With the Ukraine-Russia war, the price of crude oil at \$130, experts say, will see \$300 in oil in the future, which will make Turkey the E.U.'s manufacturing hub.

**Keywords:** Energy security, pipeline, Eastern Mediterranean, natural gas, Silk Road, one belt and one road initiative

**JEL Codes:** F4, L8, N4

**1. INTRODUCTION**

After the industrial revolution, the need for energy, meeting and protecting this need has become an important issue. In addition, energy is becoming an increasingly important need for the maintenance of the production. Countries attach importance to energy in order to provide sustainable growth and a prosperous environment for their people.

Although the European Union (E.U.) has an important place, especially in terms of high-tech product production, it cannot get rid of external dependence on energy due to insufficient resources. Therefore, it carries out various activities in order to get rid of energy dependence. The document, known as the E.U.'s "Energy Union Framework Strategy", is an important example of this, increasing efficiency and increasing investment in renewable energy sources.

The E.U. supplies a significant part of its energy needs from Russia. For this reason, Russia plays an important role in the E.U.'s energy policies. Examples include Germany's limited response to the situation after Russia attacked Ukraine in 2022. Another meaning is that the E.U. has become dependent on Russia.

With Russia's annexation of Ukraine in 2014, E.U. energy supply security was again on the agenda. In this context, the E.U. has implemented projects faster in the past where it has worked on different alternatives. For example, the Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) delivers Azerbaijani gas to Italy and then to other E.U. countries.

The E.U.'s energy supply and security became complicated after the Russia-Ukraine war. The E.U. is increasing its investments in renewable energy sources to reduce its dependence on Russian gas in the future. However, since renewable energy is a long-term study and meets relatively less use, different short-term alternatives need to be implemented. In order to solve the natural gas problem in a short time, the German authorities decided to build a terminal for the use of liquefied natural gas (LNG).

The research presents a cost-effective and viable proposal for the E.U.'s diversity in energy supply. The Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) treaty signed between Turkey and Libya is one thing to remember. Turkey, which is already one of the stakeholders in meeting the ENERGY needs of the E.U., is one of the most important partners in this regard. In this context, the research proposal is on the transfer of Israeli gas to the E.U. via Turkey through Trans Anatolian Gas Pipeline (TANAP) and TAP.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Energy Security of the European Union**

The increase in E.U. population and production activities increase the importance of energy needs in meeting humanitarian needs. The E.U.'s failure to work with certain countries in energy supply processes restricts its ability to move socially and politically. In this context, Germany's reactive approach to events can be exemplified while Russia is preparing to attack Ukraine in 2022 (Kaveshnikov, 2010).

Natural gas accounts for about 1/4 of the E.U.'s total energy consumption. With this usage rate, natural gas takes second place. 25% liquefied natural gas (LNG) and 75% of the E.U.'s natural gas needs are met by natural gas carried by pipelines. Pipelines and LNG play an important role in the E.U.'s natural gas supply processes. Russia is the E.U.'s most important natural gas partner, but gas supplies are carried out from Norway, Algeria, and Libya. On the LNG side, the United States, Peru, Algeria, Angola, Egypt, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, and Qatar play an important role in LNG supply (Hasanov et al., 2020). In this context, E.U.'s most crucial partner in gas supply is Qatar in Russian LNG (Maltby, 2013).

Azerbaijan's natural gas is delivered to E.U. countries through Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP) and Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) projects. Azerbaijan plans to export ten bcm of natural gas in 2022. It is engaged in activities to diversify the E.U.'s energy supply (Hasanov et al., 2020; Reuters, 2022).

Three basic principles of the European Union's Energy Policy are competitiveness, sustainability and security of supply. As shown in, one of the most essential points in the E.U.'s energy policies is ensuring the security of the energy supply. This will ensure competitiveness and sustainable development. While energy supply security is vital to unity, the dependence on Russia for most of the energy limits their mobility. In particular, Germany supplies 56.3 billion cubic metre (bcm) of natural gas. Germany accounts for 1/4 of Russia's exports through pipelines. According to B.P.'s 2021 report, the E.U. has recently invested significantly in renewable energy sources (B.P., 2021). As in the case of the Ukraine-Russia war, the E.U. has failed to take swift action against Russia due to energy dependence, and the steps to be taken have spread over time (Leal-Arcas et al, 2015: Ruble, 2017).

In order to ensure the security of the energy supply, E.U. officials have met with Azerbaijan, Qatar, and Norway. However, the countries have stated that they cannot provide the amount of natural gas supplied by Russia. Reuters, (2022).

On the other hand, the active use of Iranian gas does not seem possible in the current process due to the sanctions already imposed by Iran.

On the other hand, the EastMed gas pipeline project planned to transfer Mediterranean gas to the E.U. has reached a stalemate following the agreement signed between Turkey and Libya. In this context, it was an opportunity for Turkey to report on the withdrawal of support from the project in question.

### **2.2. EU Energy Security Mediterranean and Turkey after Ukraine-Russia War**

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 resulted in E.U. and U.S. sanctions against Russia. With the removal of some of Russia's banks from the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT) system, some disruptions in global trade appear likely. Russia's certain use of dollars in global trade and its global trade with a limited number of countries will cause disruptions, especially in energy exports. In B.P.'s 2021 report, 145 bcm of Russia's 197 bcm of natural gas exports are made to E.U. countries. With sanctions on Russia, the E.U. will have to find new supplier countries or companies (B.P., 2021).

Germany, the largest importer of Russian natural gas, is currently taking steps to solve the energy problem. However, it does not have sufficient infrastructure to meet natural gas needs with LNG, which is the shortest solution. Therefore, German President Olaf Scholz has stated that they plan to build LNG terminals as a short-term solution. (D.W., 2022).

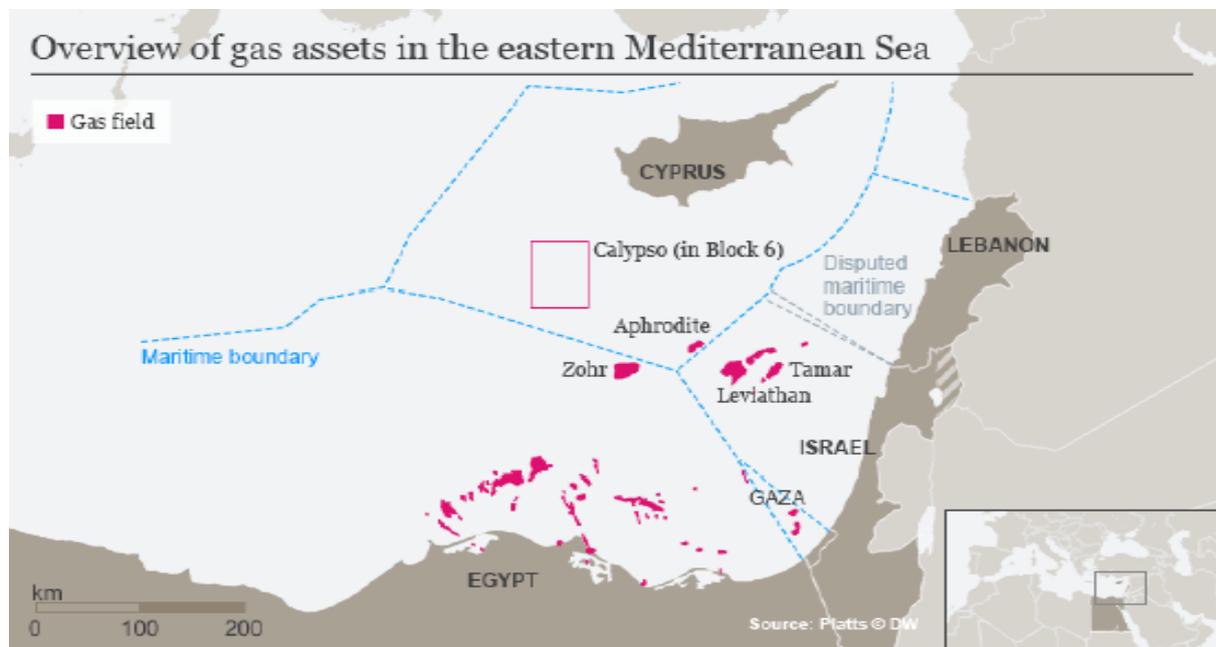
It is known that offers have been submitted to Norway, Azerbaijan, Qatar and a number of other countries. However, no government alone can supply the natural gas supplied by Russia. It is known that it will export 10.5 bcm of natural gas from Azerbaijan through TANAP and TAP (Reuters, 2022).

Another alternative to the E.U.'s energy supply is the EastMed gas pipeline project. When pragmatic, Israeli gas is expected to pass through Turkey via a more cost-effective and short route, but for some reason Cyprus and Greece were preferred over Turkey. Within the scope of this project, it is aimed to deliver natural gas from Israel to Italy via Cyprus and Greece (Apodaca & Greensfelder 2019).

In an article written by Jihad Yaycı in 2011, he stated the idea of signing the EEZ treaty between Turkey and Libya. This agreement determines maritime powers between Turkey and Libya in accordance with international law and the registration of the two countries as the only dominant element in their own naval areas (Yaycı, 2011).

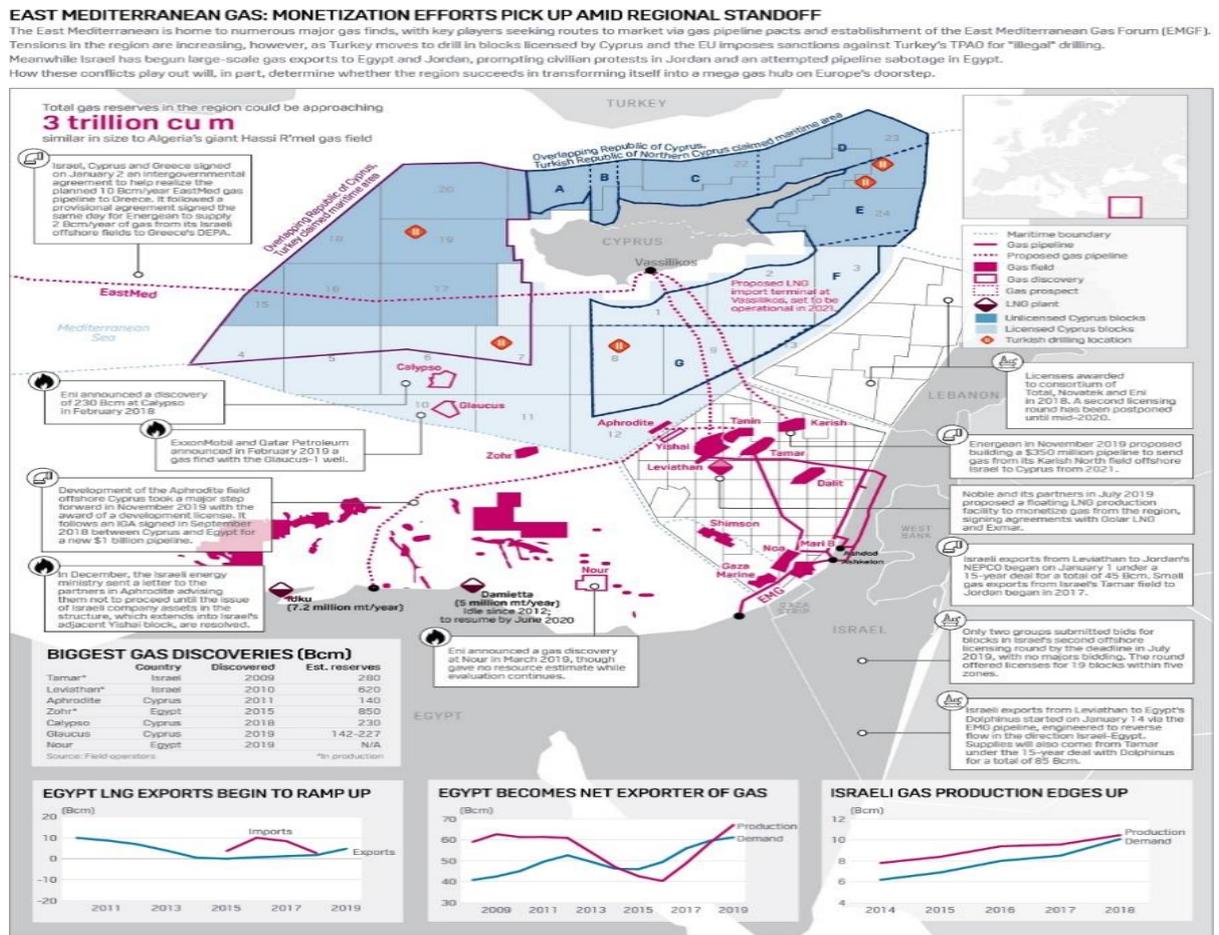
Turkey's Eastern Mediterranean EEZ treaty has created debates on the viability and sustainability of the EastMed project. The project was then deadlocked after the United States indicated it was withdrawing its support from the project (Apodaca & Greensfelder 2019: Jpost, 2022).

**Figure 1: Eastern Mediterranean Gas Proven Reserves**



Source: Tsakiris, (2018).

Figure 2: Total Gas Reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean

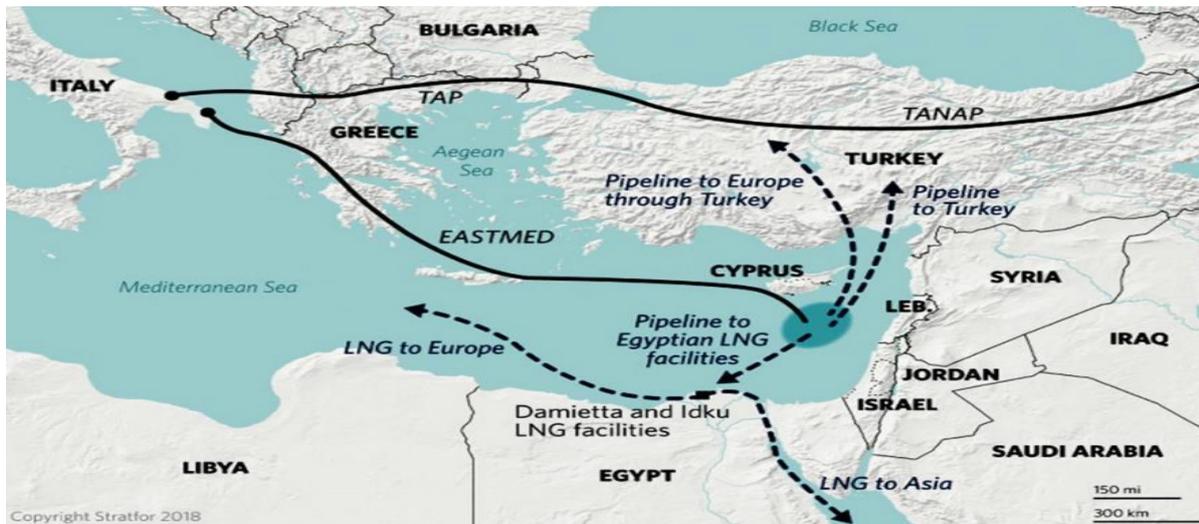


Source: Elliott, (2020)

As shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2, existing gas reserves in the Mediterranean have been given. Natural gas exploration activities started in the region in the 2000s. Egypt is thought to have 2.2 trillion cubic meters (TCM) of natural gas. In contrast, Israel has natural gas reserves of around 0.300 tcm in the Tamar region and 0.500 tcm in the Leviathan region (Tsakiris, 2018: Elliott, 2020).

In 2020, a treaty was signed between Greece and Cyprus and Israel to move natural gas reserves, mainly in Israel and Cyprus, and then in Egypt, to the E.U. The EastMed pipeline project was implemented with the E.U.'s desire to diversify the energy supply process, taking into account the reserves in the region. However, the EastMed project was disrupted by the EEZ treaty between Turkey and Libya, which started its work in 2011. The withdrawal of U.S. support from the project in 2022 is one of the most important examples (Reuters, 2022: Yayci, 2011).

Figure 3: Eastern Mediterranean Possible Route



Source: Tsakiris, (2018).

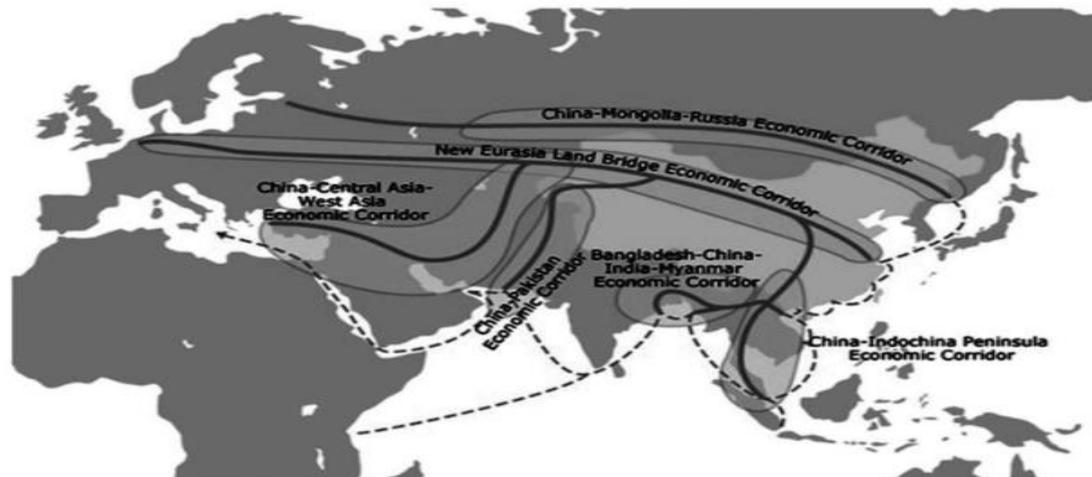
When the Tanap and TAP project is examined, Turkey is already an important partner of the E.U. in energy supply security. While discussing the sustainability of the EastMed project, the TR-Med project is proposed in the current research. In this context, the transportation of natural gas from Egypt and other Eastern Mediterranean countries, especially Israel, to the E.U. via Turkey is proposed in the TR-Med project. With its cost, ease of transportation, and ready-made infrastructure, Turkey is one of the countries that can take action in this regard as soon as possible. In the first place, the possible energy shortage can be eliminated by using ready-made natural gas pipelines in Turkey, and in the future, a higher amount of gas flow can be achieved with new pipeline projects.

Due to both the EEZ agreement between Turkey and Libya and relative gains such as cost advantage, security and time, the TR-Med project could be an important project in the delivery of Eastern Mediterranean gas to the E.U. In this context, it is thought that turkey's natural gas supply processes will be the most important partner of the E.U. with its past experience.

**2.3. New Silk Road and Zangezur Corridor (One Belt and One Road Initiative, BRI)**

Another point mentioned in the current research is the formation of new trade routes after the Russia-Ukraine war and the role of Turkey. Figure 4. When examined, there are three different routes within the scope of BRI in the east-west direction.

Figure 4: The Belt and Road Initiative: Six Economic Corridors Spanning Asia, Europe and Africa



Source: Ge & Ho (2022).

Two of these routes reach the European continent via Russia. However, as a result of the sanctions imposed on Russia after the Ukraine-Russia war in 2022, the relations between the EU and Russia have come to an end. For this reason, it is possible that the integration of Asia, which is an important place in terms of production in the future, with the West will take place through Turkey Ge & Ho (2022).

In the agreement made after the recent Azerbaijan-Armenia war, it is planned to implement railways and highways on the Zangezur corridor. The railways and highways planned to be built in the corridor are the most optimal routes among the new silk road alternatives. Figure 5. The route of the Zangezur corridor is shown.

**Figure 5: Turkey- Azerbaijan Route through Zangezur Corridor**



Source: TRT World, (2022).

Turkey's location holds an important advantage in terms of both being the production point of Europe and the supply point of Russia in the future. At the same time, it is an important route for the transfer of the products produced by China to the EU, and the rich natural resources of Israel, Lebanon, Egypt, Qatar, and Iran.

### 3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Sample and Constraints of the Research

Energy supply security and new trade routes are made with the current working focus group due to the special expertise required and the lack of experts in this field. Snowball sampling method was used to reach the people in the focus group. The reason why the current study is carried out by selecting the focus group is that the number of experts in the field is small (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2016).

The experts included in the research are from the fields of International Relations, International Trade, and Logistics. Fifteen faculty members and lecturers from the European side of Istanbul who are experts in International Relations, International Trade, and Logistics participated in the research. However, when the research data were examined and the missing points were identified, the analysis of the data obtained from 7 experts was carried out.

#### 3.2. Method of Research

The method was determined as qualitative data analysis because the subject mentioned in the current study is a particular case, and there are not many experts in the relevant one. The data of the study were obtained by semi-structured in-depth interview technique. Due to the fact that a current event is being examined in the research, Covid-19, cost, time, transportation, etc., questions prepared within the framework of the purpose and scope of the research have been communicated to experts via Google Docs, and the data have been obtained online (Kümbetoğlu, 2008: Baş and Akturan, 2017).

Within the scope of the research, five open-ended questions were prepared using the literature, and the experts were asked. The questionnaire prepared for the research was submitted to the experts between 28.02.2022-09.03.2022 and the data of the research were obtained.

#### 3.3. Problems and Questions of the Research

The main problem of the research is the determination of problems that may arise in the aftermath of the Ukraine-Russia war in the case of energy supply security and new trade routes and the proposal of possible solutions. Russia's removal from

SWIT means that an embargo has been imposed in different areas, especially oil and gas, and more will be implemented, reducing E.U. relations with Russia. This means that the east-west axis international interaction will go south and take place through Turkey. On the other hand, Turkey, which plays an active role with TANAP and TAP projects in activities aimed at the ENERGY needs of the E.U., is the most important partner in determining a new route for the transfer of Israeli gas to the E.U. upon understanding that the EastMed project cannot be implemented.

Questions of the current study;

1. Are you familiar with the EastMed Natural Gas pipeline project? What are your thoughts on this project?
2. Has EastMed, a joint project of Israel, Cyprus and Greece, become controversial following the signing of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) treaty signed between Turkey and Libya? The story was published by Reuters on 11.01.2022. U.S. voices misgivings on EastMed gas pipeline -Greek officials Access address: <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/us-voices-misgivings-eastmed-gas-pipeline-greek-officials-2022-01-11/> makes it impossible for natural gas pipes to pass without Turkey's permission under the agreement between Turkey and Libya. Can you briefly write down your thoughts on the EEZ agreement between Turkey and Libya and EastMed?
3. The main proposal of the research is the TR-Med project. This project can be defined as follows. It is the transfer of Israeli gas to the E.U. via Turkey. Currently, natural gas flows to the E.U. via TAP are provided through the TANAP project. It is proposed that Israel and the surrounding countries combine the gas from the eastern Mediterranean with the TANAP project at a convenient point. Recently, the E.U. contacted Azerbaijan and received a response that they did not have sufficient supply. Additional natural gas pipelines to the E.U. may be planned in the process of needing a capacity increase. Removing Russia from SWIFT and imposing heavy sanctions will prompt the E.U. to find new energy sources. What are your thoughts on the proposed TR-Med?
4. In the case of the TR-Med project, can you briefly write your thoughts on Turkey's place in E.U. energy policies after the Ukraine-Russia war?
5. During the Ukraine-Russia war, the major banks in Russia were removed from SWIFT, and at the same time Russia was sanctioned in different areas. Therefore, Russia's share of global trade is projected to decrease. How do you see the tr-med proposal as well as its future in sea, land and air transportation in the formation of new trade routes in Turkey, which is a crossroads between East and West? Can you write down your thoughts briefly?

#### **4. CONCLUSION**

The experts participating in the study are at least at the level of doctoral graduation. Demographic information of the experts participating in the study was not requested. Seven academicians from the departments of international relations, international trade and logistics participated in the research. When the research data are examined, the EEZ treaty signed between Turkey and Libya is registered as an indispensable country in the region. In this context, the researchers agreed that the EastMed project was unsustainable. After the Ukraine-Russia war, the E.U. and Russia are likely to become more moderate. However, the E.U. needs to diversify its energy sources so that it does not have an energy supply problem again in the future. The TR-Med project will ensure the E.U.'s energy supply processes and diversity. Experts see Turkey's position in this situation as positive. At the same time, the shift of transportation routes to Turkey will be one of the gains that Turkey will make geopolitically and strategically in the future. When the answers given to the first question of the research were examined, it was stated by the expert participants that the EastMed project, which was planned to transport the natural gas in the Eastern Mediterranean to the EU, was unsustainable, especially after the EEZ agreement signed between Turkey and Libya.

When the answers given to the second question of the research are examined, Turkey will have an effective say in all the activities planned to be carried out in the Mediterranean due to the EEZ agreement with Libya. As a result of the agreement made, EastMed or any other project makes it difficult to realize without the permission of Turkey. Experts involved in the research once again emphasize that the agreement made in order to maximize Turkey's interests on the issue of EEZ has a say in the region. When the answers given to the third question of the research were examined, the positive opinion of the experts was observed toward the TR-Med natural gas pipeline project, which is the research proposal. Turkey already plays an active role in the energy supply security of the EU with the TANAP project. With the project in question, the EU's energy supply will be diversified and supply security will be ensured. As a result, while TR-Med makes a positive contribution to the energy supply security of the EU, it also strengthens Turkey's position in the region. When the answers given to the fourth question of the research are examined, it has become certain that the EU needs new partners in energy due to the sanctions imposed on Russia after the Ukraine-Russia war. Cooperation with Turkey and using it as a route for the transfer of natural gas and oil to be procured from countries such as Azerbaijan, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Egypt, and Libya to the EU is seen as the most optimal solution. Considering this, it is assumed that Turkey will be an important stakeholder in the EU's energy supply security in the future. When the answers given to the fifth question of the research are examined, after the Ukraine-Russia war, sanctions were applied to Russia in many areas. As a result of the sanctions, commercial and political relations between

both the EU and Russia have come to a standstill, out of basic needs. As a result of this situation, it is likely that the states in Asia, which have established commercial relations with the EU through Russia, will seek new routes. Turkey will have an important place in this process due to its geopolitical position. In addition, after the Azerbaijan-Armenia war, it was agreed to construct an iron highway, starting from Azerbaijan in the Zangezur corridor, passing through the territory of Armenia, and reaching Turkey via Nakhchivan. In this agreement, Turkey is on the possible routes that the EU will use in import and export. In addition, while Russia's operations seem likely to be interrupted in the one-generation road project initiated by China, it seems likely that Turkey will be preferred as the only option in road transport operations. As a result, expert opinions are examined in Appendix 1. Due to Turkey's geopolitical position, Ukraine, Russia, and the regional states will be the first country to come into contact with in the future, especially the European Union.

As the world's population increases, production and consumption will increase. Energy will be needed for both production and post-production consumption to be sustainable. The process from the production to consumption of such a vital resource should be carefully examined and measures should be taken for its sustainability. In particular, it will ensure the security of the energy supply of countries that are poor in terms of energy resources, while increasing the mobility of their work with multiple suppliers in the future, making growth sustainable. In the first place, the E.U. will try to increase the efficiency from existing energy sources. It will also demand increased production in the energy supply process from its immediate neighbor, Norway. In addition, the E.U.'s interest in Azerbaijani gas from the Shah Sea will increase. However, it will meet the need for natural gas with LNG as a short-term solution. They will continue to increase their investments in renewable energy sources that are already underway. However, not all of this will be enough to meet the gas from Russia clearly (Hasanov, et al. 2020). It is seen that the E.U. needs alternative gas pipelines. In this context, the TR-Med project, which is the subject of the conflict, has a very important place in ensuring the security of the ENERGY supply of the E.U. after the Ukraine-Russia war. Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Fatih Dönmez stated that Turkey is ready to cooperate with Azerbaijan and other countries in the region in order to ensure maximum gas flow in TANAP and TAP projects. In this context, Turkey's position and attitude in the security of energy supply of the E.U. is clearly moderate (BBC, 2022). As a result, Turkey will be an important partner in the phase where both the production and energy supply of the E.U. will be realized, assuming that the trade between the E.U. and Russia will decrease as a result of the war between Ukraine and Russia and then reach the endpoint. Turkey will also be positively differentiated when the Digital Turkish Lira (DTL) that can be used in trade in the future comes out (Toraman, 2021). In the future, Turkey will be an important partner not only in the energy supply security of the E.U., but also in its trade with the Middle East and Asia, and the route of choice in transportation. With this, rising energy prices will increase freight prices in international transportation. Turkey will be one of the first countries that the E.U. will choose when it wants to bring its production activities close to Europe.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Participants' Opinions

<b>K1</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. I believe that the agreements in which Turkey will have a say in its field will be in Turkey's favor.</li> <li>3. I believe that taking part in projects in a way that creates an alternative will reduce the country's dependence on one country.</li> <li>4. A.B.'s energy user and dependence on the outside makes Turkey an important partner.</li> <li>5. I believe that it has mastered a practice field below its current capacity. Therefore, we may diverge positively in the future.</li> </ol>
<b>K2</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. EastMed project Was born as a dead project.</li> <li>2. I see the basis of the struggle for the sharing of maritime jurisdictions in the Eastern Mediterranean as an attempt to own the seas, which connects the basis of the struggle for energy resources, but the problem is that the Greek- Cyprus duo aims to exclude Turkey in violation of international law and also complies with the rights of other coastal countries.</li> <li>3. Diplomatic balances may change at any time...</li> <li>4. Great powers do not feed cakes to countries they consider small.</li> <li>5. Turkey will be on new and important trade routes every semester.</li> </ol>
<b>K3</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. I don't know much about this project. I only know it as a project of several states led by Israel and one that Turkey does not accept and does not consider appropriate. Since the Mediterranean will be used within the scope of this project, they must also obtain Turkey's permission.</li> <li>2. Turkey, of course, has made such an agreement with Libya on this issue, and it is gathering supporters in the region. We're in charge in a certain part of the Mediterranean, and if you're going to do something, counseling us is the legal basis for you to ask our permission. At the same time, it is forcing the pipeline to pass through Turkey.</li> <li>3. It will be a good project for Turkey. Although it looks like a kind of transit trade in a commercial sense, the passage of Israeli gas through Turkey will create an alternative source of natural gas for Turkey.</li> <li>4. If the TR-Med project is implemented, Turkey will become more important in this regard as a result of the sanctions against Russia. Because the E.U. gets about 50% of its gas from Russia. That's a very serious ratio. Turkey has the opportunity to turn this situation in its favor in a political sense.</li> <li>5. Turkey has always been important in the union of East and West, in its trade. It's going to get worse after this. The E.U.'s political opinion towards Turkey may also change. They may seem more enthusiastic about Turkey's membership in the E.U. Russia, on the other hand, is a big market for the world. And I don't expect this to take very long.</li> </ol>
<b>K4</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. I don't have the right information</li> <li>2. It is strategic for our country that the policies for energy supply and demand, which will increase in importance in the coming years, continue to increase.</li> <li>3. Empty</li> <li>4. Empty</li> <li>5. It is strategic for our country to be a crossroads of commercial roads in order to continue to increase the policies for energy supply and demand, which will increase in importance in the coming years.</li> </ol>
<b>K5</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The EastMed pipeline project is planned to transfer natural gas from the Mediterranean, especially Israel, to the European Union. However, as a result of Turkey's agreement with Libya, the United States withdrew its support from the project because it would cross Turkey's maritime borders and constitute a violation of international law.</li> <li>2. With the EEZ agreement between Turkey and Libya, EastMed has made the gas pipeline project impossible. The project has been disrupted due to the fact that it is illegal to operate without permission in Turkey's maritime jurisdiction. The U.S. withdrawal of support from the project is also supportive. Once again, Turkey has proven to be a country that cannot be ignored.</li> <li>3. Due to the sanctions imposed on Russia along with the Ukraine-Russia war and the fact that Russia has been removed from swift, the E.U. has to find alternative sources of energy. After this incident with Russia, which is the E.U.'s most important energy partner, it was tried to contact countries with gas reserves such as Norway, Azerbaijan, Qatar, USA, Iran and Israel. In this context, it has been seen that Qatar, Norway and Azerbaijan cannot meet the E.U.'s gas needs. Israeli gas can complete this process. However, understanding the intensity of EastMed with the EEZ agreement between Turkey and Libya and ensuring the flow of gas to the E.U. through TANAP and TAP makes Turkey and the proposed TR-Med project important and valuable. Turkey's strategic position will be supported by the realization of this project.</li> <li>4. Turkey is an important position in the delivery of Azerbaijani gas to the E.U. with TANAP and TAP projects. In addition, if sanctions against Iran are not imposed, it will also play an important role in the flow of Iranian</li> </ol>

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gas to the E.U., making it an important part of the E.U.'s energy supply. In this context, Turkey's TR-Med, which also has an important role in the current process, will easily adapt and support the ENERGY politics of the E.U.

5. The Ukraine-Russia war and the heavy sanctions imposed on Russia have come to a standstill in trade and political relations between the E.U. and Russia. Turkey will be one of the possible routes if the east-west trade flow cannot be carried out from the north. In this context, due to its location in Turkey, its place and importance in land, air, sea, railway and pipeline transportation will increase.

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K6

1. EastMed project is known as the Eastern Mediterranean Pipeline. This hat is for natural gas, which is planned to continue by land and sea and deliver eastern Mediterranean resources to Greek territory via Cyprus and Crete. The cost is 10 billion euros and the length of the line is planned as 1900 kilometers.

On 2 January 2020, the EastMed Pipeline project contract was signed between the leaders of Israel (signed by the then prime minister Netanyahu) in Athens. Israel, Egypt, Cyprus and Greece are looking for a four-way gas route. Palestine and Jordan are observers in this project. So they're not signatories. Turkey strongly opposes this project. Because if Turkey implements this project, the position of energy transit country will be weakened. The Biden administration withdrew its support for the project and it became difficult to achieve.

2. With this memorandum of understanding signed with Libya on November 27, 2019, Turkey's EastMed project in the Eastern Mediterranean is a strategic and mutually beneficial agreement against the countries established. In fact, Turkey signed this agreement with Libya and put the EastMed project at the forefront.

3. Russia's share of European energy needs is 40%. Germany, the three most important countries in Europe, gets 49%, France 14-18% and Italy 8% gas from Russia. In the short term, it seems difficult to find an alternative country to Russia. Even Qatar will not be able to meet the needs of European countries with its liquefied natural gas. It is highly likely that Turkey will become an alternative energy transfer country. But in addition to the energy dimension, there are geopolitical showdowns. In other words, whatever the consequences of the Russia-Ukraine war, Europe will now have to find reliable alternative energy supplies and lines against Russia.

4. Turkey is also an energy dependent country. Turkey is diversifying its energy supply from Qatar, Algeria and Azerbaijan. He even planned to buy it in Yemen. I don't think it will go beyond a transit country within the scope of the TR-Med project. Because with the power rivalry in the Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey's energy policies of the E.U. are determined and linked to the problems in Greece and the Cyprus relations.

5. Turkey is of course an important geostrategic bridge between West and East. But it depends on whether the western sanctions against Russia are implemented and how long they will apply if they do. The importance of Turkey after the embargo against Russia will be understood.

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K7

1. It is a project planned to disable our country, which borders the Mediterranean Sea. It seems impossible for us to get involved. It has demonstrated that we should seek alternative energy and partnerships in the Mediterranean and not back down, especially in the crisis in the Aegean.

2. Turkey has made a strategic move at this point. The concept of blue homeland should be strengthened and remain in its care.

3. Although it may seem like a project that will bring benefits to our country in the name of the future, Turkey should be able to implement this project at this point without making concessions in international politics.

4. Although the Western world has negative opinions about Russia today, I think it will restore relations in the coming years. However, creating an alternative can also be important for our country.

5. First of all, it is imperative that our country, which is oppressed through International Law, stop the Greek occupation of the Aegean Sea, be able to use all the areas it has a right to in the Black Sea and Mediterranean, and be sufficient in terms of economic independence with its national sovereignty. Once we have provided all of these, we can only achieve maximum efficiency from these opportunities.

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