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THE ROLE OF ENERGY RESOURCES OIL AND GAS IN STRENGTHENING RUSSIA, AFTER THE FALL OF SOVIET UNION.

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF ENERGY RESOURCES OIL AND GAS IN STRENGTHENING RUSSIA, AFTER THE FALL OF SOVIET UNION.

HEMIN KARIM MOHAMMED KAKI

This study explains the role of energy resources especially oil and natural gas in strengthening Russia after the fall of Soviet Union, how natural gas and oil have helped Russia's economy to develop and how Russia depends on energy sector. The study also explains how Russia uses natural gas and oil as a tool to be more active politically inside former Soviet Union countries. Finally, the study sheds light on Russian companies that work in energy field and how they work and how they are helpful for Russia to maintain its power and how they are effective on strengthening Russia's position politically and economically as an energy super power in the world.

Keywords: Russia, economy, oil, gas, pipeline, energy policy.

ÖZ

ENERJİ KAYNAKLARININ ROLÜ YAĞLAR VE SOĞUK BİRLİĞİ GÜZÜNDEN SONRA RUSYA'NIN GÜÇLENDİRİLMESİ.

HEMIN KARIM MOHAMMED KAKI

Bu çalışma, Sovyetler Birliği'nin çöküşünden sonra Rusya'yı güçlendirmede özellikle petrol ve doğal gaz olmak üzere enerji kaynaklarının rolünü, doğal gaz ve petrolün Rusya ekonomisinin gelişmesine nasıl yardımcı olduğunu ve Rusya'nın enerji sektörüne nasıl bağlı olduğunu açıklamaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca Rusya'nın eski Sovyetler Birliği ülkelerinde siyasi olarak daha aktif olmak için doğal gaz ve petrolü nasıl kullandığını açıklıyor. Son olarak, araştırma, enerji alanında çalışan Rus şirketlerine ve bunların nasıl çalıştığına ve Rusya'nın gücünü sürdürmede nasıl yardım ettiklerini ve Rusya'nın dünyadaki bir enerji süper gücü olarak politik ve ekonomik olarak konumunu güçlendirmede nasıl etkili olduklarına ışık tutuyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: Rusya, ekonomik, petrol, doğal gaz, boru hattı, enerji politikası.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCM : billion cubic meters (natural gas)

CSTO : collective security treaty organization

GDP : Gross Domestic Product

LNG : Liquefied natural gas

MBD : million Barrels per day (oil industry)

NATO : North Atlantic treaty organization

OPEC : organization of petroleum exporting countries

INTRODUCTION

After the fall of Soviet Union Russia once again gained its political and economical power through energy resources especially natural gas and oil. The return started when Vladimir Putin came to power. Since a big amount of government budget revenue is tied to natural gas and oil, energy resources have become absolute key factors in Russia's economy. Furthermore, increasement in production of natural gas and oil improved Russia's economy significantly. Russia was always considered as a military super power, but after all the efforts were put in energy sector, Russia became an important energy super power in the world. Russia the Red Army in the past, so energy resources are also used by Moscow State as a political tool. Furthermore Russia's biggest energy companies those primarily operate in the oil and gas industry have been main reasons in developing and expanding Russia's position on the global energy map by manipulating natural gas and oil fields and manipulating energy market.

CHAPTER ONE

I.1. Background.

The Soviet Union, by uprightness of its incredible size and plenteous common assets, assumed a main job in the economy of the Soviet Union. In the primary many years of the Soviet routine, these assets made conceivable extraordinary monetary advances, including the quick improvement of mining, metallurgy, and substantial designing, the extension of the railroad arrange, and a monstrous increment in the vitality supply. During the 1960s a second period of Soviet modern advancement started to apply an especially solid impact on the Soviet Union. In addition to further development in built up businesses, particularly in the creation of oil, gas, and power and in the compound enterprises, there was a stamped enhancement in mechanical yield, incorporating a constrained extension in customer merchandise. In the years prior to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, in any case, the economy of Russia and of the whole nation was in a condition of decay, and authority measurements veiled mechanical wasteful aspects.[1]

After the breakdown of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Russian government executed a progression of radical changes intended to change the economy from one that was midway arranged and controlled to one dependent on industrialist standards. Significant segments of the changes included building up exclusive modern and business adventures, utilizing both outside and Russian venture, and privatizing state-claimed endeavors. To energize privatization, the government provided vouchers to Russian natives that empowered them to buy of offers in privatized firms, however by and by these vouchers every now and again were sold for money

[1]Sergei Ermolaev, "The Formation and Evolution of the Soviet Union's Oil and Gas Dependence", **Carnegie endowment for international peace** (March 29, 2017), accessed July 12, 2018.https://carnegieendowment.org/2017/03/29/formation-and-evolution-of-soviet-union-s-oil-and-gas-dependence-pub-68443?fbclid=IwAR1hrmUOd1uNiNEslbBuYJZZrH6uxWA6t7RSD3PUnUBFQ-m3Oq9VSoe3tMg

and were collected by business visionaries. An item and stock-trade framework likewise was built up.[2]

The underlying foundations of the present Russian oil and gas impact date to the country's Soviet past. By then, as we will see, the Kremlin intentionally started a push to make Russian vitality basic all through both Eastern and Western Europe. By the 1970s, Soviet vitality impact was a noteworthy pain for the West. This vitality impact declined incidentally in the late 1980s and 1990s, because of low oil costs, the disengagements of the breakdown of the USSR, and the privatization of many oil organizations. In any case, Russia's plentiful assets and broad system of pipelines guaranteed that its 'petro-control' was prepared to re-develop under President Putin.[3]

I.2. Why did Russia again cared about energy, especially oil and gas, after the fall of the Soviet Union?

Because after the fall of the Soviet Union and even nowadays energy especially oil and gas had and still has a vital role in world's economy and commerce. On the other hand, after the Soviet's fell Russia had been inherited 46,000 km of crude oil pipelines with 15000 km of petroleum pipelines. And another major reason was to reconstruct and to reinforce Russian economy[4], because according to Gulf Business the country comes eighth to having oil reserves with 80 billion barrels.[5] Another data tells that Russia is the highest country with 1,688 cubic feet of

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[2] Randal Newnham, "Oil, carrots, and sticks: Russia's energy resources as a foreign policy too", **Journal of Eurasian Studies** Vol. 2 (Issue 2, July 2011): 134-143, accessed July 12, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2011.03.004

[3] Sergei Ermolaev, Larisa Cherednichenko, Mayya Dubovik and Aleksandr Seleznev, "Economic channels of Soviet oil and gas dependence", **Revista Espacios** vol.39 no.18 (2018): 28, accessed July 12, 2018. http://www.revistaespacios.com/a18v39n18/a18v39n18p28.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0m721bPMkcxl2_CJHAkvRx_7zImShIXw3Tx8ShWZQB9Xpg8v7cW0r2Q_s

[4] Edward C. Chow , "Russian pipelines: Back to the future", **Georgetown Journal of International Affairs** vol.5, no.1, (winter/spring 2004): 28-29.

[5] Aarti Nagaraj, "Top 10 countries with the world's Biggest oil reserves", **Gulf Business** (April 14, 2013), accessed July 12, 2018. https://gulfbusiness.com/top-10-countries-with-the-worlds-biggest-oil-reserves/?fbclid=IwAR091CPb09lvBq8t-2lrBEOdOCoSxCzaMcQ8NSqGa1fwMygo__FgFG72ycU

natural gas according to "National Security" that also confirms 26% of the world's natural gas is provided in Russia. Thus, after the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia primarily relied on energy again because of the international demand.[6]

After the Soviet fell, Russian had economy declined especially in the years 1991-1998 during the reign of Boris Yeltsin, the former president.

Energy at his time was suffering from the lack of production especially oil and gas. Thus, GDP rapidly reduced 44%. Moreover, only between 1990-1993 the amount of import downed from 208 billion US dollars to only 60 billion US dollars. Russia's major export was only oil and gas, this resulted in economy shortcoming. The oil production in 1992 was 7,632,000 barrels a day while in 1995 this number decreased to 5,854,000 barrels a day. In addition oil exportation in 1992 from 2,76 million barrels a day decreased to 2,75 million barrels a day. However, energy sector in Russia was fragile and in 1998 Russia entirely approached to bankruptcy. Russian government had 40 billion US dollars debt.[7] Despite all of this reasons oil and gas sectors was under control by oligarchs. They used oil and gas for their own aims.[8]

I.3. The oil and gas importance on strengthening Russian economy.

After Vladimir Putin came to authority, Russian economy flourished noticeably was able to retained what they had already missed. The country also witnessed both internal and external improvement. During the same years, the development reached 7% that was more than world's standard which is 5% and was twice or three times higher than that of America and Europe. GDP also increased in 2005 to 763 billion US dollars while at Yeltsin's time the government was in a deep

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[6] "Russian Natural Gas", **Global security**, accessed July 12, 2018. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/russia/energy-gas.htm?fbclid=IwAR31u2CdSjSww5HFMMUxu5jrgthhCFaKrEFUpNXaYEghszZ3qm8b9nBcspg

[7] Tassos E. Fakiolas and Efstathios T. Fakiolas, "Domestic sources of Russia's resurgence as a Global Great Power", **Journal of International and Area Studies** vol.16, no.2 (December 2009): 92.

[8] Sergei Guriev and Andrei Rachinsky, "The role of oligarchs in Russian capitalism", **Journal of economic perspectives** vol.19, no.1 (winter 2005): 132.

debt.[9] In addition, after Vladimir Putin came to power, he started to change energy sector from private to government's. However he cleaned energy sector from oligarchs.[10]

This, despite the fact, that they owned oil companies and were major political participants in the country with big authorities.[11] But Putin obliged them to do either trading or leave politics and also put them under a heavy pressure to give all the taxes, especially the tax that they hadn't handed to the national treasure during Yeltsin's reign. If not, then the government will carry out to investigate all their income or wealth sources and the way they misused the money to their own interest. They hadn't paid back to the government for owning companies and were conducted for tax fraud. At first, the owners of Sibneft which owned by Roman Abramovich and Mikhail Fridman and Oleg Deripaska.[12]

On the other hand, Mikhail Khodorkovsky who was the owner of Yukus Company, despite all his opposition to the new system, he also used all his fortune against Putin's government. Therefore he was arrested in 2003 and was sentenced to stay in jail because of corruption.[13] Some sources also condemn Mikhail for bribery, giving millions of US dollars to other political parties to get the support a third of parliament in order to return the country to parliamentary. He then was arrested for tax fraud and corruption in a way that his company deeply indebted till the government could take it up.[14] In 2003 Kremlin government obliged Sibneft company and it was fined 1 billion US dollars for escaping from tax rules. This was

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[9] Fakiolas, "Domestic sources of Russia's...": 93.

[10] R.G. Gidadhubli and Rama Sampatkumar, "Putin's confrontation with oligarchs", **Economic and political weekly** vol.35, no.28/29 (jul. 15-21,2000): 2512-2014.

[11] Marshall I. Goldman, "Putin and the oligarchs", **Foreign affairs** (issue november/december 2004), accessed July 15, 2018.https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2004-11-01/putin-and-oligarchs?fbclid=IwAR0DFaeTIQHDIBvrNlfpsd-5pSOsXu-pYc2vdCejTvXCLjq5MNfFEFpr9Vc

[12] Fakiolas, "Domestic sources of Russia's...": 98.

[13] Jill Dougherty, "Putin's fight against oligarchs", **CNN** (October 28, 2003), accessed July 20, 2018.http://edition.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/europe/10/28/russia.oligarchs/index.html

[14] Martha Brill Olcott, "The energy dimension in Russian global strategy: Vladimir Putin and the geopolitics of oil", **The James A. Baker III Institute** (2004): 11-12, accessed July 25, 2018. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/wp-2005-01_olcott_english1.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3gB93SpmryxbgtY-sM7CWOy_D-FI5oRm3PVc0WZlK0zEAbvcqV9VNZH4E

an actual step to recontrol oil from private sector to public sector.[15] Because Putin believed that the oil and gas sector must be under the control of Kremlin government and at the interest of public. They used all private sectors to their own use and for the benefits of their companies. In 2005, Sibneft company, which owned by Abramovich, was obliged to be sold to Gazprom to 13.9 billion US dollars. Thus, the government could do something important to control oil and gas.[16]

I.4. Why did the oil and gas sector see its ultimate strength after Putin came to power?

Because Putin was able to take away oil from oligarch into government's control. Then oil and gas became the essential spinal column of Russian economy, that because of making reforms and rearrangement of tax rule and system on the oil and gas companies. Large amounts of money returned to the country's budget while before then the oligarchs weren't used to giving taxes and breaking the rules that resulted in spreading corruptions.[17]

Just after Putin came, oil and gas got a more important role in reinforcing Russian economy. They especially became a core for the country's budget. It also witnessed the noticeably increase in production and exportation.[18]

Worth mentioning, the exportation of oil and gas reached more than the half of the country's entire exportations. For example, the money Russia earned in exportations was 105 billion US dollars, while in 2007 it raised to 354 billion US

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[15] Patrick Toother, "Abramovich facing huge back-tax bill", **This is money news**, (March 7, 2004), accessed July 28, 2018. https://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/news/article-1513832/Abramovich-facing-huge-back-tax-bill.html

[16] Sergei Blagov, "Gazprom's acquisition of Sibneft seen as double-edged sword", **Eurasia Daily Monitor** vol. 2 (Issue: 198, October, 2005), accessed August 1, 2018. https://jamestown.org/program/gazproms-acquisition-of-sibneft-seen-as-double-edged-sword/

[17] Anders Aslund, "An assessment of Putin's economic policy", **CESifo Forum** 9(2):16-21 (June, 2008), accessed August 2, 2018. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227350352_An_Assessment_of_Putin's_Economic_Policy

[18] Lilia Shevtsova, "The Political Dimension of Economic Reform under Vladimir Putin", **NBR Analysis** vol. 13, no. 2 (April, 2002): 10-11.

dollars. This was all prove the fact that by coming Putin to power, the economy flourished and improved, especially oil and gas sectors.[19]

I.5. The role of energy, especially oil and gas, in reinforcing Russian economy.

The both sectors play a significant role in Russian economy because the country's industry heavily depend on them. Oil and gas in Russia is twice important in comparison to most of other countries since they are used as reliable source of energies in the Russian industries. And secondly, because they share a major part of the Russian Federal budget especially after Vladimir Putin returned oil and gas to the government's observations.[20]

For example, the contribution of oil and gas to Federal Russian budget in 2006 was 46.9% of total budget of the country. That means it almost contributed in half of the country's total budget. This clearly proves how important the both sectors are in flourishing Russian economy. The contribution raised to 50.2% in 2013 which was a bit more than half of the total budget.[21] If we take 2018 as another example, it's indicated that the number is 46%. In all three examples, the role of energy specifically oil and gas is a proof that how Russian economy majorly depends on.[22]

Despite all those facts, the contribution changes according to the amount of exploration and production. When both activities expand, the total budget gets higher

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[19] Philip Hanson, "The economic development of Russia: between state control and liberalization", **ISPI working paper** (issue 32, October, 2008), accessed August 5, 2018. https://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/pubblicazioni/wp_32_2008_0.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3F7WR-2HoEZ87y5qTdH56rjJPnUbDK6aEJIOUMfxJh9YOvzR8ssHqvnjE

[20] George Friedman, "A top-to-bottom review of the Russian economy", **rodmartin.org** (January 16, 2018), accessed August 10, 2018.http://rodmartin.org/top-bottom-review-russian-economy/

[21] John R. Kasich, "Claim in 2018: Russia relies heavily on energy exports for close to three-quarters of its export earnings and over half of its budget", **Russia Matters** (June, 2018), accessed August 13, 2018. https://www.russiamatters.org/node/11300

[22] Viikkokatsaus, "Higher oil prices boost surplus of Russian federal budget", **Bofit.fi** (February 8, 2019), accessed February 27, 2019. https://www.bofit.fi/en/monitoring/weekly/2019/vw201906_2/?fbclid=IwAR1RL_R53bi3l0b8kyvXoIWmwK5t_YgvbksJ1y729E1O9i0krykubSCLYB8

though. The price is also another factor that effectively leaves impact on the country's budget.[23]

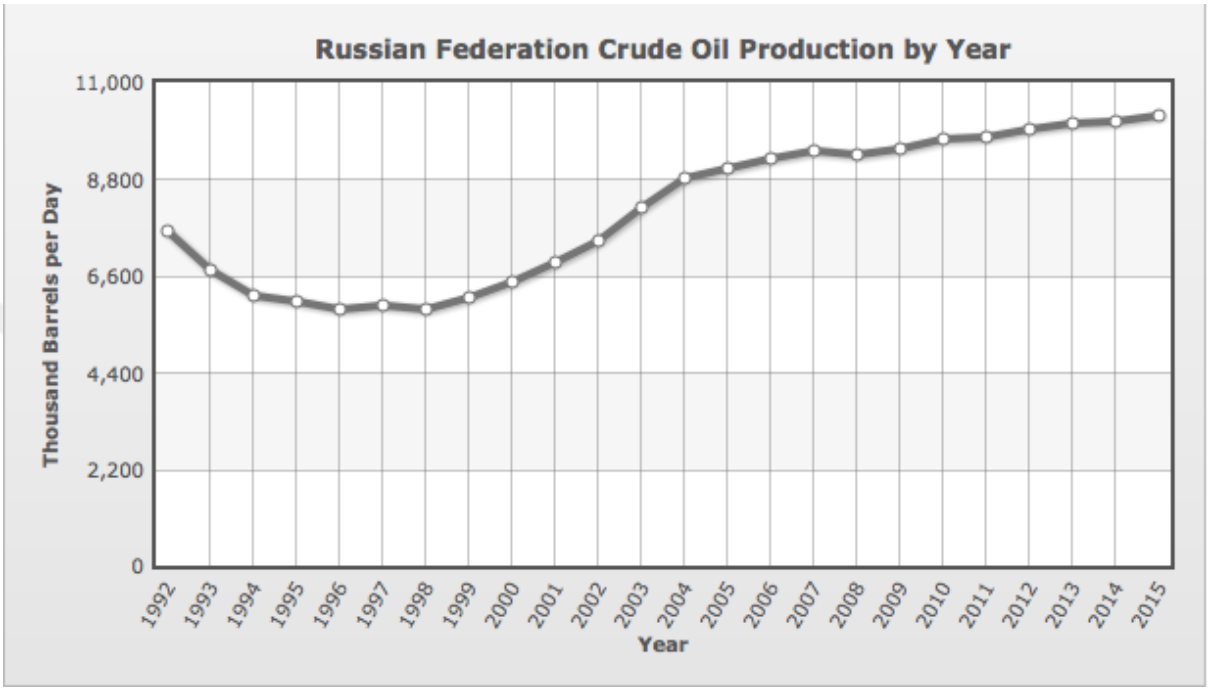

Figure 1. Russian Federation Crude Oil Production by Year, **Index mundi**, accessed August 21, 2018, https://www.indexmundi.com/energy/?country=ru&product=oil&graph=production

The following diagram indicates the increase in the amount of oil production especially after the fall of the Soviet Union when Putin came to power.[24]

According to the diagram, the amount of oil production was continuously raising especially after the year 2002. As comes from the information in Bloomberg,

[23] Nadia Sabitova and Chulpan Shavaleyeva, "Oil and Gas Revenues of the Russian Federation: Trends and Prospects", **Procedia Economics and Finance** vol. 27 (2015): 423-428, accessed August 20, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2212-5671(15)01016-3

[24] Sadek Boussena and Catherine Locatelli. "The bases of a new organisation of the russian oil sector: between private and state ownership." **Journal of Energy and Development** (September, 2010): 5-6, accessed August 21, 2018. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00543200/document?fbclid=IwAR1Zw4XcyprF0_YpFG3ajxIo01cTsPXu_3FxmD-Y9L_DxuKtQ473CxvNOlw

oil production in Russia reached 11,36 million barrels a day that was a new record in 2018 after the fall of the Soviet Union.[25]

I.6. The production of natural gas.

In the production of natural gas, Russia comes second after the United States of America. The production increased after the Soviet Union and specifically after 2002.

That was just when the government put it under control and the result saw the production increasing[26] as shown in the diagram below:

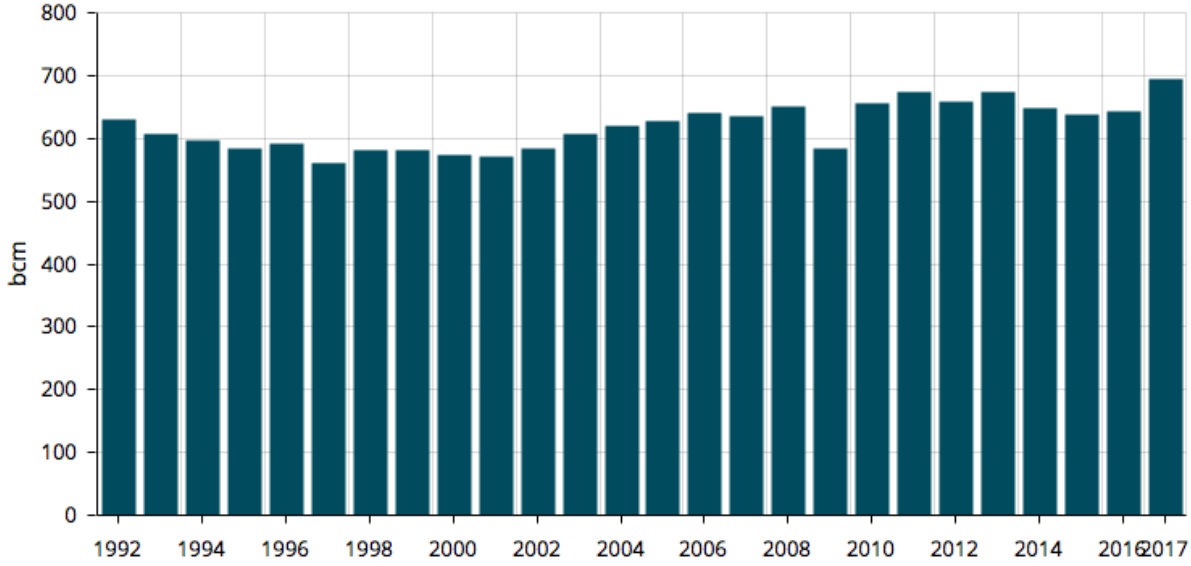

Figure 2. Natural gas production in Russia, **Global energy statistical yearbook 2018**, accessed April 5, 2019, https://yearbook.enerdata.net/natural-gas/world-natural-gas-production-statistics.html

[25]Elena Mazneva, "Russia Oil Production Jumps to a New Post-Soviet Record", **BloombergQuint** (September 21, 2018), accessed October 5, 2018.https://www.bloombergquint.com/business/russia-is-said-to-set-new-oil-output-records-ahead-of-opec-talks?fbclid=IwAR1RL_R53bi3l0b8kyvXoIWmwK5t_YgvbksJ1y729E1O9i0krykubSCLYB8

[26] Roland Beck, Annette Kamps and Elitza Mileva, "Long-term growth prospects for the Russian economy", **European Central Bank, Occasional paper** series no.58 (March, 2007): 7-9, accessed October 7, 2018. https://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/pdf/scpops/ecbocp58.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0BvUeV8dgk9RHpSd8vySxbw1jF3GDGAfIgWaz9mgHEH2DtF8E7Xsji69E

The diagram tells about how production of natural gas raised. That happens when the world request for the natural gas increases. The need for it by other countries results in producing it to larger amount. That's automatically affects Russian economy to get improved.

According to the information from Sputnik News, the amount of production recorded the highest point with 725,17 bcm. This was, of course, a new record for Russia in comparison to 2017 it's noticed 4.9% production increasing.

Depending to other datas, Russian economy gradually relies on natural gas production.[27]

I.7. Oil exportation.

Although the oil exportation majorly depends on demand and price, yet we'd prefer to show the amount of oil exportation and the demand for it after the fall of the Soviet Union[28] in the following diagram:

[27] Eric Piermont, "Russia Could Be World's Largest Natural Gas Producer – Shell CEO", **Sputnik international** (March 15, 2019), accessed April 5, 2019. https://sptnkne.ws/kWjz

[28] Adnan Vatansever, "Russia's Oil Exports: Economic Rationale Versus Strategic Gains", **Carnegie papers** no.116 (December, 2010): 7-9, accessed October 13, 2018. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/russia_oil_exports.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2uI8bbSUiSehS2T2AeJdOdE_nqL3Q-Bp60bYsYWnVhgLEbCknbQk3NiL8

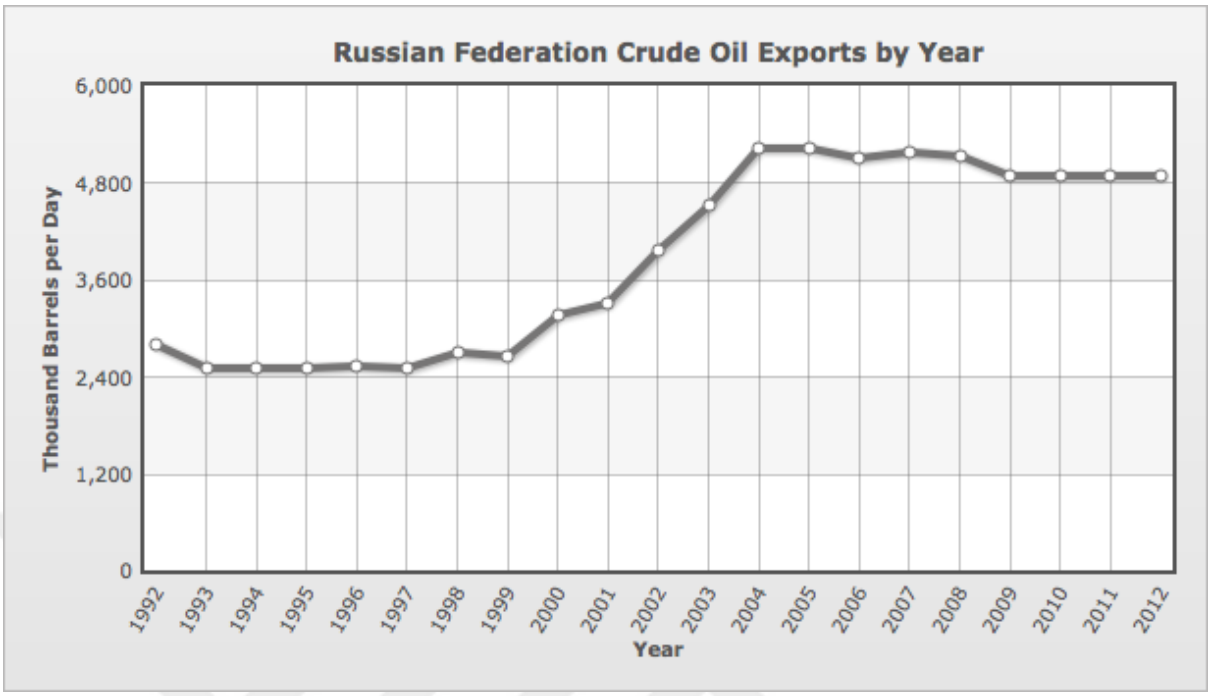

Figure 3. Russian Federation Crude Oil Exports by Year, **Index mundi**, accessed October 10, 2018, https://www.indexmundi.com/energy/?country=ru&product=oil&graph=exports

The datas say most of the exportation was to Europe than other continents with 70%, particularly to Germany, Netherlands, Belarusian, Poland, Finland, Italy and France. Thus the size of exportation raised in 2015 to 7.6 million barrels a day. From this, only 28% was exported to Asia including China, Japan and South Korea.[29] In 2015 the size of oil exportation from Russia to Asia increased because the request from the Asian countries like China, Japan and South Korea. This clearly resulted in the total exportation according to Mioge Moscow in 2018 it reached 8.6 million barrels a day which means 12.6% of the world's entire exportations. With the expand of oil exportations, its contribution to the public budget.[30]

[29] US Energy Information Administration, "Country Analysis Brief: Russia", **iberglobal.com** (October, 2017): 10-11, accessed October 10, 2018. http://www.iberglobal.com/files/2017-2/rusia_eia.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0x6S5egVhuOi9dPXBkTefEB3MFh_Clij29HP_Z_U6u-rXknFo2Fn8aUvs

[30] "The state of Russian oil & gas: 2018 update", **mioge.ru** (August 21, 2018), accessed October 12, 2018. https://www.mioge.ru/en-GB/press/news/Russia-oil-gas-industry-2018-update.aspx?fbclid=IwAR2QylHyeWATFh11MVDF7gwbVAkCKtaXfBssSf9J80Ba2WFExl-zAyjgi-E&aliaspath=%2fpress%2fnews%2fRussia-oil-gas-industry-2018-update

I.8. Natural gas exportations.

The exportation of natural gas of Russia was mostly to European countries after the fall of the Soviet Union. If we make a comparison between 2003 and 2009 in entire natural gas exportation, we see how the amount raised. In 2003 the exportation was 171 bcm, while in 2009 it increased to 179 bcm. From that, majority was sent to European oil markets.[31]

With the expansion of the demands from Asian countries for the Russian natural gas, including China, Japan and South Korea[32], the size of the exportation meanwhile increased especially after an agreement between Russia and China in 2014 out of 400 million US dollars. According to the agreement Russia should send China 38 bcm yearly from 2018 for 30 years.[33] Thus, after the agreement the exportation increased to 215.4 bcm. As the datas and diagrams show, the natural gas is continuously playing its role in developing Russian economy.[34]

I.9. Will the importance of oil and gas increase in developing Russian economy in the future?

According to a strong strategy Russian government declared in 2013 in search of oil and gas fields especially in Arctic Region in which a huge amount of both energies are found with 280 billion ton, that's why Russian government has

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[31]CIA World Factbook (June, 2015), accessed October 15, 2018.https://www.indexmundi.com/g/g.aspx?c=rs&v=138&fbclid=IwAR0v5BuULaxOfKXbXOtwCNoyNOGDkdEJu5J4r7H_CbQFCvCH3nDHE119IqQ

[32] Jessica Jaganathan and Florence Tan, "Strong LNG demand, led by Asia, may be able to absorb new supply: executives", **Reuters**, (April 24, 2018), accessed October 16, 2018. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-singapore-lng-conference/strong-lng-demand-led-by-asia-may-be-able-to-absorb-new-supply-executives-idUSKBN1HV10I?fbclid=IwAR3bfkj0M0rfbDnH1_w1HuI21wTI_-SB1eSSv8doyy9zrycf2gaR7sCGarg

[33]Alec Luhn and Terry Macalister, "Russia signs 30-year deal worth $400bn to deliver gas to China", **The Guardian** (May 21, 2014), accessed October 16, 2018.https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/21/russia-30-year-400bn-gas-deal-china?fbclid=IwAR3klaITSY8xclRqdxUOdxbLNxRe1IK8yzcT7AAbmKoENG1Y508BWSmtdDA

[34] "The state of Russian…"

enlarged its process of searching in the region.[35] Moreover, according to Sputnik the government has started to create and build new machines and technology for the purpose of a better search and oil and gas discovery particularly after the United States and Europe imposed sanction on Russia in 2013. The new technologies are expected to help the country to increase production.[36]

Despite all those, agreements with foreign companies among them Chinese and Korean companies that search deeply into the sea to find oil beneath the water will help developing oil sector. According to Russia Beyond, those companies have already started searching for the purpose. The companies are rich with new technologies that specialize in oil discovery deep in the sea especially Black Sea and Arctic Sea which need very up-to-date equipments.[37]

On the other hands, The Russian government had generated lots of money for the oil and gas production in Arctic region that helps in increasing Russian gas and oil.[38]

For the reason mentioned above, a higher amount of production is expected in the future because of the low cost of oil in Russia 10.77 US dollars per barrel without tax, and with tax it raises to 19.21 US dollars. That's why Russia tries to increase oil production because of low cost.[39]

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[35]Ekaterina Kravtsova, "Russia Pushes for Further Arctic Exploitation", **The Moscow Times** (September 25, 2013), accessed October 18, 2018. https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2013/09/25/russia-pushes-for-further-arctic-exploitation-a28022

[36] "Russia Joins the Shale Game After Building Own Technology Thanks to Sanctions", **Sputnik news** (August 31, 2016), accessed October 18, 2018. https://sptnkne.ws/dJdv

[37] Alexei Lossan, "Russia admits lack of technologies for offshore oil production", **Russia beyond** (September 28, 2015), accessed October 19, 2018. https://www.rbth.com/business/2015/09/28/russia_admits_lack_of_technologies_for_offshore_oil_production_49605.html?fbclid=IwAR2RxkEolaLQqU9MvusM5__Iu0221D1nAd6a9AG1gGubxT7Gd28lyB7i1j8

[38] Stratas Advisors, "Russian Oil Production Expected To Grow But At Slow Pace", **Hartenergy** (September 25, 2018).

[39]Matthew DiLallo, "You Won't Believe What Saudi Arabia's Oil Production Cost Is", **The Money fool** (March 19, 2017), accessed October 20, 2018.https://www.fool.com/investing/2017/03/19/you-wont-believe-what-saudi-arabias-oil-production.aspx

I.10. What is expected to the future of Russian natural gas?

It's expected that natural gas production and exportation will increase and the contribution to national economy will be raising. That's because Russia comes first in natural gas reserve and the large demand of the other countries. Besides, European market is primarily receiving Russian gas. Asian countries at the same time are in need of Russian natural gas especially China, Japan and South Korea.[40]With the dual agreement between Russia and China over 400 billion US dollars. According to the agreement, Russia will start exporting natural gas to the Asian country by the end of 2019.[41]

The Russian government strongly support LNG projects which has lots if importance and generated huge amount of money particularly in Arctic region. Russia intend to make the region a source of producing LNG after Asian countries showed the interest with 70% of LNG is sent to China, Japan and South Korea.[42]

Despite all these, Russia has also planned to increase gas and oil production in Arctic in the future, according to an information from Barnet Observer. Approximately from 180 billion euro, 12 billion contributes to the national budget. Other budget is provided by other companies. It helps expanding producing natural gas in the future.[43]

All this show that the government takes too much care about Arctic region. According to Mioge Moscow, about 43 trillion cubic meter which is 40% of entire

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[40]Natalia Stapran, "Russia's Energy Pivot to Asia", **Russian International Affairs Council** (December 30, 2013), accessed December 25, 2018.https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/russia-s-energy-pivot-to-asia/?fbclid=IwAR2-nhbejrLFKRVFH_zwAYi6iLuAbVgkCkB6fbSylVg8fuj9zRGsmjUuDZg

[41] Alexei Anishchuk, "As Putin looks east, China and Russia sign $400-billion gas deal", **Reuters** (May 21, 2014), accessed December 25, 2018. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-russia-gas/as-putin-looks-east-china-and-russia-sign-400-billion-gas-deal-idUSBREA4K07K20140521?fbclid=IwAR2Cnx2r-FZyce2cxDOlA13BqKj3xyXWm0XSxOdOUsZ7REVEVx9kUNLEX2k

[42] Yueyi Chen, "Russia is gradually developing its Arctic LNG strategy", **Global Risk Insights** (December 13, 2018).

[43] Atle Staalesen, "Russia presents a grandiose 5-year plan for the Arctic", **The Barents observer** (December 14, 2018), accessed January 28, 2019. https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic-industry-and-energy/2018/12/russia-presents-grandiose-5-year-plan-arctic?fbclid=IwAR2FVgN6bfggujzbwcFN8TBGR-nT94xT3QGyjG0QsQYXW-YvksFXZWHIQUc

Russian natural gas. Along with the strong plans, they help increasing natural gas in the future.[44]

The information says that Russian government has a strategy to increase LNG production in 2018 at the amount of 4% contribution to international market, but Russia intends to raise it to 15-20% until 2035 with 83 million tons yearly.[45]

For those reasons, government soon after completing the two projects Yamal LNG and Sakhalin, announced three more projects which are: The Baltic LNG, Vladivostok LNG, Arctic LNG2.

I.11. The Baltic LNG project.

This project was built to produce liquefied natural gas which is located in Leningrad, south-west of Russia. Its capacity to produce liquified natural gas is estimated around 10 million ton. The total budget generated in this project is 18 billion US dollars. The Baltic LNG enables liquified natural gas production to larger amount in the future.[46]

According to information from Sputnik News, the project has to start exportation between 2022-2023, this after an agreement was signed between Gazprom company and Japanese company Mitsui.[47]

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[44]"Russia's major arctic oil & gas equipment needs", **Mioge Moscow** (February 13, 2019), accessed February 20, 2019.http://www.mioge.ru/en-GB/Russia-arctic-oil-gas-technology-demand.aspx?fbclid=IwAR1GyUvRoOIyOzOBVyy9z41S7H9utECKAharnfyEoopJvHEMyV8GVsM9whk

[45]"Russia's annual LNG production capacity to hit 83 mtpa by 2035", **LNG World News** (September 25, 2018), accessed January 20, 2019.https://www.lngworldnews.com/russias-annual-lng-production-capacity-to-hit-83-mtpa-by-2035/?fbclid=IwAR2x-2l-QPAQrvDmWfyWlSQ3ss3MOMxjGeKGZvgzpbFZygyKYaFFOGEnWd8

[46] Murat Temizer, "Shell may be Gazprom's strategic partner for Baltic LNG", **Anadolu Agency** (June 17, 2015), accessed November 3, 2018. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/natural-gas/shell-may-be-gazproms-strategic-partner-for-baltic-lng/9952?fbclid=IwAR00926WYqcTcXOrNGaFHBjLB8TpgQLoTv_KqHcs44Lunv2ezUuRClsYHiE

[47]Alexey Nikolskiy, "Gazprom, Mitsui Sign Memorandum of Understanding on Baltic LNG Plant", **Sputnik news** (September 12, 2018), accessed November 3, 2018.https://sputniknews.com/business/201809121067955577-russia-japan-gazprom-mitsui-memorandum-baltic-lng/?fbclid=IwAR2Cnx2r-FZyce2cxDOlA13BqKj3xyXWm0XSxOdOUsZ7REVEVx9kUNLEX2k

I.12. Vladivostok LNG project.

This is one of the projects to increase liquified natural gas in the future which is opened by Gazprom company. It is located in Lomonosov Peninsula. Its capacity of production is estimated 13.6 million ton of liquified natural gas. The project budget costs 13.5 billion US dollars.[48]

According to information from LNG World news, the productions of this project is sent to Asia Pacific market, and the aim of it is to make Russia production stronger in Asian energy markets.[49]

But the project completion and the first production of liquified gas got late and passed the date in which it was believed to send its first production in 2018.

Depending on information from Gas Processing and LNG, the first production will be in 2020 after an agreement on the price is going to be signed especially with Japan. Japan has asked for price reduction. Some says that the project is strongly admired by the Asian country especially after the Fukushima atomic disaster. At the same time, 15 other companies are in discussion for investment in this project, Asian companies are above all.[50]

I.13. Arctic LNG 2 Project.

This project opened and announced by Novatek Company after completion and success in Yamal LNG. The project shows the magnificent care of Russia for it especially after the interest and huge demand from the other countries to LNG

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[48] "Vladivostok LNG Project, Primorye Territory", **Hydrocarbons technology**, accessed February 11,2019. https://www.hydrocarbons-technology.com/projects/vladivostok-lng-project-primorye-territory/?fbclid=IwAR3LxLVF7LdSXCEkGTih2n77DV1xuGoBhSRJi6k6bBCg2P6dA3X0bn6qIqU

[49]"WorleyParsons Secures Vladivostok LNG Contract", **LNG World News** (December 5, 2013), accessed February 11, 2019.https://www.lngworldnews.com/worleyparsons-secures-vladivostok-lng-contract/

[50]Yuriy Humber, Tsuyoshi Injima and Elena Mazneva, "Gazprom faces delay in starting Vladivostok LNG plant", **Gas processing news**, accessed February 12, 2019. http://www.gasprocessingnews.com/news/gazprom-faces-delay-in-starting-vladivostok-lng-plant.aspx?fbclid=IwAR39UF0CqwbCnRlLXUivsRopEBNv2H6W-eOXCLZeBynvbUVlRbXgya_8-Sc

productions, this helps increasing natural liquified gas in Russia.[51] It's located in Arctic region. And terminal of the project is in Gydan Peninsula which is in Western Siberia.[52]

Arctic LNG 2 has the capacity of producing 18.3 million ton of natural liquefied gas. While the budget expected to cost the project is 25.5 billion US dollars. Worth mentioning, 50.1% of the project is owned by Novatek company, 20% is owned by French company, Total. Where as 9.9% is owned by a Chinese company Silk road fund. And Other 20% is owned another Chinese company CNPC.[53]

According to an information from Reuters, Aramco, which is a Saudian company, wants to purchase 30% of the project.[54]

It's expected that the project will start producing between 2022 - 2023. Russia aims to increase the amount of natural liquified gas production via this project and also to make North Arctic a centre of LNG production to help developing Russian economy in the future. As well as Russia has plan to increase gas export in the way to establish gas pipelines such as Power of Siberia, Nord stream 2 and Turkstream.[55]

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[51]Ersin Merdan, "The new role of Gazprom in Russia's grand gas strategy", **Anadolu agency** (August 7, 2018), accessed November 21, 2018.https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/analysis/the-new-role-of-gazprom-in-russia-s-grand-gas-strategy/13938?fbclid=IwAR0l78Td-QUfseFDRJJ4pIZcinbgyrVMAML0qOa14X_O3cB38ri_-s9sSCA

[52]"Total firms up Arctic LNG 2 project entry", **Offshore energy today** (March 5, 2019), accessed March 13, 2019.https://www.offshoreenergytoday.com/total-firms-up-arctic-lng-2-project-entry/?fbclid=IwAR1NhnppKiHxhp9C-_TntfoFF3s4XV2oFlU-hyn4hYwmOLM2-8PHNslY6jQ

[53]"5 Russian oil & gas projects to watch in 2018", **Mioge Moscow** (September 4, 2018), accessed February 23, 2019.https://www.mioge.ru/en-GB/press/news/5-Russian-oil-gas-projects-2018.aspx?fbclid=IwAR0T19lEWqPlUrA8Artwbj8ziHD25gElCuqreSX3ve8naaVU6xHN5rrsqY8

[54] "Saudi Arabia aims to acquire 30 pct of Novatek's Arctic LNG project - Energy minister", **Reuters** (October 25, 2018), accessed February 23, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/saudi-russia-oil-novatek/saudi-arabia-aims-to-acquire-30-pct-of-novateks-arctic-lng-project-energy-minister-idUSB2N1WR009?fbclid=IwAR3zuq9CROB6l_EyiDdD1AKJVqCoiGOrTHKSltlOCWSIZnXAAfsOkFnVzj0

[55] "Putin Announces Arctic Expansion Plans at International Forum – Highlights", **The Moscow times** (April 11, 2019), accessed April 13, 2019. https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/04/11/putin-announces-arctic-expansion-plans-international-forum-highlights-a65195

I.14. Power of Siberia.

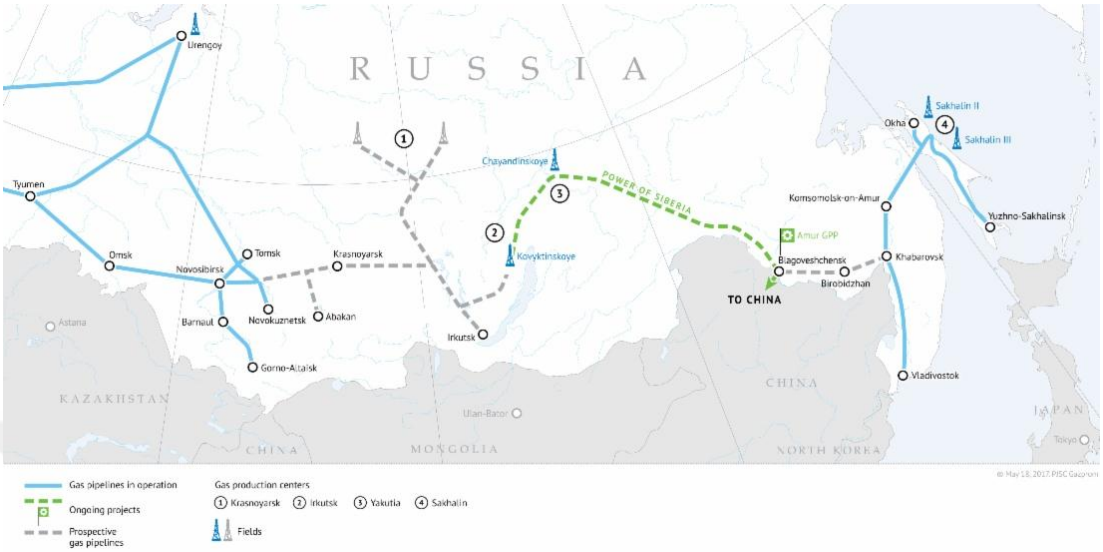

Figure 4. Power of Siberia gas pipeline project, accessed July 1, 2019.
https://www.rt.com/business/437753-power-of-siberia-china/?fbclid=IwAR31E30OBIHJLa6Vg_dJ9GI8PQlG67KvX9KngHqy9nRPRfnDO5XHjmQ9RZk

It is one of the biggest pipeline projects for transporting natural gas in the world, it's 3000 km long. It starts from Chayandinskoye gas field in Yakutia in Russia to the border of China. It is used to transport natural gas from Russia to China.[56] Russia and China discussed this pipeline project for ten years. The fund of this project is estimated to reach 55 billion US dollars. Power Siberia pipeline project is called Eastern route and it's know as one of the biggest pipeline projects.[57] On May 21st 2014, Gazprom and China National Petroleum reached an agreement over the project. According to the agreement Russia has to start transporting natural gas in December 2019.[58] Gazprom has to supply China with amount of 38 BCM of gas every year for 30 years through the above-mentioned pipeline. The amount of money that Russia gets is 400 billion US dollars. This agreement is considered to be a

[56]"Power of Siberia: Russia's mega gas pipeline to China almost complete", **RT news** (September 6, 2018), accessed December 2, 2018.https://www.rt.com/business/437753-power-of-siberia-china/?fbclid=IwAR0bPdwTJZemqHFDYh3pJhu4Kt8j4K9woJ1CjtJIrfUR6uqOsmQby-RD4N0

[57]Henry Foy, "Russia's $55bn pipeline gamble on China's demand for gas", **Financial times** (April 3, 2018), accessed December 2, 2018.https://ig.ft.com/gazprom-pipeline-power-of-siberia/

[58]"China May Need Power of Siberia 2 Pipeline to Support Growth", **Russia business** today (July 10, 2018).

successful one and it will improve and strengthen Russia's position in Asia's energy market.[59] Power of Siberia became more effective after that China's demand on natural gas has increased 30% in 2018.[60] According to the RT news, It's expected that China's demand on natural gas would raise 99% again after the 400 billion US dollars agreement between Russia and China.[61]

I.15. Nord Stream 2.

It's an underwater gas transporting pipeline from Russia to Germany. It goes under the Baltic Sea from Petersburg area in Russia to Greifswald area in Germany.[62] It's a two pipelines project beside each other and its 1200 km long. 55 bcm of natural gas can be transported through both pipelines. Each pipeline can transport 27.5 bcm in a year. The fund of this project is 9.5 billion euro.[63]

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[59]William Wan, "China, Russia sign $400 billion gas deal", **The Washington post** (May 21, 2014), accessed December 3, 2018.https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/china-russia-sign-400-billion-gas-deal/2014/05/21/364e9e74-e0de-11e3-8dcc-d6b7fede081a_story.html?fbclid=IwAR0T19lEWqPlUrA8Artwbj8ziHD25gElCuqreSX3ve8naaVU6xHN5rrsqY8&noredirect=on&utm_term=.980101f38520

[60] Xinhua, "China's imports of crude oil, natural gas surge in 2018", **China daily** (January 21, 2019), accessed March 2, 2019. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201901/21/WS5c458568a3106c65c34e5a7c.html?fbclid=IwAR3HAaPJMTtcENeDJJ63zjWqjGXO7wlFnv3MnFAzheQUlE54fk5S99Z0FYs

[61]"Power of Siberia: Russia's 3000 km gas pipeline to China 99% complete", **RT news** (February 27, 2019), accessed March 2, 2019.https://www.rt.com/business/452550-russia-mega-pipe-siberia-china/?fbclid=IwAR1kzhnj8SQHRZMK3VlO9PfQoJ-xI9gWfDLTopuNw09TfiHps3wX1EYkwD8

[62] "Nord Stream 2", **Gazprom export**, accessed April 11, 2019. http://www.gazpromexport.ru/en/projects/5/

[63] Luke Sherman and Julian Wettengel, "Gas pipeline Nord Stream 2 links Germany to Russia, but splits Europe", **Clean energy wire** (August 16, 2018), accessed March 4, 2019. https://www.cleanenergywire.org/factsheets/gas-pipeline-nord-stream-2-links-germany-russia-splits-europe?fbclid=IwAR3n8vGr_zCwdA18-uzb8oqGWHZKOzMfqhvJwCc0o7TKPhuKPQaYQeTZBzw

Figure 5. New Russian pipeline in Baltic Sea, accessed July 1, 2019.
https://climateerinvest.blogspot.com/2016/08/new-russian-pipeline-in-baltic-sea.html?fbclid=IwAR1TfXmBsOp3Et_fnOfs6Zijf-n_cD8yEiyzOzi4bHiTWkMiVXCqyrHoee0

The agreement for Nord Stream 2 pipelines was made between Gazprom and five European energy companies consist of Engie Company of France, OMU of Austria, SHELL Dutch-British Company, Whiper and Winter Shall of Germany. According to the agreement Gazprom owns 50% of all the project the other 50% is owned by five mentioned companies. The term of this agreement is that Gazprom has to send 55 bcm of natural gas to Germany every year.[64]

Nord Stream 2 project has started in 2018 and has to be finished by the end of 2019.[65] Even though 370 km of the project has been already finished according to Anadolu agency, the dispute over the project is still continuing.[66]

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[64] Darko Janjevic, "Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline – What is the controversy about?", **DW news** (July 14, 2018), accessed March 4, 2019. https://p.dw.com/p/31Sij

[65] Romesh Ratnesar and Clive Crook, "The Right (and Wrong) Way to Deal With Nord Stream 2", **Bloomberg news** (November 27, 2018), accessed March 4, 2019. https://www.bnnbloomberg.ca/the-right-and-wrong-way-to-deal-with-nord-stream-2-1.1174076?fbclid=IwAR1kzhnj8SQHRZMK3VlO9PfQoJ-xI9gWfDLTopuNw09TfiHps3wX1EYkwD8

[66] Firdevs Yuksel, "Around 370 kilometres of Nord Stream 2 completed", **Anadolu agency** (December 24, 2018), accessed March 5, 2019. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/natural-gas/around-370-kilometres-of-nord-stream-2-completed/22834?fbclid=IwAR2-nhbejrLFKRVFH_zwAYi6iLuAbVgkCkB6fbSylVg8fuj9zRGsmjUuDZg

I.16. The dispute over Nord Stream 2 project.

Why are some European countries against Nord Stream 2 project?

Some of European countries are against the Nord Stream 2 project because the project transports gas from Russia to Germany directly; on one hand Slovakia and Poland wouldn't get money for gas transit through their country, on the other hand Poland and Slovakia expect that Russia uses Nord Stream 2 to put pressure on Eastern European countries politically. Some European countries absolutely refused to support the project in April 2018.[67]

Ukraine is also against the Nord Stream 2 because Russia may cut off gas from Ukraine after the project will finish.[68] Russia already cut off gas supply from Ukraine in January 2009 and sell the gas to other European countries instead, that's why Ukraine is afraid of the previous scenario.[69] Ukraine gets 2 to 3 billion US dollars every year from Russia because Russia transports natural gas to Europe through Ukraine, so Ukraine is also afraid to lose that amount of money because it can affect economy of the country. That's why Ukraine is very concerned about the completion of the Nord Stream 2 project.[70]

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[67] Janjevic, "Nord Stream 2…"

[68] Ariel Cohen, "Russia's Nord Stream II Pipeline Is Ukraine's Worst Nightmare", **Forbes** (June 18, 2018), accessed November 5, 2018.https://www.forbes.com/sites/arielcohen/2018/06/18/russias-nord-stream-ii-pipeline-is-ukraines-worst-nightmare/?fbclid=IwAR2_cM8pe0fvOplafWMR3GUMNAptB-GtSt0xCHLXxGjtDDSIG1SukyxmUc0#6c6c5cfb3524

[69] David Gow, "Russia-Ukraine gas crisis intensifies as all European supplies are cut off", **The Guardian** (January 7, 2009), accessed November 5, 2018.https://www.theguardian.com/business/2009/jan/07/gas-ukraine

[70] Bermet Talant, "YES 2018: Ukraine, once again, warns EU of Nord Stream 2 threat to security", **Kyiv post** (September 17, 2018), accessed November 5, 2018. https://www.kyivpost.com/business/yes-2018-ukraine-once-again-warns-eu-of-nord-stream-2-threat-to-security.html?fbclid=IwAR32E4FdKKv4P5jvMdSyOuUvtKjl8DNP2EL7PfAFI3oFElywTqybbNllvCk

I.17. Why is The USA against Nord Stream 2 project?

The USA is against the project internationally because the USA wants to strengthen its position in Europe energy market. The USA has exported only 10% to Europe energy market in 2017, but the USA could double the amount in 2018 and it transported 24% of gas to Europe energy market. It is expected that USA increase the amount of gas transportation to Europe until 2022, despite that the USA gas is more expensive than Russia's gas because the cost of transportation for the USA is more costly than Russia.[71]

In a meeting held in the White House between the president of the USA and Jean Claude Juncker the president of the European commission on July 26th 2018, Donald Trump said ''European countries will be massive buyers of L.N.G'' before adding ''we have plenty of it''.[72] The USA thinks Nord Stream 2 project is against the interest of its allies in Europe especially NATO members, that's why Donald Trump accused Germany of being "captive to Russia", and only cares about its interests not all the North Atlantic Treaty Organization members in The 2018 Brussels Summit of NATO. The USA is turning to Germany threats because of Nord Stream 2 project can help Russia to interfere in Europe as the same situation happened in Ukraine.[73]

The USA concern over Nord Stream 2 is real because Russia can control some European countries, and that is against The USA's interests in Europe. Nord

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[71] Holly Ellyatt, "Europe is fast-becoming a natural gas battleground for Russia and the US", **CNBC** (January 8, 2019), accessed January 16, 2019. https://www.cnbc.com/2019/01/08/russia-and-the-us-battling-over-europes-gas-market.html?fbclid=IwAR27VntRgG0gpqmv5C77y1doZwcoXkd5b5iwk31L9McXnwWmfvfyMql4ahA

[72] Stanley Reed, "Trump Says Europe Will Buy More American Gas. Is That Possible?", **The New York times** (July 26, 2018), accessed January 16, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/26/business/energy-environment/trump-europe-natural-gas-lng.html?fbclid=IwAR0l78Td-QUfseFDRJJ4pIZcinbgyrVMAML0qOa14X_O3cB38ri_-s9sSCA

[73] Jeremy Diamond, "NATO summit: Trump accuses Germany of being a 'captive of Russia'", **CNN politics** (July 11, 2018), accessed January 16, 2019. https://edition.cnn.com/2018/07/11/politics/trump-germany-russia-captive-nato/index.html?fbclid=IwAR3mdj5I6rNqweJyYVjiHmSYgDyPwQM_KVqBlvBSIyVrqK5NR3eymVt_uQw

Stream 2 is not against The USA's economy in Europe energy market only; it is also against political interests of The USA in Europe.[74]

After Donald Trump's criticism, the German chancellor Angela Merkel in a meeting with Russian president Vladimir Putin said Nord Stream 2 should not be used as a tool to put political and economical pressure on Ukraine, because Ukraine has been the way for transporting Russia's natural gas to Europe since a long time ago. Nord Stream 2 can deprive Ukraine from a transit fee.

In a response to that Vladimir Putin said "the main thing is that the Ukrainian transit, which is traditional for us, meets economic demand ''he said "Nord stream 2 is exclusively an economic project''.[75]

I.18. Will Nord Stream 2 project continue or stop after disputes and disagreements?

Although the USA is absolutely against Nord Stream 2 project because on one hand the USA thinks European countries will depend on Russia's natural gas more, on the other hand Russia can be politically stronger inside Europe and affect the USA's interests. Despite USA's disagreements, Nord Stream 2 project still continues. The USA threatens to impose sanctions on the companies which would cooperate in Nord stream 2 Project even the European companies.[76]

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[74]Griff Witte and Luisa Beck, "How a proposed Russian pipeline to Europe is dividing the West", **The Washington post** (April 25, 2018), accessed January 16, 2019.https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/a-giant-gas-pipeline-raises-the-spectre-of-russian-influence-in-europe/2018/04/24/415a63f0-4199-11e8-b2dc-b0a403e4720a_story.html?fbclid=IwAR06oolfX98sg_wakVHY5e6OwrlMfS6pXHcB5P4z52DgS56HkKEuUQ0xQS0&utm_term=.40953f538030

[75] Colin Drury, "Merkel and Putin talk Syria, Ukraine and Nord Stream 2 – but meeting ends with no agreements", **Independent** (August 19, 2018), accessed December 14, 2018. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/angela-merkel-vladamir-putin-nord-stream-2-germany-russia-syria-ukraine-meseberg-palace-a8498011.html?fbclid=IwAR0Rmuzfm1BFtRa7654r2WSDcqeTC3ON3lPxov56F9HtoRUndnE_a_KBIZ0

[76]William Wilkes, "U.S. Warns Sanctions Possible If Nord Stream 2 Pipe Proceeds", **Bloomberg** (May 17, 2018), accessed December 17, 2018. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-05-17/u-s-warns-sanctions-possible-if-nord-stream-2-pipe-proceeds?fbclid=IwAR0YGobWhMB-kVAraZ-FkkcCqR5OdtTLi66TV6AdrqSKv2akgVcF93Taal4

Richard Allen Grenell is the current United States Ambassador to Germany has sent threatening letters to German companies working on the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, according to a German newspaper. Grenell reportedly warns of possible sanctions if they continue to work on the project. According to TRT World Richard Grenell said ‘’we emphasize that companies involved in Russian energy exports are taking part in something that could prompt a significant risk of sanctions’’.[77]

Despite the USA’s concern and threats, Russian Energy Minister Alexander Novak in energy conference held in Milan, Italy said ‘’We hope there will be no additional sanctions but if there are the project will be completed anyway’’.

Taking Alexander Novak’s speech into consideration, Russia insists on finishing the project because Russia will be able to export more amount of gas to Europe Energy Market, that’s why Russian Energy Minister one again stated “Everything is on time and as of today the first commercial gas will be ready by the end of 2019”. Russia is keen to finish and operate the pipeline under any circumstances.[78] According to The Guardian 434 miles of the project has already been finished that’s a proof that Russia insist on finishing the project. The gas pipeline is scheduled to be fully finished by the end of 2019.[79]

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[77] Abdilaziz Ahmet Yasar, “Why did the US ambassador threaten Germany over the Nord Stream II?”, **TRT world** (January 15, 2019), accessed January 23, 2019. https://www.trtworld.com/europe/why-did-the-us-ambassador-threaten-germany-over-the-nord-stream-ii-23348?fbclid=IwAR0T19lEWqPlUrA8Artwbj8ziHD25gElCuqreSX3ve8naaVU6xHN5rrsqY8

[78]Stephen Jewkes, Agnieszka Flak and Jane Merriman, “Russia will complete Nord Stream 2 even if more sanctions arrive”, **Reuters** (October 9, 2018), accessed January 24, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-energy-minister/russia-will-complete-nord-stream-2-even-if-more-sanctions-arrive-idUSKCN1MJ2C3?fbclid=IwAR2baA4VXoGhX1pAeQa4RUFRDgGQWfxrsgqaRlmshkoCE_Rf9svYgVgjJ9w

[79]Adam Vaughan, “Nord Stream 2 Russian gas pipeline likely to go ahead after EU deal”, **The Guardian** (February 25, 2019).

I.19. Turk Stream.

Turk Stream is an export natural gas pipeline stretching from Russia to Turkey across the Black Sea. It's consisted of two strings and its 930 km long.[80] It starts near Anapa seashore across the Black Sea to the Kiyikoy town in Turkey.[81] The project will be able to transport 31.5 bcm of natural gas in a year. It means each string will transport 15.75 bcm of natural gas in a year.[82]

The project fund is expected to reach 11.4 billion Euros.[83] Turk stream will transport gas through two strings; the first string of the pipeline is intended to transport gas from Russia directly to Turkey, while the second string will be used for transportation gas to southern and southeastern Europe[84] Turk Stream gas pipeline is set to become fully operational by the end of 2019.[85] The agreement for the Turk Stream project is signed on December 1, 2014 between Gazprom and Botas

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[80] Merve Sebnem Oruc, "All eyes are on the Turkish Stream", **Daily Sabah** (November 29, 2018), accessed January 4, 2019. https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/merve-sebnem-oruc/2018/11/29/all-eyes-are-on-the-turkish-stream-pipeline?fbclid=iwar0zyq-lwc0minyvrzngwddl3qx0appgdtfs_8-ntgx4rg7ikb_w2kw0avq

[81]"Construction of TurkStream natural gas pipeline's receiving terminal starts", **Hurriyet daily news** (January 17, 2018), accessed January 4, 2019.http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/construction-of-turkstream-natural-gas-pipelines-receiving-terminal-starts-125887?fbclid=IwAR2x-2l-QPAQrvDmWfyWlSQ3ss3MOMxjGeKGZvgzpbFZygyKYaFFOGEnWd8

[82] Murat Temizer, "TurkStream 2 more than 45% completed: Company Official", **Anadolu agency** (August 8, 2018), accessed January 5, 2019. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/natural-gas/turkstream-2-more-than-45-completed-company-official/21176?fbclid=IwAR0fe3COUioj9kpeHYZv4RZEKUA9YLx6LymFR1j4bnVmdeMelDSGRtMbHMU

[83] Madalina Sisu Vicari, "TurkStream and Its Second Line: Challenge for Some, Opportunity for Others", **Vocal Europe** (January 17, 2017), accessed January 6, 2019. https://www.vocaleurope.eu/the-turkstream-and-its-second-line-challenge-for-some-opportunity-for-others/?fbclid=IwAR1kzhnj8SQHRZMK3VlO9PfQoJ-xI9gWfDLTopuNw09TfiHps3wX1EYkwD8

[84] Bruce Beaubouef, "TurkStream project awaits construction start", **Offshore magazine** (December 4, 2017), accessed January 6, 2019. https://www.offshore-mag.com/articles/print/volume-77/issue-4/flowlines-and-pipelines/turkstream-project-awaits-construction-start.html?fbclid=IwAR3zuq9CROB6l_EyiDdD1AKJVqCoiGOrTHKSltlOCWSIZnXAAfsOkFnVzj0

[85]Merve Idil and Kazim Ataer, "Over 50 percent of construction on first Turkish Stream pipeline completed", **Hurriyet daily news** (January 29, 2018), accessed January 6, 2019. http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/over-50-percent-of-construction-on-first-turkish-stream-pipeline-completed-126444?fbclid=IwAR3zuq9CROB6l_EyiDdD1AKJVqCoiGOrTHKSltlOCWSIZnXAAfsOkFnVzj0

Petroleum Pipeline Corporation when Russian President Vladimir Putin visited Turkey, to be an alternative for the cancelled South Stream gas pipeline project.[86]

Figure 6. Gazprom. Layout of TurkStream gas pipeline route, accessed July 1, 2019. http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2016/december/article295329/?fbclid=IwAR0TmpRN0foFz9UtXquAspNlETvjNSsAQ9eRBDMHPCM_1LgY27wd6EmJig0

Turk stream was brought to a temporary halt, because problems aroused between Russia and Turkey over the shot down of Russian warplane by Turkey.[87] After a meeting in Istanbul between the CEO of Gazprom and Minister of Energy and Natural Resources of Turkey in the summer of 2016, both countries reconciled to start working on the project again. Russia and Turkey signed an agreement to continue working on Turk Stream in October 2016. A contract in 2016 signed

[86] Luca Franza, "From South stream to Turk stream", **Clingendael International Energy Programme** no.2015/05 (2015):17-18, accessed January 6, 2019. https://www.clingendaelenergy.com/inc/upload/files/CIEP_paper_2015-05_web_1.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3HAaPJMTtcENeDJJ63zjWqjGXO7wlFnv3MnFAzheQUlE54fk5S99Z0FYs

[87] Dimitar Bechev, "Normalizing Russian-Turkish Economic Relations", **Alsharq forum** (February 20, 2018), accessed December 20, 2018.https://www.sharqforum.org/2018/02/20/normalizing-russian-turkish-economic-relations/?fbclid=IwAR1NhnppKiHxhp9C-_TntfoFF3s4XV2oFlU-hyn4hYwmOLM2-8PHNslY6jQ

between Allsea Group S.A and South Stream Transport B.V. to lay the first gas pipeline string offshore section, and later in February 2017 another contracted signed between two above- mentioned companies to lay the second gas pipeline string offshore section. After only one year, in November 2018 the offshore section of the project was fully finished.[88]

According to the agreement the pipelines will be brought into operation to transport gas from Russia to Turkey by December 2019. According to Daily Sabah 80% of the project has already completed, after that Alexy Miller the CEO of Gazprom said ‘’There is the Turkish Stream gas pipeline: 1,500 kilometers (930 miles) of pipe, around 80 percent of the line” has been assembled.[89]

I.20. The significance of Turk Stream project for Russia.

The significance of Turk Stream gas transporting pipeline is that, it will directly connect Russia with most gas reserves to Turkey the second country in gas consumption. Turk Stream is very important for Russia because the amount of gas exportation would increase significantly.[90] Turkey hit a record high in 2017; Turkey consumed 53.5 bcm of gas and the amount is still increasing every year. Russia plans to export a big amount of gas to Turkey using Turk Stream. The importance of Turk Stream is mostly economical; the amount of gas is expected to be transported to

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[88] “TurkStream. Gas exports to Turkey and southern and southeastern Europe”, **Gazprom**, accessed December 20, 2018. http://www.gazprom.com/projects/turk-stream/?fbclid=IwAR0fe3COUioj9kpeHYZv4RZEKUA9YLx6LymFR1j4bnVmdeMelDSGRtMbHMU

[89] “Gazprom says Turkish Stream pipeline project 80 percent complete”, **Daily sabah** (August 30,2018), accessed December 20, 2018. https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2018/08/30/gazprom-says-turkish-stream-pipeline-project-80-percent-complete?fbclid=iwar2cnx2r-fzyce2cxdola13bqkj3xyxwm0xsxodousz7revevx9kunlex2k

[90] Murat Temizer, “TurkStream landmark project for Russia,Turkey: Novak”, **Anadolu agency** (November, 18, 2018), accessed December 22, 2018. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/nuclear/turkstream-landmark-project-for-russia-turkey-novak/22341?fbclid=IwAR39UF0CqwbCnRlLXUivsRopEBNv2H6W-eOXCLZeBynvbUVlRbXgya_8-Sc

Turkey after Turk Stream will be operated can strengthen Russia's economy remarkably in the near future.[91]

One of the strings of Turk Stream will be used to transport natural gas to Europe countries. The string will help Gazprom to maintain its dominance in Europe Energy market[92], because Gazprom owns 51% of the project. The political importance of the project is also considered by Russia because four countries in Balkan Peninsula Serbia, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Hungary are expected to participate in the project in the future.[93]

I.21. What's the importance of Turk Stream for Turkey?

Turk Stream has its special for Turkey because it ties Turkey to Russia which comes first in reserve natural gas and since Turkish population is around 80 million and economically growing fast, thus they can heavily depend on it. The demand for Russian natural gas has also increased in Turkey.[94]

According to Turkish Energy in 2017, Turkey recorded the highest amount of importing natural gas from Russia with 53.5 bcm.[95] Hence we can say Turk

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[91] Muhsin Baris Tiryakioglu, "Turkey hits record gas consumption and imports in 2017", **Anadolu agency** (February 21, 2018), accessed December 22, 2018. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/turkey/turkey-hits-record-gas-consumption-and-imports-in-2017/18943?fbclid=IwAR2fW-sCgQ3WAptVTi_RfiNNRva9Dt9Os-4cvo8RDVe8Y8GW3Xd2L7VWRCM

[92] "TurkStream good solution for Russia to boost gas exports to southern Europe", **Daily sabah** (October 6, 2018), accessed December 22, 2018. https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2018/10/06/turkstream-good-solution-for-russia-to-boost-gas-exports-to-southern-europe?fbclid=iwar2s_cx2gl8lxjef1vm-0hz-kh3usvdwl6hluy7c5ghoxgnidrp4hrukbg0

[93]Dimitar Bechev, "Russia's Pipe Dreams Are Europe's Nightmare", **Foreign policy** (March 12, 2019), accessed March 17, 2019.https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/03/12/russia-turkstream-oil-pipeline/?fbclid=IwAR3HumZi2hHP5IuGFs3fRmkHS163nl3Yb7x2J7szZoG5BhGHasYj819WjNw

[94] Sinan Ulgen and Mitat Celikpala, "TurkStream: Impact on Turkey's Economy and Energy Security", **Edam** (November 21, 2017), accessed July 1, 2019. http://edam.org.tr/en/turkstream-impact-on-turkeys-economy-and-energy-security/?fbclid=IwAR0Lret7fSH99XyllH0Xt-qaKEwCw83I8DL2pKWqvvkw8R4yg3uv9ops1Hk

[95] "Turkey hits record gas consumption and imports in 2017", **Energy of Turkey** (February 21, 2018), accessed July 1, 2019. http://www.energyofturkey.com/turkey-energy-news/turkey-hits-record-gas-consumption-and-imports-in-2017/?fbclid=IwAR2WbZn13mg8BjeOS5-5vk2L0lFEURoIR7lVN6Q4Ka6PBb1DQ16fgm1aE3Q

Stream project plays an important role in providing natural gas. Economically speaking, Turk Stream has a magnificent impact on Turkish economic because Turkey doesn't pay the cost of gas transit, thus they can buy it with less price through the project. On the other hand, Turkey makes money by transiting gas from Turk Stream to Southern Europe.[96]

In 19 November 2018 at a meeting which held in Istanbul between Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Vladimir Putin, both sides, the Russian president insisted that Turk Stream affects economic improvement in Turkey and their geopolitical situation in the region.[97] Despite that, the project makes Turkey a centre for energy trading and marketing between East and West. As Fatih Donmez, the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, said: "Turkey aim to become an energy centre, where buyers and seller meet and prices are determined."

Here, the Turk Stream is more an economical and trading project.[98] According to Daily Sabah, the cost of natural gas through this project to Turkey is less in comparison to the price of other countries that provide Turkey with natural gas.[99]

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[96] Nuran Erkul Kaya, "Turkey to benefit from many gas supplies & best prices", **Anadolu Agency** (March 5, 2019), accessed July 1, 2019. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/international-relations/turkey-to-benefit-from-many-gas-supplies-best-prices-/23730?fbclid=IwAR165G_7x_ZgxhGmKQMW_rmHHhSyKNL2kt45I8INO6ycamnTO3OKFw4sxm8

[97] "TurkStream natural gas pipeline to reinforce Turkey's role in energy trade, boost European energy security", **Daily Sabah energy** (November 19, 2018), accessed July 1, 2019. https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2018/11/19/turkstream-natural-gas-pipeline-to-reinforce-turkeys-role-in-energy-trade-boost-european-energy-security?fbclid=iwar06_qw4nc0dcfdjdbts8wyf72hd73x0h1ovvhngwnjnzo8ght9g3s-mlii

[98] Murat Temizer, "TurkStream is key step for Turkey as gas trading center", **Anadolu Agency** (November 19, 2018), accessed July 1, 2019. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/todays-headlines/turkstream-is-key-step-for-turkey-as-gas-trading-center/1315643?fbclid=IwAR2vq-Ze2gM2saJvsG9oapQK0FCm0Kymg47vbogyk-8fXKwABxbUhhUzbOU

[99] "Russia ready for competition in Turkey with cheap gas", **Daily Sabah energy** (December 13, 2018), accessed July 1, 2019. https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2018/12/13/russia-ready-for-competition-in-turkey-with-cheap-gas?fbclid=iwar07zc_qc5_zmmqkd2vkkykls5bgize--wbhttnrzc-udqf32ebhf2zlgyi

I.22. Disadvantages of Turk Stream pipeline for Turkey.

After the completion of Turk Stream, Turkey would be a huge importer of Russian natural gas, Turkey would depend on Russia to supply half of all the amount of gas consumption of its country. That could be problematic for Turkey, because if the political relation of two parties goes wrong, Russia will threaten Turkey by stopping exporting gas to the country.[100]

Turk Stream brought the relation between Turkey and USA alongside European Union countries to a new low level because mentioned parties never agreed on Turk Stream project[101], since it is a project oppose to their favors in Energy Market. The part of the project that supplies Europe with Russian gas through Turkey is the most denied project by the USA and European Union countries since it makes Russia more powerful and more dominant in European Energy Market, that's why it's believed Turk Stream would cost Turkey political relation problems with the USA and European Union countries.[102]

Furthermore the Project would help Gazprom to strengthen its position in Turkey Energy Market, and that could lead to Gazprom's dominance over Turkey's energy sector, at that time Russia can affect Turkey politically.[103]

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[100] Melanie Kenderdine, "The importance of natural gas to Turkey's energy and economic future", **Turkish policy quarterly** (November 27, 2018), accessed July 1, 2019. http://turkishpolicy.com/article/934/the-importance-of-natural-gas-to-turkeys-energy-and-economic-future?fbclid=IwAR22LYjgRqt0DZIEq9lo2i8xeXxjaEeZSYeacjKYOqZJWnnDJQNdMDdKtuE

[101] Marc Pierini, "Russia's Gas Strategy Gets Help From Turkey", **Carnegie Europe** (December 03, 2018), accessed July 1, 2019. https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/77855?fbclid=IwAR2l11BvCJDl-hPrpkpeBZolXlFJuc5Y77T58CqAM2pv3aOZODAzx0A5_TI

[102] Serkan Demirtas, "Why TANAP is more important than the Turkish Stream", **Hurriyet Daily news** (December 13, 2014), accessed July 1, 2019. http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/serkan-demirtas/why-tanap-is-more-important-than-the-turkish-stream-75574?fbclid=IwAR3pxQPqQtYqmbdpy-41yqOEg18wezU0K1zKA7T1Ag6EzRlzQ_tQo6GLIvs

[103] Oksana Kobzeva and Vladimir Soldatkin, "Exclusive: Turkey yet to issue Gazprom permit for TurkStream land pipeline - sources", **Reuters** (February 20, 2018), accessed July 1, 2018. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-turkey-gas-pipeline-exclusive/exclusive-turkey-yet-to-issue-gazprom-permit-for-turkstream-land-pipeline-sources-idUSKCN1G41SR?fbclid=IwAR0sb_NtPMu4c-vaTyVHpNIV9OeZLZUCEYaIMtWqROHcrHgnrXfXoqccAcw

CHAPTER TWO

II.1. The role of oil and gas in strengthening politics of Russia.

In the last two decades, Russia significantly returned to the world politics and economics particularly after Vladimir Putin came to power. Russia uses energy especially oil and gas to strengthen its politics and economics, and both Gazprom company and Rosneft oil company became a part of Moscow government.[104] Besides, this made Russia powerful especially with those countries which have economical relation with Russia in terms of oil and gas.[105]

II.2. How has Russia used oil and natural gas to strengthen itself?

Russia strengthened itself by using oil and gas in two ways. First, it stands against those countries which contradicts Moscow government. Second, it rewards those ones which are in favor of Russia. Therefore, we give examples of those countries especially European countries.[106]

II.3. Ukraine.

Concerning Ukraine crisis, Russia has used oil and gas to make itself powerful because Ukraine depends on Russia's oil and gas largely. In addition,

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[104]Leon Aron, "The political economy of Russian oil and gas", **American Enterprise Institute** (May 29, 2013), accessed December 24, 2018.http://www.aei.org/publication/the-political-economy-of-russian-oil-and-gas/?fbclid=IwAR0bPdwTJZemqHFDYh3pJhu4Kt8j4K9woJ1CjtJIrfUR6uqOsmQby-RD4N0

[105] Norman Hertman, "Russia's natural gas is Vladimir Putin's political and economical weapon", **ABC news** (April 17, 2014), accessed December 24, 2018. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-04-16/natural-gas-is-putins-political-and-economical-weapon/5394030?fbclid=IwAR0YGobWhMB-kVAraZ-FkkcCqR5OdtTLi66TV6AdrqSKv2akgVcF93Taal4

[106] Newnham, "Oil, carrots, and ...": 134-143.

Ukraine is the way through which Russia's gas is transferred to Europe. However, after electing Viktor Yushchenko as a prime minister of Ukraine in 2005[107], it was against Moscow's favor because this prime minister Yushchenko was against Moscow's policy and he also supports his country to be a member of NATO. He started reformation so that Ukraine could be a member in NATO. After that, Gazprom company demanded to increase gas price from 50 US dollars to 230 US dollars per 1000 cubic metres.[108]

This demand was a pressure against Yushchenko's government which intended to take out Ukraine under the control of Russian government, thus on first January 2006 Russia cut gas from Ukraine for a day and it forced Ukraine to return the gas debts.[109] So in Ukraine presidential election, Viktor Yanukovych won and became Ukrainian president.

After Viktor Yanukovych was for Moscow's politics meanwhile Moscow supported him, so after taking presidency office, he sent a committee to Moscow to decrease gas price and Russia agreed with the percentage 30% for the next ten years. Thus Ukraine will earn 40 billion US dollars. This was like a gift for Ukraine because it was supported by Russia. Therefore, it is obvious that Russia uses natural gas to make Ukraine politics strong.[110] However, after Yanukovych quit and left his presidency because of orange revolution and left for Moscow, again Gazprom

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[107]"TIMELINE: Gas crises between Russia and Ukraine", **Reuters** (January 11, 2009), accessed December 26, 2018.https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-ukraine-gas-timeline-sb-idUSTRE50A1A720090111?fbclid=IwAR0VqX4_PPjZJM9v00Ibz_8y-r3S5X2PAefyighp49ebxq1jaDZMnGc7Tr4

[108] Tom Parfitt, "Russia turns off supplies to Ukraine in payment row, and EU feels the chill", **The Guardian** (January 2, 2006), accessed December 26, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/jan/02/russia.ukraine?fbclid=IwAR2FVgN6bfggujzbwcFN8TBGR-nT94xT3QGyjG0QsQYXW-YvksFXZWHIQUc

[109] Andrew E. Kramer, "Russia Cuts Off Gas to Ukraine in Cost Dispute", **The New York times** (January 2, 2006), accessed December 26, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/02/world/europe/russia-cuts-off-gas-to-ukraine-in-cost-dispute.html?fbclid=IwAR3WSx9n4d_RjMlYzgycq1UYXBQqpaAMuSl4MZi6SL5sqAr9g4lBA_lAWQc

[110] Randall E. Newnham, "Pipeline politics: Russian energy sanctions and the 2010 Ukrainian elections", **Journal of Eurasian Studies** Vol.4 (Issue 2, July 2013): 115-122, accessed December 27, 2018. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1879366513000110?fbclid=IwAR3FA_5vW7Kq1R-DQfV8eewOewHWQ5rPrull2nrYJY_vd5JNT7GkVKOLu7w

increased gas price until it reached 378 US dollars per 1000 cubic meters in 2014 and it caused gas price increase with the percentage 80%[111] because the relation between these two countries became bad due to Crimea problem which was controlled by Russia and there was a conflict between Russia and Ukraine.[112] As a result, after increasing gas price and Russian pressure on Ukraine for the gas debts, in 2018 the price of gas per 1000 cubic meters was 339 US dollars for Ukraine, all these problems were due to the Ukraine policy which was against Moscow's politics.[113]

II.4. Moldova.

Moldova is one of the poor countries of Europe and it largely depends on Russia's gas and oil. Moldova exported majority of its products to Russia. However, after separating Transnistria from Moldova, this country divided into two parts; one part supports Europe and Transnistria supported Moscow.[114] Moreover, in 2005 Moldova's supporting party agreed to the Europe's support and they wanted to be a member in Europe but Moscow stood against this and considered it as an opposition against its favours.[115] Therefore, Russia forced Moldova via Gazprom because Moldova's gas sector is controlled by Moldova's gas company and this company belongs to Gazprom with the percentage 50% and belongs to Transnistria with the

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[111]Paul Kirby, "Russia's gas fight with Ukraine", **BBC news** (October 31, 2014), accessed December 27, 2018 .https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29521564?fbclid=IwAR2_cM8pe0fvOplafWMR3GUMNAptB-GtSt0xCHLXxGjtDDSIG1SukyxmUc0

[112] Kostiantyn Yanchenko, "Black Sea gas deposits – an overlooked reason for Russia's occupation of Crimea", **Euromaidan press** (October 10, 2018), accessed December 27, 2018. http://euromaidanpress.com/2018/10/10/black-sea-gas-deposits-an-overlooked-reason-for-russias-occupation-of-crimea/?fbclid=IwAR0ICIqymmRgyy93SUHBUliKQOoF7CrBbTPTmGj6Qpdj8rz1RRg6sB5cSYQ

[113] Alexandr Demyanchuk, "Cost of independence: Ukraine pays record high price for 'European' gas", **RT news** (December 12, 2018), accessed December 27, 2018. https://www.rt.com/business/446280-record-price-gas-eu-ukraine/?fbclid=IwAR2xiNL_YFVHRajqFegDlhBzKkRUh0x1hEPXzqgXfvtn_Us0quUdOruwWak

[114] Steven Woehrel, "Russian Energy Policy Toward Neighboring Countries", **Congressional Research Service** (September 2, 2009): 10-11.

[115] Nicu Popescu, "The EU in Moldova – Settling conflicts in the neighbourhood", **European Union Institute for Security Studies** (October 2005): 34-35, accessed January 2, 2019. https://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/ebooks/files/ISS_EU_occ60.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2tn9ZQByQbOM_5OCigJ8rCfCHORiOWglNT_YRQgTagexV6sE51bI0kNSo

amount 13%, but only 35% of the company belongs to Moldova and 1% is under the private sector.[116]As result, Gazprom demanded for gas price increase, but Moldova refused and then Gazprom cut Moldova's gas in January 2006 and this step was to strengthen Moscow's politics in Moldova.

Therefore, they made an agreement and gas price rose from 80 US dollars to 110 US dollars per 1000 cubic meters.[117] According to the agreement the price was being increased until in 2011 it reached European countries price level which was 400 US dollars per 1000 cubic meters.[118] Thus in 2010 Gazprom announced that gas price increased to 233 US dollars and this faced a huge debts.[119] Then Moldova's government was obliged to demand for the reduction of gas price, so Russian energy minister Alexander Novak stated that Moldova's government asked Russia to decrease gas price with the amount 30% which was 392 US dollars per 1000 cubic meters in 2011. After that, Russian energy minister declared Moldova's gas price would be the same as European countries if Moldova wanted to be a part of Europe and Energy EU Community. This minister also stated that Russia wanted Moldova to pay back Russia's Gazprom's money because Moldove owed Gazprom 4.1 billion US dollars.[120]

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[116] Vladimir Socor, "Gazprom's Price Hike to Moldova Has Political Ramifications", **Eurasia Daily Monitor** vol.8 (Issue: 26, February 7, 2011), accessed January 2, 2019. https://jamestown.org/program/gazproms-price-hike-to-moldova-has-political-ramifications/?fbclid=IwAR3HiWo-30TYcdI3uP_LBrtnNYma5M2tS-p044jtwdsdYsGM1JDdmS7IgQU

[117] "Moldova agrees Russian gas deal", **BBC news** (January 17, 2006), accessed January 2, 2019. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4620844.stm?fbclid=IwAR14cQc_3S2CQDqwMXlU4-RbZBbzTLiLX4KLmFcFlYpo7nnbNPhLOrfi6jw

[118]Ion PREASCA and Virginia NICA, "Gazprom empire in Moldova", **Rise Moldova** (March 3, 2016), accessed January 2, 2019.https://www.rise.md/english/confidential-contract-gazprom-empire-in-moldova/?fbclid=IwAR1rxUwptOjMeDx0t8JOygSvgaEEZRYChnXTIWqMtrvkfLVQX-OVy_exVHY

[119] Kristina Belkina, "Moldova Raises Domestic Gas/Power/Heating Prices To Match Higher Purchase Costs", **See news** (January 15, 2010), accessed January 2, 2019. https://seenews.com/news/moldova-raises-domestic-gaspowerheating-prices-to-match-higher-purchase-costs-192546?fbclid=IwAR1LE3GDnXBsG1EjSW8wdAoMYVYO1xjF4eIDZ-2mEdr1u5jvqyk7-msvFWs

[120]"Russia Offers Moldova Gas Discount If EU Energy Links Cut", **Radio free Europe radio liberty** (September 12, 2012), accessed January 2, 2019.https://www.rferl.org/a/russia-offer-to-moldova-cheap-gas-or-eu-

After all this pressures which Russia forced Moldova via natural gas, in 2017 according to EU observe in the Moldova's president meeting Igor Dodon with Vladimir Putin in Moscow, Moldova's president said that he liked to end the agreement and treaty between Moldova and European countries and he also emphasized that they started preparation to return to Russia. Then, Russian president promised to reduce and decrease gas price for Moldova.[121] Therefore, in the 2018 parliament election campaign Igor Dodon started that he directly talked to Vladimir Putin to decrease gas price. Here the role of gas is appeared for Moscow's strength.[122]

II.5. Georgia.

After arising the Rose revolution in November 2003 Saakashvili seized power in Georgia.[123] This leader was the leader of the European supporting party. When he won Georgian presidency election, he tried to make Georgia a member of NATO, but this made Russia disagreeable to this attempt was against Moscow's interest, therefore Moscow's government started gas sanction against Georgia.[124] Thus Gazprom increased gas price from 2004 until 2006 from 50 US dollars to 235 US dollars per 1000 cubic meters as well as Moscow stated that this price is normal as other European countries's gas price, but this price was too high for Georgia. Then in 2007 approximately 300 million US dollars were given to Gazprom by Georgia

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[121] Andrew Rettman, "Moldova turns from EU to Russia", **EU observer** (January 18, 2017), accessed January 2, 2019. https://euobserver.com/foreign/136582?fbclid=IwAR1NLy1XwTb94887Kw4E8Dpzs3AVN_Ri5dNHtrY13VAMiVGVrwRmH9chL_o

[122] Madalin Necsutu, "Moldovans Face Bigger Gas Bills After Gazprom Hikes Price", **Balkan insight** (March 18, 2019), accessed March 24, 2019. https://balkaninsight.com/2019/03/18/moldovans-face-bigger-gas-bills-after-gazprom-hikes-price/?fbclid=IwAR1NZjF7VT6CiW0IS5I8e0-IAKwuMh_Aw3Nj3eUgLIh7pB8DQe4w_d32ucI

[123]"How the Rose revolution happened", **BBC news** (May 10, 2005), accessed January 5, 2019.http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4532539.stm?fbclid=IwAR05LHG0LjftgMaiQEDGDzRfVtqS83zRTJqUzVhaXujBASt8xtO0nbPaOhU

[124] "Russian Energy Policy Toward Neighboring Countries", **Every CRS report** (March 22, 2010), accessed January 5, 2019. https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RL34261.html?fbclid=IwAR2PK01OLA3MYg-XZRqpeqTKz1ct_L7mcwAUbhpBBUBVM58Rv6-pI1mG0dg

and this amount was 10% of Georgia's budget.[125] This was a pressure against Saakashvili's government because he wanted to let Georgia become a member of NATO.[126]

Moreover, Russia refused Georgia to pay gas payment by debt, but earlier Georgia could buy gas by debt for a year without interest because at that time Georgia was under Russia's control politically. In addition, Gazprom between 2005 and 2006 forced Tablis's government to sell the gas tube of Georgia - Russia to Gazprom company.[127] However, Georgia refused this demand of Gazprom.[128]

On 22 January 2006 Russia's gas to Georgia was cut but Moscow's government announced that this was due to an explosion[129] and Russia accused Checheni sects of this incident.[130] According to New York times, Georgia's president and majority of Georgia's leaders believed that this accident was done on purpose and deliberately by Russia to weaken Saakashvili's government.[131]

Then Georgia decided to reduce the import of gas from Russia, so Georgia imported much gas from Azerbaijan. Next, Gazprom threatened to change and transfer the way of gas tube between Georgia and Armenia to the way between Iran

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[125] Randall E.Newnham, "Georgia on my mind? Russian sanctions and the end of the 'Rose Revolution'", **Journal of Eurasian Studies** Vol.6 (Issue 2, July 2015): 161-170, accessed January 5, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2015.03.008

[126]Janusz Bugajski and Margarita Assenova, "Eurasian disunion - Russia's vulnerable flanks", **Strati.az** (July 27, 2018), accessed January 5, 2019.http://strati.az/mobile.php?id=870&fbclid=IwAR2gouENMhtQXn1FSywNupzaSg7h-y5qraOIsGyGkjJAoLyd9FbxpKpeOQs

[127] Newnham, "Georgia on my mind?..."

[128] Konstantin Rozhnov, "Georgia and Russia do business despite tense relations", **BBC news** (July 14, 2010), accessed January 6, 2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/10606544?fbclid=IwAR3HNu-RKDKhNihIBy--CVy5bOD3xws6g--NF7eKYmvQ_XMPkqOUeKzTtX0

[129] "Russia blamed for 'gas sabotage'", **BBC news** (January 22, 2006), accessed January 6, 2019. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4637034.stm?fbclid=IwAR12RQtQo-Cme4usmRw4-kY2C3JMhEbYC2MNpxsk3Nk_-4klCOrJ9hlMYrk

[130]"Russia Blasts Cut Gas to Georgia, Armenia", **Fox news** (January 22, 2006), accessed January 6, 2019.https://www.foxnews.com/story/russia-blasts-cut-gas-to-georgia-armenia?fbclid=IwAR202XL5k6wCKRqA2y3B2LR4sosgmwLbrwswJ1uhxOuButaqzrdtnKriwkA

[131] C. J. Chivers, "Explosions in Russia Cut Gas Pipelines to Georgia", **THE NEW YORK TIMES** (January 22, 2006), accessed January 6, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/22/international/europe/explosions-in-russia-cut-gas-pipelines-to-georgia.html?fbclid=IwAR14xYPQMdKqd6M25KsN4BLtPaQ9B8LjHhNqCFCJ_WkB9Hrh8rbu7RJYbGM

and Georgia in 2016 and this was force Georgia[132], until they made an agreement in 2017 to continue transferring gas from Georgia to Armenia.[133]

II.6. Belarus.

Belarus is one of those countries that had a strong relation with Russia and it was a part of the previous the Soviet Union. Belarus depends on Russia's energy, especially oil and gas and even the price of natural gas in Belarus was the same as the gas price in Russia.[134]

However, in 2006 reduced the export of gas and oil to Belarus when Gazprom demanded Belarus to sell Beltransgaz company to it and Gazprom threatened to cut gas from Belarus if they didn't agree.[135] After all these pressures, Belarus agreed to sell Beltransgaz to Gazprom company with the percentage 50% in 2011.[136] Thus Russia could control the gas tube between Russia and Belarus where Russia's gas was transferred to Europe. Therefore, in 2014 Russia controlled Beltransgaz totally.[137]

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[132] Ilham Shaban, "Gazprom Seeks Again To Pressure Georgia Over Gas Supplies", **Caspian barrel** (February 1, 2016), accessed January 6, 2019. http://caspianbarrel.org/az/2016/02/gazprom-seeks-again-to-pressure-georgia-over-gas-supplies/?fbclid=IwAR0_yzQaZ1VF3FgEIxoh9qyy84-gbdCDSj3ezxE-5qYmjv2f4GRlKPVeaNg

[133] Nino Dalakishvili, "Georgia, Gazprom Agree to New Transit Terms", **Voa news** (January 12, 2017), accessed January 6, 2019. https://www.voanews.com/a/georgia-gazprom-agree-new-transit-terms/3674663.html?fbclid=IwAR1u8PVSskGOXrspkpxYB95wl28UMhlLFvpN2BHtEdoQGvSKkn0ES0sLkMw

[134] Alla Leukavets, Klysinski Kamil and Heinrich Andreas, "Russian Relations with Belarus", **Russian Analytical Digest** No. 206 (September 12, 2017): 2, accessed January 8, 2019. https://www.research-collection.ethz.ch/bitstream/handle/20.500.11850/200132/3/RAD206%20%28002%29.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2PK01OLA3MYg-XZRqpeqTKz1ct_L7mcwAUbhpBBUBVM58Rv6-pI1mG0dg

[135] Carl Schreck, "Gazprom threatens to cut gas to Belarus over price dispute", **The Guardian** (December 27, 2006), accessed January 8, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/business/2006/dec/27/russia?fbclid=IwAR2JU8wWWoTFCf2M-U1vzZicWyinEEnWifmwD1sv0U9mgW--srddyhIGAHM

[136] "Gazprom expects to sign deal for stake in Belarus pipeline firm", **Sputnik news** (May 18, 2007), accessed January 8, 2019. https://sptnkne.ws/muxG

[137] "Gazprom acquires Beltransgaz in new deal", **UPI** (November 28, 2011), accessed January 8, 2019. https://upi.com/3423436

On the other hand, in 2010 Russia decided to reduce the export of raw oil to Belarus.[138] Besides, Belarus imported too much oil and they refined the raw oil via refineries and much of it was carried to European markets. Despite the fact that Russia demanded Belarus to sell its oil refinery to Russia because this refinery was significant to Minsk government economically. Russia wanted to be more powerful in European markets to strengthen its politics thus Russia increased tax on the oil export to Belarus.[139] Therefore, most of the political analysts inside and outside of Belarus believed that these pressures by Russia were a warning to Belarus to approach Europe.[140] After that Russia and Belarus made an agreement and Belarus agreed to Russia's demands and then the price of gas was decreased by Russia for Belarus in 2017 and this was like a reward that Belarus obeyed Russia.[141]

II.7. Armenia.

Armenia and Russia have a strong relation politically and militarily because several military bases of Russia are in Armenia, besides Armenia depends on Russia's energy especially gas and oil.[142] However, in 2002 Armenia tried to build and establish gas line from Iran to Armenia then to Europe, but Moscow considered this as opposition against itself. As a result, in 2006 Moscow's government forced Armenia to increase gas price and sell Iran - Armenia gas line to Gazprom

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[138] Vladimir Socor, "Belarus Accepts Drastic Reduction in Oil Subsidy From Russia", **Eurasia Daily Monitor** vol.7 (Issue: 18, January 28, 2010), accessed January 9, 2019. https://jamestown.org/program/belarus-accepts-drastic-reduction-in-oil-subsidy-from-russia/?fbclid=IwAR1u8PVSskGOXrspkpxYB95wl28UMhlLFvpN2BHtEdoQGvSKkn0ES0sLkMw

[139] Yauheni Preiherman, "Belarus' Magic Oil Economy", **Belarus Digest** (April, 17 2012), accessed January 9, 2019.https://belarusdigest.com/story/belarus-magic-oil-economy/?fbclid=IwAR2gouENMhtQXn1FSywNupzaSg7h-y5qraOIsGyGkjJAoLyd9FbxpKpeOQs

[140] Armine Sahakyan, "Belarus Is Latest Target of Russia's Use of Oil and Gas as Geopolitical Weapons", **Huff post** (December 6, 2017), accessed January 9, 2019.https://www.huffpost.com/entry/belarus-is-latest-target_b_10875636?fbclid=IwAR1zj-CHDiTYKhNWCm7SAxj02COtYraodU3vigO1qn9WbVHqEGRklHlp6KI

[141] Gulsen Cagatay, "Russia, Belarus agree to resolve gas dispute", **Anadolu agency** (April 4, 2017).

[142] David Boyajian, "Why Russia Needs Armenia and Vice Versa", **The Armenian weekly** (February 5, 2019), accessed February 7, 2019. https://armenianweekly.com/2019/02/05/why-russia-needs-armenia-and-vice-versa/?fbclid=IwAR3HNu-RKDKhNihIBy--CVy5bOD3xws6g--NF7eKYmvQ_XMPkqOUeKzTtX0

company.[143] Armenia's government agreed to Russia's demand.[144] Therefore, Russia could control the gas sector of Armenia and the name of Armenia company changed to Armrosgazprom.[145] After that, in 2014, Gazprom could own Armrosgazprom 100%.[146] But after Armenia approached Europe again Russia threatened to increase gas price.

In 2018 Armenian President, Nikol Pashinyan, visited Russia and met with Vladimir Putin. The Armenian emphasized a political, economical and military relationships between the two countries as a strong alliance.[147]

After the meeting, President Pashinyan confirmed that gas price will not raise but stay as it was. Here it clearly shows that how Russia used energy sector, especially gas, to develop Moscow policy in Armenia.[148]

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[143] Armen Grigoryan, "As Iran and Armenia agree on a new rail link, Russia blocks pipeline development", **Asia news** (June 2, 2015), accessed February 7, 2019. http://www.asianews.it/news-en/As-Iran-and-Armenia-agree-on-a-new-rail-link,-Russia-blocks-pipeline-development-33396.html?fbclid=IwAR0_yzQaZ1VF3FgEIxoh9qyy84-gbdCDSj3ezxE-5qYmjv2f4GRlKPVeaNg

[144]Gayane Abrahamyan, "Armenia-Iran Deal May Threaten Russia's Natural Gas Market", **Oil price** (February 11, 2016), accessed February 7, 2019.https://oilprice.com/Latest-Energy-News/World-News/Armenia-Iran-Deal-May-Threaten-Russias-Natural-Gas-Market.html?fbclid=IwAR1pNtd5mEXA9Jd2DRWFb7OB8_l3li-tfTQ1gy_CLt-kUKLteKiw-H2SO48

[145] Stephen Blank, "Russia Pressures Armenia to Join Customs Union", **The central Asia-Caucasus analyst** (August 21, 2013), accessed February 7, 2019. https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/12793-russia-pressures-armenia-to-join-customs-union.html?fbclid=IwAR0-PSyx-P0cupFsL6hLxURHzvXGanmZlFdzatpTzAR4wpJUZOGHWgjif-Q

[146]"Gazprom Completes Armenian Gas Takeover", **Asbarez** (January 17, 2014), accessed February 7, 2019. http://asbarez.com/118554/gazprom-completes-armenian-gas-takeover/?fbclid=IwAR2mGp3hEpZWn--jO3BPFGdt_kq4AvmXSZavSjuYw4nEcV1rlYhuzs7jQG8

[147] Denis Pinchuk and Andrew Osborn, "New Armenian PM tells Putin he wants closer ties with Russia", **Reuters** (May 14, 2018), accessed February 8, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-armenia-putin-pashinyan/new-armenian-pm-tells-putin-he-wants-closer-ties-with-russia-idUSKCN1IF1A3?fbclid=IwAR2mGp3hEpZWn--jO3BPFGdt_kq4AvmXSZavSjuYw4nEcV1rlYhuzs7jQG8

[148] "Pashinyan: Armenia, Gazprom agree on gas price", **Armenia news** (January 22, 2019), accessed February 8, 2019. https://news.am/eng/news/491998.html?fbclid=IwAR252Bq_OYFVhGy7dt-sUbhTWYu2gq6yd8NVyrFnspKAiGSuGoR9HG17Yls

CHAPTER THREE

III.1. The role of Gazprom and Rosneft in strengthening in Russian position.

III.1.1. Gazprom.

Gazprom is the biggest Russian firm, and it has the biggest production capacity.[149] Gazprom became stronger after Vladimir Putin came to power, because Vladimir Putin insisted on strengthening and controlling energy sector of Russia by Russian government, Gazprom became a tool for Russian government to perform its policy. Russia could buy Sibneft Company owned by Ramon Abramovic for 13 billion US dollar through Gazprom firm.[150] Gazprom worked on strengthening itself by controlling gas sector of some countries and reaching long term agreements with Eastern Europe and Central Europe Countries, and after that interfering energy market in Europe.[151] According to Reuters Gazprom supplied 36.7% market share of natural gas in Europe Energy market, that is a record never been hit by Gazprom.[152]

Furthermore, According to Gazprom annual report, Gazprom produced 12% of global natural gas[153] and 68% of natural gas in Russia. Gazprom exports most of its production to Europe countries; the rest of its production is exported to Asia-

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[149] "Gazprom - The world's largest gas company", **BBC world service**, accessed February 9, 2019. http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/specials/151_globalgiants/page4.shtml

[150] "Gazprom: a state within a state?", **Politico** (March 29, 2006), accessed February 9, 2019. https://www.politico.eu/article/gazprom-a-state-within-a-state-2/?fbclid=IwAR3j-ULe4e2b2cnTQ4AlsGCCiNXL69bJUEbFG4_HLtnolsYsCwrTgC3SLEY

[151] Roman Kupchinsky, "Gazprom's European expansion dilemma", **Eurasia Daily Monitor** vol.5 (Issue: 149, August 5, 2008), accessed February 9, 2019. https://jamestown.org/program/gazproms-european-expansion-dilemma/?fbclid=IwAR0bpRQDmE4SeOmvJC2ctYN-PYP0zAC51IcW5XRMcws3p9WI7gh0KRm_HGk

[152]Vladimir Soldatkin, "Gazprom grabs record share of Europe gas market despite challenges", **Reuters** (February 26, 2019), accessed February 27, 2019.https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-gazprom-europe/gazprom-grabs-record-share-of-europe-gas-market-despite-challenges-idUSKCN1QF067?fbclid=IwAR3j-ULe4e2b2cnTQ4AlsGCCiNXL69bJUEbFG4_HLtnolsYsCwrTgC3SLEY

[153] "Management Report PJSC Gazprom for 2017", **Gazprom**: 3, accessed February 9, 2019. http://www.gazprom.com/f/posts/12/255042/2017-mgt-report-en.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3o4OTTBK51HBZMa1fajrl8lRTqxNp0vYD-GuvdBg3eaTYzeKuWrDrUQQ8

Pacific and North American countries.[154] Russia holds 50% share of Gazprom firm.[155] According to Anadolu Agency Gazprom's production capacity is increasing. Production capacity increased 5.8% in 2018 comparing to 2017. Meanwhile the transportation capacity has increased 2.6% in 2018 comparing to 2017.[156] Despite The USA and Europe's concern Gazprom managed to increase natural transportation capacity to Europe; Gazprom could also control gas sector of many Central and Eastern European countries. According to Oil Price Gazprom's transportation capacity reached 200 BCM; it's the highest amount of gas export in Gazprom's history.[157]

III.1.2. Gazprom and Central Asia.

Since many ages Russia and central Asian countries had a strong political and geographical relationship, the cultural and linguistic relation are also the same since they were part of the Soviet Union in the past. Furthermore they have had a strategic relation concerning energy, all those reasons made them allies in the field of oil business.[158]

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[154]"Gazprom in brief", **2 b 1st consulting** (October 3, 2012), accessed February 9, 2019. https://www.2b1stconsulting.com/gazprom-in-brief/?fbclid=IwAR16KXwc9CeStj0lvDtpEpabzuG_F49sBwt78vXgiDqgAfesx3hwoRE1v2s

[155]J. William Carpenter, "The world's top 10 natural gas companies", **Investopedia** (February 9, 2018), accessed February 9, 2019.https://www.investopedia.com/articles/markets/030116/worlds-top-10-natural-gas-companies-xom-ogzpy.asp

[156]Murat Temizer, "Gazprom's gas production up by 5.8% in Jan.-Nov 2018", **Anadolu agency** (December 4, 2018), accessed February 9, 2019.https://www.aa.com.tr/en/energy/general/gazproms-gas-production-up-by-58-in-jan-nov-2018/22585?fbclid=IwAR3LI8SCmzMTeehnN_zKIt8Z1_UCrDIvknojsbUv94Tui_o-yhjM5-dTyEs

[157]Aleksei Afonin, "From Russia with Oil", **Oil price** (March 22, 2019), accessed March 23, 2019. https://community.oilprice.com/blogs/entry/150-gazprom-to-supply-200-bcm-of-gasyear-to-europe-in-2019/?fbclid=IwAR29tO0FvaKN308Gx7SBIOjZK4rpnEj1IR-pr88XQy77t1bIIiTyQ3EBCkQ

[158] Vladimir Paramonov and Aleksey Strokov, "Russia and Central Asia: current and future economic relations", **Defence academy of the United Kingdom** (July, 2006): 1, accessed January 13, 2019. https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/92598/06_Aug.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1k5w3h1zyRUSuwzt1OA96DqJhXry1q3dftSjQ_4kF3Ffa13aRxSY6VnDQ

III.1.3. How does Gazprom control natural gas sector in Central Asia?

III.2.1. Gazprom and Turkmenistan.

Turkmenistan is the fourth country in the world in natural gas reserves; they transported most of their gas through Russian pipes to European countries so Turkmenistan is very important for Russia, but after their natural gas increased and China were interested in natural gas of central Asia.[159]

Gazprom made a long term contract with Turkmenistan in 2003 to transport their gas through Russia for 25 years. By this contract Gazprom also takes over and controls their natural gas and natural gas price in central Asia.[160]

The contract was a very good step for Gazprom because they were able transport the fourth country with most natural gas reserves. Despite the economic profits it was also important in terms of gas price and gas business because as they were agreed in the contract Gazprom could participate in projects inside Turkmenistan.[161] The contract continued again in 2018 after they paused for some while because of gas price.

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[159] Clara Brown, "10 Countries With The Highest Natural Gas In The World", **Hazar** (March 23, 2018), accessed January 13, 2019. http://www.hazar.org/10-countries-with-the-highest-natural-gas-in-the-world/?fbclid=IwAR21eq_E99IaFAFJMVz4FUd0-M8cnmtkcOqMjMcr7Y8ES3hruNBqfR6Vg8c

[160] "Turkmenistan: Russia Suspends Gas Supplies", **Eurasianet** (January 4, 2016), accessed January 13, 2019. https://eurasianet.org/turkmenistan-russia-suspends-gas-supplies?fbclid=IwAR3_Wz9F8hjgz2xML_IFs_6hUhBmHdQVTF7E-ALn3I8c9O8F6VvYHgqiows

[161] M. K. Bhadrakumar, "Russia takes control of Turkmen (world?) gas", **Global Research** (August 16, 2008), accessed January 14, 2019. https://www.globalresearch.ca/russia-takes-control-of-turkmen-world-gas/9853?fbclid=IwAR1ZpMfCtjgSrZFOleTLfkHcEKz3F9BiadQL4Anwp_zknCK3HdfurnkiUm8

III.2.2. Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan is one of the countries in central Asia which has a strong cultural, trading, political, and economical relation with Russia.[162]Kazakhstan is also the way for transporting Turkmenistan natural gas to Russia; they also transport their gas to Russia.

Gazprom also has a contract with Kazakhstan for 5.5% of their BCM since 2003.[163] Both parties also have made a contract for 25 years so Gazprom could control their natural gas business and search for more natural gas fields in Kazakhstan.[164] Gazprom also owns 25% of Tsentralnoye oil field in Kazakhstan.[165]

After increasing the production of natural gas they had a new agreement in 2018, according to that Gazprom will buy 12.8% of (BCM) from Kazmunai Gas every year.[166]

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[162] John C. K. Daly, "After Three-Year Hiatus, Gazprom to Renew Purchases of Turkmen Gas", **Eurasia Daily Monitor** vol.15 (Issue: 149, October 22, 2018), accessed January 14, 2019. https://jamestown.org/program/after-three-year-hiatus-gazprom-to-renew-purchases-of-turkmen-gas/?fbclid=IwAR281yDLyBLEDl66SLF7u-5Jfm2KpbgeWmTv2JVOgs3XoBgm2QWVqJL6ZfU

[163] Robert M. Cutler, "Karachaganak gas and the future of Kazakhstan's pipeline system", **The central Asia-Caucasus analyst** (August 9, 2004), accessed January 14, 2019. https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/9296-analytical-articles-caci-analyst-2004-9-8-art-9296.html?fbclid=IwAR2JU8wWWoTFCf2M-U1vzZicWyinEEnWifmwD1sv0U9mgW--srddyhIGAHM

[164] Marika S. Karayuanni, "Russia's foreign policy for central Asia passes through energy agreements", **CA&C Press AB**, accessed January 14, 2019. https://www.ca-c.org/journal/2003/journal_eng/cac-04/11.kareng.shtml?fbclid=IwAR19FtDxQg-q7B8EQp3Q75H2T0-1hcsoXVzHWzAYxKV7-gywhu1x7w4A7R8

[165] "Russia and Kazakhstan are preparing the Tsentralnoye and Imashevskoye fields for commercial development", **Gazprom**, accessed January 14, 2019. http://www.gazprom.com/projects/kazakhstan/

[166] Tatiana Kanunnikova, "Gazprom to purchase 12,8 bcm of gas from Kazakhstan", **Russian construction** (January 24, 2017), accessed January 14, 2019. http://russianconstruction.com/news-1/26269-gazprom-to-purchase-128-bcm-of-gas-from-kazakhstan.html?fbclid=IwAR2JU8wWWoTFCf2M-U1vzZicWyinEEnWifmwD1sv0U9mgW--srddyhIGAHM

III.2.3. Kyrgyzstan.

After the fall of the Soviet Union Kyrgyzstan has a strong energy relation with Russia.[167] They made a long term contract between them for 25 years in 2003. According to the contract they cooperate in energy projects especially natural gas.[168] Gazprom started working in gas fields in the south of Kyrgyzstan and they spent 300 million US dollars.[169] Later in 2013 Kyrgyzstan agreed to sell Kyrgyz Gas Company to Gazprom, and Gazprom could control 100% of natural gas sector of Kyrgyzstan. Gazprom decided to invest 600 million US dollars in natural gas sector of Kyrgyzstan.[170] According to Reuters Gazprom bought the company for just 1 US dollar but Gazprom must provide all Kyrgyzstan with gas according to the terms of the agreement. The contract is very crucial for Russian economy since Russia can control all the gas pipes for 25 years.[171]

III.2.4. Uzbekistan.

Russia and Uzbekistan had a good trade relationship; the relationship became better in terms of economy especially energy field and politic when Vladimir

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[167]Kubangazy Bugubaev, "Kyrgyzstan-Russia Relations", **Strategic outlook** (May, 2013), accessed January 15, 2019. http://strategicoutlook.org/publications/Kyrgyzstan_Russia_Relations.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1k5w3h1zyRUSuwzt1OA96DqJhXry1q3dftSjQ_4kF3Ffa13aRxSY6VnDQ

[168] Cecilia Rehn, "Gazprom and Kyrgyzstan discuss energy security", **World Pipelines** (May 1, 2014), accessed January 15, 2019. https://www.worldpipelines.com/business-news/01052014/russias_gazprom_and_kyrgyzstan_discuss_energy_security/?fbclid=IwAR3YlQVaS6HSBCNlZRz8cG27kHx-YxRIrzyrlGqxTPI9EyOL9ZpdfHvvbV0

[169] Paramonov, "Russia and ...": 9.

[170] Asel Kalybekova, "Kyrgyzstan: Is Gazprom Deal a Blessing or Curse for Bishkek?", **Eurasianet** (July 31, 2013), accessed January 15, 2019. https://eurasianet.org/kyrgyzstan-is-gazprom-deal-a-blessing-or-curse-for-bishkek?fbclid=IwAR2ZaSQeJG6WJXBphgRL8Q_0bDoihZ8Gnqd4Pp2c0i4ybmShGccEbXBw90o

[171]"Gazprom takes over Kyrgyz gas network, vows stable supply", **Reuters** (July 29, 2013), accessed January 15, 2019.https://uk.reuters.com/article/gas-kyrgyzstan-gazpom/gazprom-takes-over-kyrgyz-gas-network-vows-stable-supply-idUKL6N0FZ0WN20130729?fbclid=IwAR252Bq_OYFVhGy7dt-sUbhTWYu2gq6yd8NVyrFnspKAiGSuGoR9HG17Yls

Putin became president of Russia.[172] Uzbekistan has a lot of natural gas reserves[173] and it is a member in CSTO that's why Russia got interested in Uzbekistan's natural gas sector[174] and it is considered one of the most very important countries for Russia. In 2002, Gazprom had an agreement with Uzbekneftegaz company to cooperate in natural gas sector, by 2003 Gazprom started to transport Uzbekistan's gas to Russia and from there to Europe market, it was a start for Gazprom to control other countries gas to strengthen Russia.[175] In 2010, Uzbekistan renewed the contract with Gazprom to continue selling gas to Gazprom.[176] Uzbekistan confirmed another time in an agreement to sell 6.2 bcm amount of gas to Gazprom in 2017. Gazprom were able to control Central Asia natural gas and beat their rival China.[177]

III.2.5. Republic of Tajikistan.

Tajikistan is one of the countries to declare its independence after the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia was one of the very first countries to confirm its independency; furthermore they have a very strong relation and both countries are

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[172]Jakhongir Kakhkharov, "Uzbek-Russian Economic Relations and the Impact of the Russian Economic Performance on Uzbekistan's Growth and Foreign Trade", **Munich Personal RePEc Archive Paper** No.64026 (posted May 5, 2015), accessed January 17, 2019.https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/64026/2/MPRA_paper_64026.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3gL3kdo9XsD2ieUE9wdOHALdXio1zvLNLL2ylJYFdC2YnGn_uovkvh8rk

[173]Samuel Ramani, "The Implications of Tightening Russia-Uzbekistan Ties", **The Diplomat** (May 11, 2016), accessed January 17, 2019.https://thediplomat.com/2016/05/the-implications-of-tightening-russia-uzbekistan-ties/?fbclid=IwAR1nvpb4lO96q1J0RKHmaFOotP-JHVUcrMT6h6PN2ciiPDjuoTH7lufvptU

[174]Kamila Aliyeva, "Uzbekistan plans to increase gas production in 2018", **Azernews** (December 26, 2017), accessed January 17, 2019. https://www.azernews.az/region/124629.html?fbclid=IwAR21eq_E99IaFAFJMVz4FUd0-M8cnmtkcOqMjMcr7Y8ES3hruNBqfR6Vg8c

[175] Vladimir Paramonov, Oleg Stolpovsky and Alexey Strokov, "Russia and Uzbekistan: oil and gas cooperation", **International affairs** (July 20, 2010), accessed January 17, 2019. http://en.interaffairs.ru/events/249-russia-and-uzbekistan-oil-and-gas-cooperation.html

[176] UPI, "Gazprom signs gas deal with Uzbekistan", **Media group Tajikistan Asia plus** (December 30, 2009), accessed January 17, 2019. https://news.tj/en/news/centralasia/20091230/gazprom-signs-gas-deal-uzbekistan?fbclid=IwAR0wO4R4IKxYacFQ9GYDgSwh8UvWKZB1JMbOQWr-PIM7vUmhAuVTYfbB0K8

[177] "Gazprom will buy Uzbek gas to prevent its supply to China?", **Eurasia daily** (April 5, 2017), accessed January 17, 2019. https://eadaily.com/en/news/2017/04/05/gazprom-will-buy-uzbek-gas-to-prevent-its-supply-to-china?fbclid=IwAR0Iia4avo2thvvuU1GpJchHmvviWMmANu5sI-rasnjpQX7k_l8C77l9egE

members of CSTO.[178] Considering all those points it was easy for Gazprom to control Tajikistan's natural gas in 2003 for 25 years. Both parties agreed on that Gazprom is responsible for searching, mining and preparation of natural gas inside Tajikistan.[179] Before the agreement Uzbekistan provided Tajikistan with natural gas but after the agreement Gazprom were responsible for that as they had already controlled natural gas sector in Uzbekistan. Gazprom have to buy gas from Uzbekistan then transport it and sell it to Tajikistan.[180] Gazprom have spent 150 million US dollars in 2018 by searching and mining for gas in both North fields in Tajikistan. Despite that Gazprom have controlled Tajikistan's natural gas sector they buy and transport Tajikistan's gas.[181]

III.3.Why does Gazprom buy central Asia's Countries gas?

By controlling and buying natural gas in central Asia, Gazprom wants to control the market there and continue to be strong in Europe market; Gazprom also wants none of the central Asia countries to use Caspian Sea pipelines for exporting their gas to Europe and other countries.[182]

Another reason is that Gazprom doesn't want China to interfere in gas sector in central Asia because China is considered to be the number one rival for Gazprom

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[178] "Relations of Tajikistan with Russia", **Ministry of foreign affairs of the republic of Tajikistan**, accessed January 18, 2019. http://mfa.tj/?l=en&cat=90&art=158

[179] Lena Jonson, "Tajikistan in the new Central Asia. Geopolitics, great power rivalry and radical islam" (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006): 74-76.

[180] Bruce Pannier, "Central Asia: Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan Hope Gazprom Deals Will Make Their Winters Warmer", **Radio free Europe radio liberty** (May 22, 2003), accessed January 18, 2019. https://www.rferl.org/a/1103316.html

[181] "Gazprom reportedly continues work on exploring new gas fields in Tajikistan", **Media group Tajikistan Asia-plus** (July 20, 2018), accessed January 18, 2019. https://news.tj/en/news/tajikistan/economic/20180720/gazprom-reportedly-continues-work-on-exploring-new-gas-fields-in-tajikistan

[182] Regis Gente, "Why does Gazprom need Turkmen gas?", **Chronicles of Turkmenistan** (October 25, 2018), accessed January 18, 2019. https://en.hronikatm.com/2018/10/why-does-gazprom-need-turkmen-gas/?fbclid=IwAR3uVAWLqumF55xTQ_julq4evVedn8VNEEk5LUbA2LuqBLO6C6wfCq84840

in the area.[183] Gazprom wants China to buy gas from them directly so that could help Russia economically and politically to be strong in Energy market. Despite all above mentioned, Gazprom wants to manipulate central Asia gas and make all European countries always rely on Russia for providing them with natural gas.[184]

III.4. Gazprom and Europe.

Russia has been sending gas to Europe since a long time ago.[185] After that Gazprom became a government company, it developed a lot and became the main company in Russia to control energy sector in 2002. Gazprom became a worldwide company after that Vladimir Putin came to power, and started to provide European countries especially Eastern Europe countries with natural gas.[186] From 2006 European countries became a good market for Gazprom and they turned to be a good energy market for Russia to sell and export its gas there.[187] Since Gazprom started to provide much gas, and European countries had more demand on gas, Gazprom became very interested in Europe energy market and started to export much gas to Eastern Europe countries. To maintain its position in Europe energy market Gazprom

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[183] "Gazprom will buy Uzbek gas to prevent its supply to China?", **EurAsia daily** (April 5th, 2017), accessed January 17, 2019. https://eadaily.com/en/news/2017/04/05/gazprom-will-buy-uzbek-gas-to-prevent-its-supply-to-china?fbclid=IwAR1tqx5PZVXnPSAy-V8d0xLI0z0Iv6Jw_LvFbDcNvaI2Uu8U92IyY0ceBsM

[184] "Gazprom-Central Asia deal to set off price rise", **Asia news** (March 19, 2008), accessed January 18, 2019.http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Gazprom-Central-Asia-deal-to-set-off-price-rise-11801.html?fbclid=IwAR2UWNVXWeYbGcMjRjTPc5fu33xoU5wgB0Tg6PDLs9xgJ0Ae8SzbLKHXOGY

[185] Tony Connelly, "Russian giant looms over Europe", **RTE news** (March, 5 2008), accessed January 20, 2019. https://www.rte.ie/news/special-reports/2008/0228/100245-gazprom/?fbclid=IwAR1zj-CHDiTYKhNWCm7SAxj02COtYraodU3vigO1qn9WbVHqEGRklHlp6KI

[186] Igor Osipov, "Becoming an energy giant: an overview of Gazprom expansion into EU energy utilities and networks sector", **University of Alberta School of Business** (2007): 4-5, accessed January 20, 2019. https://www.ualberta.ca/business/centres/carmen/energy/~/media/E1EBF9CA16BD46039EBE703B5164BBF0.ashx?fbclid=IwAR0-PSyx-P0cupFsL6hLxURHzvXGanmZlFdzatpTzAR4wpJUZOGHWgjif-Q

[187] Marina Tsygankova, "The export of Russian gas to Europe: breaking up the monopoly of Gazprom", **Statistics Norway Research Department Discussion Papers** No. 494 (February 2007): 3-4, accessed January 20, 2019. https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/DP/dp494.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2_Qhpw-H_JMZKBNLzefGlnpNHnorTT9hdpLKd4w_eVaE1lIloCUGINhT0

applies its policy in gas market by manipulating some countries with good amount of gas reserves and tries to be more present in the market for countries which buy gas from Gazprom. The policy Gazprom has used would be stated in the following paragraph in some different points.[188]

1) Purchasing and becoming partners in pipelines with the companies from Europe and Eastern Europe countries.

2) Having long term agreements with countries which have much natural gas.[189]

III.5. Purchasing and becoming partners in pipelines with the companies from Europe and Eastern Europe countries.

To maintain its position in Europe energy market and among Eastern Europe countries Gazprom started to raise the price of gas to put pressure on countries which rely on Gazprom to provide them with gas.[190] Gazprom could be successful in its plan and control their gas sector either by purchasing them or becoming partners with them. Gazprom could reach to agreements with all those countries and strengthen the position of Russia among Eastern Europe countries[191] as it's clearly mentioned in the following table:

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[188] "Gazprom: expanding into Europe", **Stratfor worldview** (November 14, 2000), accessed January 20, 2019. https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/gazprom-expanding-europe?fbclid=IwAR1CRcY1AlthxIZN9KjziozSG4PArerrZshmn0iHb2T10y4w8RZdUfHSSxE

[189]Dominique Finon and Catherine Locatelli, "Russian and European gas interdependence. Can market forces balance out geopolitics?", **Energy Policy Elsevier** (October 11, 2007): 14-15, accessed January 20, 2019. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00129618v2/document?fbclid=IwAR1EUrpua5Dg49BDGlhlsEotvAJHe0MD_djksyYJJd8o9FEaGvPjDT-NsNk

[190] Martin Jirusek and Petra Kuchynkova, "The Conduct of Gazprom in Central and Eastern Europe: A Tool of the Kremlin, or Just an Adaptable Player?", **Masaryk University**, accessed January 20, 2019. https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/fa6c3563-6c95-49ec-9139-d08780925e16.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1CRcY1AlthxIZN9KjziozSG4PArerrZshmn0iHb2T10y4w8RZdUfHSSxE

[191] "Belarus' debt to Gazprom is rising", **OSW center for Eastern studies** (May 26, 2010), accessed January 20, 2019. https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2010-05-26/belarus-debt-to-gazprom-rising?fbclid=IwAR14xYPQMdKqd6M25KsN4BLtPaQ9B8LjHhNqCFCJ_WkB9Hrh8rbu7RJYbGM

Table 1. Gazprom ownership of selected European gas transit infrastructure

Name	Share of Gazprom ownership
Nord Stream 1 pipeline, Germany	51 per cent
Blue Stream pipeline, Turkey	50 per cent
Vemex, Czech Republic	50,1 per cent
Beltransgaz, Belarus	100 per cent
EuRoPol Gaz, Poland (Connects to Yamal-Europe pipeline)	48 per cent
Overgas, Bulgaria	50 per cent
Panrusgas, Hungary	50 per cent
Latvijas Gaze, Latvia	34 per cent
EuRoPol Gaz, Poland	48 per cent
Vemex, Slovakia	50,1 per cent
MoldovaGaz, Moldova	50 per cent plus 1 share
Gasum, Finland	25 per cent (shares purchased by Finnish State in 2015)
Wintershall – Gazprom asset swap	50 per cent of WIEE & 100 per cent of Wingas

Source: Rem Korteweg, "Energy as a tool of foreign policy of authoritarian states, in particular Russia", **European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs** (2018), accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/603868/EXPO_STU(2018)603868_EN.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1ZpMfCtjgSrZFOleTLfkHcEKz3F9BiadQL4Anwp_zknCK3HdfurnkiUm8

Gazprom has always wanted to control gas sector in any countries it cooperates with or becomes partners with them, this has also been a clear goal for Gazprom to export their gas to Europe easily by pipelines it controls.[192] In 2011, Gazprom bought 51% of VEMX Czech Company, by this agreement it could control gas sector in Czech and uses Czech pipelines to transport gas to Germany and other

[192] Rem Korteweg, "Energy as a tool of foreign policy of authoritarian states, in particular Russia", **European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs** (April 27, 2018): 16-17, accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/603868/EXPO_STU(2018)603868_EN.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2ZaSQeJG6WJXBphgRL8Q_0bDoihZ8Gnqd4Pp2c0i4ybmShGccEbXBw90o

European countries.[193] Despite Russia could benefit from Czech economically after the agreement Russia can get its political interests in Czech.[194] Belarus is another country that Gazprom controls 100% of their energy infrastructure since 2013, after that Russia put the pressure on Belarus by raising the price of gas on them and made Belarus to sell Beltranzgas Company to the government of Russia. Belarus's gas sector and gas pipelines are completely controlled by Gazprom in return Belarus can get cheaper gas than before.[195]

III.6. Why does Gazprom use partnering and purchasing policy?

Gazprom used partnering and purchasing policy to control company of those countries, and the country would be a guaranteed buyer of gas from Gazprom, this can make Russia more powerful economically in energy market and help Russia to work on its political interests in those countries more easily. Gazprom exports much gas every year to Europe so Russia can obtain its goals inside European countries.[196]

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[193] "Gazprom buys access to Czech consumers", **RT news** (September 9, 2011), accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.rt.com/business/gazprom-czhech-electricity-gas-175/?fbclid=IwAR1zj-CHDiTYKhNWCm7SAxj02COtYraodU3vigO1qn9WbVHqEGRklHlp6KI

[194] Peter Green, "Energy, Politics and Putin: Russia's Gas Power Play Traps Europe", **The street** (October 30, 2014), accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.thestreet.com/story/12907434/1/energy-politics-and-putin-russias-gas-power-play-traps-europe.html?fbclid=IwAR3gL3kdo9XsD2ieUE9wdOHALdXio1zvLNLL2ylJYFdC2YnGn_uovkvh8rk

[195] Ryhor Astapenia, "Belarus On the Russian Energy Needle", **Belarus digest** (January 9, 2014), accessed January 21, 2019. https://belarusdigest.com/story/belarus-on-the-russian-energy-needle/?fbclid=IwAR281yDLyBLEDl66SLF7u-5Jfm2KpbgeWmTv2JVOgs3XoBgm2QWVqJL6ZfU

[196] Agata Loskot-Strachota, "Gazprom's expansion in the EU: co-operation or domination?", **OSW center for Eastern studies** (October 15, 2009), accessed January 22, 2019. https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-report/2009-10-15/gazproms-expansion-eu-co-operation-or-domination?fbclid=IwAR3JA1tggBesnoAcfawwaw8R7nNQAJBDV6PZEm5-iM3TBa6pMrvqBmTA2G0

III.7. Purchasing or partnering in most of gas transporting pipelines.

It is another policy that Gazprom uses to maintain its presence and strength in energy market. Gazprom uses those pipelines to export much gas to Europe and control the price of gas to put pressure on any country Russia want buy raising the price of gas.[197] Belarus is one of the examples, in 2011 Russia raised the price of gas on Belarus and gave Belarus a big amount of money as debt to make Belarus accept Russia's offer for controlling Yamal–Europe gas pipeline that goes through Belarus. Belarus accepted to sell 100% of the pipeline to Gazprom to get gas in a cheaper price from Russia.[198]

Gazprom cut off gas to Ukraine in 2006, there was a dispute in all Europe and all countries accused Gazprom of domination and controlling gas sectors of many countries especially Eastern European countries to strengthen its position in the energy market.[199] Nord stream pipeline is one of the main pipelines for Russia to transport gas to European countries, 51% of the mentioned pipeline is owned by Gazprom, it is also one of the reasons for Gazprom to keep its position in gas market because a big amount of gas is transported into Europe by Nord stream pipeline.[200] Despite that USA and Europe eager to compete Gazprom's dominance in gas market

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[197] Andrew E. Kramer, "Gas Deal With Belarus Gives Control of Pipeline to Russia", **The New York times** (November 25, 2011), accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/26/world/europe/in-deal-with-belarus-russia-gets-control-of-yamal-europe-pipeline.html?fbclid=IwAR2KNAdhHG1lZrcNxrpdKQFGEk8RfUjR4udl1NaNTZLxYmcyOE1tkyIvmZQ&mtrref=l.facebook.com&gwh=05E4B30FC2533026EA45CD371C8D39A9&gwt=pay

[198] Madalina Sisu Vicari, "How Russian Pipelines Heat Up Tensions: From Reagan's Battle Over Yamal To The European Row On Nord Stream 2", **Vocal Europe** (April 21, 2016), accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.vocaleurope.eu/how-russian-pipelines-heat-up-tensions-from-reagans-battle-over-yamal-to-the-european-row-on-nord-stream-2/?fbclid=IwAR1Bi7jSISWkWd8o6FV1f26LrkDRy_yTica3WkPWD0mYJtNDf7uFaXF42T8

[199] Cassie Werber, "The EU has charged Russia's Gazprom with abusing its energy dominance", **Quartz** (April 22, 2015), accessed January 21, 2019. https://qz.com/388749/the-eu-has-charged-russias-gazprom-with-abusing-its-energy-dominance/?fbclid=IwAR2JU8wWWoTFCf2M-U1vzZicWyinEEnWifmwD1sv0U9mgW--srddyhIGAHM

[200] Alan Riley, "Nordstream: An Economic and Market Analysis of the North European Pipeline Project", **Centre for European Policy Studies**, Brussels (2008), accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/peti20080129_economicanalysisriley_/PETI20080129_EconomicAnalysisRiley_en.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1nvpb4lO96q1J0RKHmaFOotP-JHVUcrMT6h6PN2ciiPDjuoTH7lufvptU

in Europe[201], Gazprom still continues to control and cooperate in many gas pipelines maintain its dominance by cooperating or buying gas pipeline and gas companies.[202] Gazprom owns and controls 50% of Nord Stream 2 pipelines.[203] However many European countries and USA are worried about Gazprom's dominance, it managed to control 51% of Turkstream2 according to information from Foreign Policy.[204]

It's expected that Gazprom will be more dominant and strong in exporting gas to European countries after finishing the two pipelines of Nord Stream 2 and Turkstream in the end of 2019. In spite of USA and European countries disagreement over Gazprom's dominance in energy market, Gazprom managed to control many gas pipelines and energy market.[205]

III.8. Long term agreements.

Gazprom exports gas to eastern European countries under long term agreements, most of those agreements are for valid for 25 years. The reason for such kind of long agreements was to guarantee its buyers in Europe market and gas

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[201] Andrew Dewson, "Gazprom accused of abusing its market position", **Independent** (April 22, 2015), accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/gazprom-accused-of-abusing-its-market-position-10197032.html?fbclid=IwAR3gL3kdo9XsD2ieUE9wdOHALdXio1zvLNLL2ylJYFdC2YnGn_uovkvh8rk

[202] Danila Bochkarev, "Gazprom plays ball: the depoliticization of the European gas market", **Enrgypost.eu** (January 25, 2017), accessed January 21, 2019. https://energypost.eu/depoliticization-european-gas-market/?fbclid=IwAR1nF-Ku3G4ROwTscWoy-M-5bN0vaOYOf-O4QDCvsWAeSB6SZdDLs3t_K-Y

[203] Agata Loskot-Strachota, Szymon Kardas and Rafal Bajczuk, "The Nord Stream 2 financing agreements", **OSW center for Eastern studies** (April 26, 2017), accessed January 21, 2019. https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2017-04-26/nord-stream-2-financing-agreements?fbclid=IwAR2JU8wWWoTFCf2M-U1vzZicWyinEEnWifmwD1sv0U9mgW--srddyhIGAHM

[204]Dimitar Bechev, "Russia's Pipe Dreams Are Europe's Nightmare", **Foreign policy** (March 12, 2019), accessed March 17, 2019.https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/03/12/russia-turkstream-oil-pipeline/?fbclid=IwAR252Bq_OYFVhGy7dt-sUbhTWYu2gq6yd8NVyrFnspKAiGSuGoR9HG17Yls

[205] Murat Temizer, "Nord Stream 2, TurkStream on track: Gazprom", **Anadolu agency** (January 16, 2019), accessed January 22, 2019. https://www.aa.com.tr/en/economy/nord-stream-2-turkstream-on-track-gazprom/1365939?fbclid=IwAR252Bq_OYFVhGy7dt-sUbhTWYu2gq6yd8NVyrFnspKAiGSuGoR9HG17Yls

supply.[206] The long term agreements were also a reason to stop countries to sell gas to third parties under legal agreements. Those countries that need gas supply have to buy from Gazprom because many gas transporting pipelines and many gas mines are already controlled by Gazprom. It is one of the most intelligent policies Gazprom has used lately to control energy market in Europe.[207]

The only way to guarantee it's buyers was to have long term agreements with countries that can supply gas to Europe, Gazprom uses its ability to control gas sector of countries that can supply gas and also control gas market of countries that are in need of gas, so can Gazprom be the strongest and most dominant in Europe in terms of energy. The policy that Gazprom applies could control many eastern European and central Europe countries. One of those agreements is the long term agreement of Gazprom with Austrian OMV Company. According to the agreement OMV Company has to buy 4.4 bcm of gas from Gazprom every year from 2006 to 2027.[208]

Another example is the long term agreement of Gazprom with Bulgarian Bulgargaz Company, according to their agreement Bulgargaz has to buy 2.9 bcm of gas from Gazprom for 10 years until 2022, such kind of agreements guarantee continuousbuyers for Gazprom for a long time.[209] One of the other countries for Gazprom to control was Croatia, the only way to do that Gazprom had to have an agreement with PPD Croatian Company, according to the agreement PPD Company

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[206] Korteweg, "Energy as a tool of ...": 23.

[207] Kim Talus, "Long-term natural gas contracts and antitrust law in the European Union and the United States", **The Journal of World Energy Law & Business** vol.4 (Issue 3, September 2011), accessed January 25, 2019.https://doi.org/10.1093/jwelb/jwr015

[208] "Gazprom and OMV AG sign Cooperation Agreement", **Gazprom** (January 25, 2008), accessed January 25, 2019. http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2008/january/article88240/?fbclid=IwAR2mGp3hEpZWn--jO3BPFGdt_kq4AvmXSZavSjuYw4nEcV1rlYhuzs7jQG8

[209] Lukas I. Alpert, "Gazprom, Bulgargaz Sign Long-Term Natural Gas Contract", **Market screener** (November 15, 2012), accessed January 25, 2019.https://www.marketscreener.com/GAZPROM-OAO-6491735/news/Gazprom-Bulgargaz-Sign-Long-Term-Natural-Gas-Contract-15513038/?fbclid=IwAR2mGp3hEpZWn--jO3BPFGdt_kq4AvmXSZavSjuYw4nEcV1rlYhuzs7jQG8

agreed to buy 1.48 bcm of gas from Gazprom every year for ten years from 2017 to 2027.[210]

One of the most crucial long term agreements of Gazprom is with Czech RWE Transgaz Company. Gazprom had to make a deal with RWE company to because of three reasons; since one third of Russia's gas is transported through Czech, Russia sells 9 bcm of gas to Czech every year under a long term agreement from 2007 until 2035 and Czech is also one of the good markets for Russian gas, plus Czech has a good position in European energy market.[211]

Gazprom has a long term agreement with WINGAS, WEIH German Company for 15 years from 2015 until 2031; Gazprom supplies 1.2 bcm of gas every year to Germany. The arrangement with the German company is considered to be a very successful one since Germany is counted as the country with the most amount of imported gas from Russia.[212]

The long term agreement of Gazprom with E.ONAG Company is considered to be another successful agreement, because according to the terms of the agreement Gazprom has to supply the company from 2006 until 2030 with a big amount of gas that should reach 100 bcm of gas and raise the amount of importing.[213]

Another example of long term agreements is Gazprom's agreement with DEPA Company for 12 years from 2014 until 2026. According to the terms of the

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[210]Vedran Pavlic, "Gazprom Signs Ten-Year Gas Delivery Contract with Croatia", **Total Croatia news** (September 18, 2017), accessed January 25, 2019. https://www.total-croatia-news.com/business/22102-gazprom-signs-ten-year-gas-sale-contract-with-croatia?fbclid=IwAR0-PSyx-P0cupFsL6hLxURHzvXGanmZlFdzatpTzAR4wpJUZOGHWgjif-Q

[211] "RWE strengthens its position in the European gas market", **RWE corporate website** (December 21, 2006), accessed January 25, 2019. https://www.rwe.com/web/cms/en/113648/rwe/press-news/press-release/?pmid=4001476&fbclid=IwAR0wO4R4IKxYacFQ9GYDgSwh8UvWKZB1JMbOQWr-PIM7vUmhAuVTYfbB0K8

[212]"Foreign partners: Germany", **Gazprom**, accessed January 26, 2019. http://www.gazpromexport.ru/en/partners/germany/?fbclid=IwAR3uVAWLqumF55xTQ_julq4evVedn8VNEEk5LUbA2LuqBLO6C6wfCq84840

[213] "Gazprom and E. ON prolong the existing contracts and sign contract for gas supply via the NEGP", **Gazprom** (August 29, 2006), accessed January 26, 2019. http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2006/august/article63576/?fbclid=IwAR1tqx5PZVXnPSAy-V8d0xLI0z0Iv6Jw_LvFbDcNvaI2Uu8U92IyY0ceBsM

agreement Gazprom has to supply the company with 2.5 bcm of gas every year. Also Gazprom export a big amount of gas to Europe through DEPA Company.[214]

Italy's demand on natural gas has been rising in the last years; it became one of the countries that Gazprom have an agreement with since 2006. Gazprom has to supply ENI Italian company with natural gas for 35 years.[215] Gazprom has to supply ENI company with the amount of 6 bcm of gas every year for 35 years. In 2013, ENI company became one of the most important companies and cooperates for Gazprom because it imported 21.55 bcm of natural gas from Gazprom and it's expected there will be an in the amount because Italy's demand of natural gas has increased lately.[216]

Latvia is one of the other countries that are expected its gas sector will be controlled by Russia, because Gazprom owns 34% of Latvijas Gas Company of Latvia. After they had an agreement in 2009, Gazprom has to supply the company with 1.1 bcm of gas every year until 2030.[217]

Despite all the guaranteed countries, Gazprom still wants to add more countries to its list of buyers and cooperates. Poland is another country that has a very long term agreement with Gazprom since 1996, according to the agreement

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[214] Alexandra Carrera, "DEPA Group achieves new gas supply deal with Gazprom", **Oil and gas technology** (February 27, 2014), accessed January 26, 2019. http://www.oilandgastechnology.net/downstream-news/depa-group-achieves-new-gas-supply-deal-gazprom?fbclid=IwAR0iMi7SgUB6nQ6h8EwzceyXBJkdo01mT7RSTcqnrKBQVULEOrlm3LKAdVI

[215] "Gazprom and ENI ink Agreement on strategic partnership", **Gazprom** (November 14, 2006), accessed January 26, 2019. http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2006/november/article63661/?fbclid=IwAR1zj-CHDiTYKhNWCm7SAxj02COtYraodU3vigO1qn9WbVHqEGRklHlp6KI

[216]"Gazprom", **ENI in Russia** (September 25, 2018), accessed January 26, 2019. https://www.eni.com/en_RU/eni-russia/partners-projects/gazprom/gazprom.shtml?fbclid=IwAR21eq_E99IaFAFJMVz4FUd0-M8cnmtkcOqMjMcr7Y8ES3hruNBqfR6Vg8c

[217] "Alexey Miller holds talks with Latvian Economy Minister Artis Kampars", **Gazprom** (December 21, 2010), accessed January 26, 2019. http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2010/december/article106925/?fbclid=IwAR0_yzQaZ1VF3FgEIxoh9qyy84-gbdCDSj3ezxE-5qYmjv2f4GRlKPVeaNg

PGNIG company buys 1.2 bcm of natural gas from Gazprom every year until 2022.[218]

Onef Energy Company of Romania is also a guaranteed buyer of 2 bcm Gazprom's natural gas every year. According to the agreement between Onef Energy Company and Gazprom in 2010, Onef energy has to buy total of 42 bcm of natural gas from Gazprom in 20 years.[219]

Gazprom still tries to get more countries into agreement with itself to guarantee its dominance over the energy market in Europe. Gazprom managed to control Slovakia's gas sector, because Slovakia depends 100% on Gazprom to supply it with natural gas. Gazprom has an agreement with Slovakia's SPD company now, according to their agreement written in 2008 SPD has to buy 30 bcm of natural gas from Gazprom until 2028.[220]

III.9. The role of Rosneft company in making Russia's position greater.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia saw a period of political and economic unrest. Most of the energy companies were under the control of private sector companies. Their political participations, and they misused gas and oil sector for their own interest, thus corruption increased especially in the year 1990 most of

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[218] Agnieszka Barteczko and Anna Koper, "Poland aims to end long-term gas supplies from Russia after 2022", **Reuters** (June 1, 2016), accessed January 27, 2019.https://www.reuters.com/article/us-eeurope-summit/poland-aims-to-end-long-term-gas-supplies-from-russia-after-2022-idUSKCN0YM2QJ?fbclid=IwAR3gL3kdo9XsD2ieUE9wdOHALdXio1zvLNLL2ylJYFdC2YnGn_uovkvh8rk

[219] "Gazprom and Romania's Conef Energy sign 20-year gas supply deal", **Alexander's gas and oil connections** (April 5, 2007), accessed January 27, 2019. http://www.gasandoil.com/news/russia/39223c3887d31ba448e4351bc104b5be?fbclid=IwAR00u7jYXtJj9NVPanF1cuWtFcS7YiI_tlsr3zTGK39-ng-Z2EJ9ffjWEq4

[220] Vladimir Socor, "Slovak Government Invites Gazprom into the Country", **Eurasia Daily Monitor** vol.6 (Issue: 21, February 2, 2009), accessed January 27, 2019. https://jamestown.org/program/slovak-government-invites-gazprom-into-the-country/?fbclid=IwAR1nF-Ku3G4ROwTscWoy-M-5bN0vaOYOf-O4QDCvsWAeSB6SZdDLs3t_K-Y

the production companies were owned by private companies.[221] Oil sector was getting weak. But when Putin came into power in 2000, he started to return oil sector. Rosneft was one of the companies that was returned to under the government control and used to the interest of Moscow. Because Putin had a strong relationship with Vice President, Igor Sechin, he became the head of the board of directors in 2004. After leaving government in 2012, he then became the head manager of the Rosneft company. This was another reason making Russia policy much wider than the other time.[222] Just after returning Rosneft into government's control, it changed from a local company to a world company.

Putin's control over energy sector especially oil had magnificent benefit to Russian economy, how? Because Rosneft, as an example, became a big company to provide paying for taxes and the solution of future problems comes to the country.[223]

Moreover, not only oil, in the recent years Rosneft started producing and exporting gas.[224] In Brasil, Rosneft owns 45% of 21 blocks of oil and gas that is in charges of searching and digging in Amazon's Solimoes river. Thus, it helps making Russia's policy stronger on Latin countries.[225]

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[221]Edward C. Chow and Andrew J. Stanley, "Russia's National Oil Champion Goes Global", **Center for Strategic and International Studies** (February 22, 2018), accessed January 29, 2019. https://www.csis.org/analysis/russias-national-oil-champion-goes-global?fbclid=IwAR12RQtQo-Cme4usmRw4-kY2C3JMhEbYC2MNpxsk3Nk_-4klCOrJ9hlMYrk

[222] "Rosneft: Sechin remains CEO for five more years", **Offshore Energy Today** (May 5, 2015), accessed January 29, 2019. https://www.offshoreenergytoday.com/rosneft-sechin-remains-ceo-for-five-more-years/?fbclid=IwAR3HNu-RKDKhNihIBy--CVy5bOD3xws6g--NF7eKYmvQ_XMPkqOUeKzTtX0

[223] Frank Umbach, "Energy: Rosneft and Russia pay the price of West's energy sanctions", **United Europe** (December 1, 2014), accessed January 29, 2019. https://www.united-europe.eu/2014/12/energy-rosneft-and-russia-pay-the-price-of-wests-energy-sanctions/?fbclid=IwAR0-PSyx-P0cupFsL6hLxURHzvXGanmZlFdzatpTzAR4wpJUZOGHWgjif-Q

[224]Polly Coleman, "Top 10 oil and gas companies in the world", **Energy Digital magazine** (March 17, 2017), accessed January 29, 2019. https://www.energydigital.com/utilities/top-10-oil-and-gas-companies-world?fbclid=IwAR27KucJ-VMJQF4kedNnHvSa8wFSimqsOJNBXMbAMWtdjG1C42Ffo1l5Ll0

[225]"Rosneft Brasil: Purchases 55% of The Solimões Project for $55m", **Rogtec magazine** (May 18, 2015), accessed January 29, 2019.https://rogtecmagazine.com/rosneft-brasil-purchases-55-of-the-solimoes-project-for-55m/?fbclid=IwAR3gL3kdo9XsD2ieUE9wdOHALdXio1zvLNLL2ylJYFdC2YnGn_uovkvh8rk

In the recent years, Rosneft developed very fast worldwide because of some political and economic reasons especially in Asian, American and African continent.[226]

III.9.1. Rosneft in Latin America.

Despite the economic benefit for Moscow government, it also had other political importance, too. For example, the company took the advantage of Venezuela political-economic status by handing the Latin country a billions of loans. According to Reuters, Rosneft handed Venezuela 17 billion US dollars as loans. It also gave PDVSA company 5.6 billions before handedly, which is a governmental company in Venezuela. Thus, the south American country agreed 49.9% of PDVSA would be owned by Rosneft. PDVSA is meanwhile owns Citgo, oil refinery in the country. It means Rosneft is also owning 49.9% of the refinery company, Citgo. All this courage Russia to control large part of Venezuela's oil sector.[227]

III.9.2. Why did Rosneft and Russia handed billions US dollars to Venezuela as a loan?

Because Russia government wanted to support Nicolas Maduro office through Rosneft so as to help him stay in power. This was for the aim of expanding Moscow policy in Venezuela, and also because the Latin country comes first in reserve crude oil. Russia's major intention of this strategy was to control petroleum price and internationally become a great number. All those and also to support its ally.

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[226] "Rosneft is growing in Latin America", **Energia 16**, accessed January 29, 2019. https://www.energia16.com/rosneft-is-growing-in-latin-america/?lang=en&fbclid=IwAR19FtDxQg-q7B8EQp3Q75H2T0-1hcsoXVzHWzAYxKV7-gywhu1x7w4A7R8

[227] Katya Golubkova, Olesya Astakhova, Oksana Kobzeva, Polina Devitt and Tatiana Voronova, "Factbox: Oil, loans, military - Russia's exposure to Venezuela", **Reuters** (January 24, 2019), accessed January 29, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-venezuela-politics-russia-factbox/factbox-oil-loans-military-russias-exposure-to-venezuela-idUSKCN1PI1T4?fbclid=IwAR0cbdIAp5uHRWc3cpDysyjzq7Eop7lsmhDRqzLiGlwYgJLNZAp8Qj08Jkg

In 2017, Russia started exporting oil to Cuba through Rosneft, which was the first time after the Soviet Union. It happened after a meeting between Igor Sechin and Raul Castro in Havana. By this agreement Rosneft could replace PDVSA to provide reserve crude oil to Cuba.[228]

III.9.3. Rosneft and Middle East.

After the tensions between Russia and Ukraine which resulted in invading Crimea, European countries showed disappointment and condemned Russia for using oil and gas as a supreme intention against others. Russia then changed its strategy and cared about expanding policy in the Middle East.[229]

Syria is one of the Russia's allies in the Middle East, it's important geographically because Russia's military base is in Syria and economically it has oil. Some believe that Syria opposed the Qatar gas pipeline projects in 2009 under Russia's pressure; a gas pipeline project that was backed by the US and Europe to weaken Europe's dependence on Russia for energy. The pipeline runs from Qatar through Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf then to Syria and from there to Turkey and Europe. On the other hand Syria agreed on Iran's plan to build a 10 billion US dollars pipeline that goes from Iran, via Iraq, to Syria and from there to Europe under the Mediterranean Sea. It's thought to be the reason for Syria's civil war that resulted in Russia's military intervention when Syria was about to fall.[230]

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[228] Nora Gamez Torres and Antonio Maria Delgado, "Goodbye Venezuela, hello Russia. Can Vladimir Putin save Cuba?", **Miami Herald** (December 26, 2017), accessed January 29, 2019. https://www.miamiherald.com/news/nation-world/world/americas/cuba/article191652654.html?fbclid=IwAR14xYPQMdKqd6M25KsN4BLtPaQ9B8LjHhNqCFCJ_WkB9Hrh8rbu7RJYbGM

[229]Vanand Meliksetian, "Rosneft's Middle East Strategy Explained", **Oil price** (November 10, 2018), accessed January 29, 2019.https://oilprice.com/Geopolitics/International/Rosnefts-Middle-East-Strategy-Explained.html?fbclid=IwAR0Qzql6CFFdWchPW8YT5BZO9AlybvvMW8Y5irA5giSXDlOrH0Me8Zt0uUQ

[230]Nikita Sogoloff, "Russia's Energy Goals in Syria", **the Washington Institute** (August 30, 2017), accessed January 29, 2019.https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/fikraforum/view/russias-energy-goals-in-syria?fbclid=IwAR2Do5lKKc7Dz0SLtoqauCp7m7VkonU5CF53QkkD6oXRcaKIu6q6b32jhG0

Russia's military intervention was because of a reason and that was Qatar gas pipeline project. If the Assad's Syria fell, Qatar gas pipeline that was project backed by US and Europe would succeed, that would result in weakening Russia's position in European Energy Market. Thus Russia's military intervention was to stop Europe and US to fulfill their plan in Syria.[231]

Rosneft started to find an opportunity to strengthen its position especially took advantage of Iraq-Kurdistan problems. So the company signed an agreement with Kurdistan Regional Government with handing Kurdish side one million US dollars beforehand in April, 2017.[232]Then in September, 2017 before the Kurdish referendum for independence. Rosneft reached an agreement with KRG according to the agreement Russia established gas pipelines to export natural gas to Turkey at the price of 1 billion US dollars with the capacity of 30 bcm a year. It's expected to send natural gas for Turkey in 2020 then there to Europe. But after the referendum, Iraqi government took over Kirkuk through forces and then could control the oil fields in the city which were under KRG government before referendum.[233]The oil pipelines between Kurdistan Kirkuk - Turkish Jaihan was controlled by Rosneft company.[234]

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[231] Charis Chang, "Is the fight over a gas pipeline fuelling the world's bloodiest conflict?", **News.com.au** (December 2, 2015), accessed January 29, 2019. https://www.news.com.au/world/middle-east/is-the-fight-over-a-gas-pipeline-fuelling-the-worlds-bloodiest-conflict/news-story/74efcba9554c10bd35e280b63a9afb74?fbclid=IwAR2I-i3Oby25NLW2DbTEuL9y8lUCKq_HMI9Qh4RYG39tBYdkYYZle4G_MlM

[232] Stephen Bierman and Mohammed Sergie, "Rosneft Said to Prepay About $1 Billion for Kurdistan Oil", **Bloomberg** (April 6, 2017), accessed January 30, 2019. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-04-06/rosneft-said-to-prepay-about-1-billion-for-iraqi-kurdistan-oil?fbclid=IwAR3Ivo1kBYNlNnoBSJO9keiwNZmxIFOojxxv39W2VUrWeqoIDNoe1QW8Mio

[233] Chow, "Russia's National Oil ...".

[234]Dmitry Zhdannikov and Vladimir Soldatkin, "Russia's Rosneft to take control of Iraqi Kurdish pipeline amid crisis", **Reuters** (October 20, 2017), accessed January 30, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-kurds-rosneft/russias-rosneft-to-take-control-of-iraqi-kurdish-pipeline-amid-crisis-idUSKBN1CP16L?fbclid=IwAR0Qzql6CFFdWchPW8YT5BZO9AlybvvMW8Y5irA5giSXDlOrH0Me8Zt0uUQ

III.9.4. Why did Rosneft signed agreement with KRG despite having problems between KRG and Central Government?

Because Rosneft wanted to take advantage of the tensions between the two governments and then to control oil and gas sector so as not to be an alternative of Russia to provide gas for Turkey and European market.[235] On the other hand, Russia intended to strengthen its policy in Iraq because of its rich source in reserve crude oil.[236]

Although, in the way control of the Iraqi oil Russia can influence on oil market, because Iraq is a member of OPEC.[237]

Rosneft is continuously working on strengthen Russia's position in the Middle East yet. Rosneft agreed a deal with Iranian company NIOC to collaborate on increasing oil production project at 55 million tons that equals 1.1 MBD of oil also increasing natural gas production.[238]The agreement was made despite the USA's concern over the matter to strengthen Russia's position inside Iran and the Middle East.

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[235]Varsha Koduvayur and Greg Everett, "Russia's Gas Web Ensnares Europe", **Foreign policy** (April 17, 2019), accessed April 19, 2019.https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/17/russias-gas-web-ensnares-europe/?fbclid=IwAR2CkKohC9Oz1t6f0mu1YGP2NfF_eoqF9dh3WgZFVEfhyX3tHC3g3kjR5Os

[236] Mariya Petkova, "What did Russia get from its KRG gamble?", **Aljazeera** (April 15, 2019), accessed April 19, 2019. https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/russia-krg-gamble-rosneft-iraq-kurdistan-190409123038460.html?fbclid=IwAR27SXqTb62c-2JwZm5X3lJYfcLBs29QoL-cUFJchNY3gv1nS8wQpv5V1pQ

[237] Merrill Matthews, "Putin wants a 'Dark OPEC' to control global oil and gas markets", **The Hill** (January 12, 2019), accessed April 19, 2019. https://thehill.com/opinion/energy-environment/425050-putin-wants-a-dark-opec-to-control-global-oil-and-gas-markets?fbclid=IwAR3Fjkid1xDDlt_nc7MqzztcQD6Ng6b_Q-4G4VTSQI_3u1ZGQiSyy_omzfg

[238] Denis Pinchuk, "Russia's Rosneft, Iran's NIOC agree to team up on oil and gas projects worth $30 billion", **Reuters** (November 1, 2017), accessed February 5, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-iran-oil/russias-rosneft-irans-nioc-agree-to-team-up-on-oil-and-gas-projects-worth-30-billion-idUSKBN1D14P6?fbclid=IwAR2K2jJ6L2tcTjGYFTsNaQ8OrQKrMSS_eH5G7sjViPACUGJeRw1cJQiLwbA

According to current estimates by OPEC, Iran is the third country with most oil reserves in the Middle East, that's why Iran can affect on oil price because Iran is also a member in OPEC.[239]

Despite all agreements made in the Middle East to strengthen Russia's position, Rosneft has worked on strengthening Russia's position in Asia too. A 20 years agreement was made between Rosneft and China in 2009, according to the agreement Rosneft would supply China with 15 million tons of oil every year in return for 25 billion US dollars.[240]

After China's high demand on oil, a deal between Rosneft and CNP was signed in 2013 this became the biggest deal in the history of oil industry; according to the deal Russia has to supply China with 365 tons of oil in 25 years, in return Russia would get 70 billion US dollar in advance. The deal made Russia's position stronger in Asia.[241]

India's demand on oil like china is increasing continuously. Thus Rosneft bought Essar refinery from India for 12.9 billion US dollars in 2017. Since Essar is the second largest private sector refinery and it processes 400.000 barrels of crude oil in a day; Russia's position would become stronger in Asian Energy market and India would become a very good market for Russia's oil.[242]

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[239] "OPEC Share of World Crude Oil Reserves", **Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries**, accessed April, 19, 2019. https://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/data_graphs/330.htm?fbclid=IwAR3juHdOpQ_4__KlobVWnqHrjCR0t-fzJh49slMh2E4Ew9_vUVmoD5hdcDM

[240]Robin Paxton and Vladimir Soldatkin, "China lends Russia $25 billion to get 20 years of oil", **Reuters** (February 17, 2009), accessed February 7, 2019.https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-russia-china-oil-sb/china-lends-russia-25-billion-to-get-20-years-of-oil-idUKTRE51G3S620090217?fbclid=IwAR3vOg8KCFWB7GagyQ1utw7hsR8c3e2sSOXDH96CmLmuB70jEs1cHXs9TaU

[241]"Russia, China sign 'unprecedented' $270 bn oil deal", **Fox news** (June 21, 2013), accessed February 7, 2019.https://www.foxnews.com/world/russia-china-sign-unprecedented-270-bn-oil-deal?fbclid=IwAR3SDYWwEW0ZABf3W3lU6FhPE3tS9fx1qBpJR-lrv4FpxIBA3cnDmKGo_Jo

[242] Promit Mukherjee, "Rosneft seals first Asian refinery deal with Essar Oil purchase", **Reuters** (August 21, 2017), accessed February 7, 2019. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-essar-rosneft/rosneft-seals-first-asian-refinery-deal-with-essar-oil-purchase-idUSKCN1B10PL?fbclid=IwAR293d1CaDMgKul49dGir74N-9Q-f6CigYk1_7F0fbYjNX7FQbV4sYsQigI

Russia showed its interest in Africa, because Africa has a big amount of oil and natural gas reserves. Russia supported Gaddafi regime because both parties had a strong relation. After the fall of Gaddafi Russia tried to strengthen its position in Libya by oil industry deals. For that purpose, Rosneft signed an agreement with Libya's National Oil Corporation (NOC), according to the agreement Rosneft has to boost and increase Libya's oil output after it was decreased because of Libya's civil war.[243]

Economically the agreement was very important for Russia because firstly Libya is a member in OPEC, secondly the expenses of oil process in Libya is much less than many other countries. Thirdly Russia can transport natural gas from Libya to Italy.[244]

Egypt is another important country for Russian in Africa because it has a big population. Russian company Rosneft bought 30% of Egypt's Zuhr gas field from the Italian company Eni at 1.1 billion US dollars in 2017. The deal will strengthen Russia's position in the European and the Middle East markets.[245]

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[243] Aidan Lewis, "UPDATE 1-Russia's Rosneft, Libya's NOC sign oil offtake deal", **Reuters** (February 21, 2017), accessed February 7, 2019.https://www.reuters.com/article/libya-oil-rosneft-oil/update-1-russias-rosneft-libyas-noc-sign-oil-offtake-deal-idUSL8N1G61XJ?fbclid=IwAR0M8EpROqClkXG_rjD8ulzh6tipSWwJZsz8EyTHQ4eRjhu9KK1wfGz77pI

[244] Patrick Wintour, "Russia increases involvement in Libya by signing oil deal", **The Guardian** (February 21, 2017), accessed February 7, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/21/russia-increases-involvement-libya-signing-oil-deal-rosneft?fbclid=IwAR2Do5lKKc7Dz0SLtoqauCp7m7VkonU5CF53QkkD6oXRcaKIu6q6b32jhG0

[245] "Russian company buys 30% of Egyptian 'Zuhr' gas field in Mediterranean", **Egypt independent** (October 9, 2017), accessed February 7, 2019. https://www.egyptindependent.com/russian-company-buys-30-egyptian-zuhr-gas-field-mediterranean/?fbclid=IwAR0FMb13kX39ZJ4qCq5nDf2wHhAfdugXFRfmKUU1DIjSfuy-C2_DOuEE5qM

CONCLUSION

As shown in the present thesis that energy sources, especially oil and natural gas sectors, have played a key role in strengthening and improving the economy of Russia. This strengthening has been started as Vladimir Putin got the power and became the leader of the country, since he played a pivotal role in the process. Thus, it can be said that oil and natural gas have become the main pillar of Russia's economy as more than half of Russia's export depends on both oil and natural gas sector, and this becomes a fact that Russia is appearing weak without these sources. This is obvious that in the recent years the about 40-50% of the country's budget has been obtained through oil and natural gas resources.

In spite of being a strong point for the economy of Russia, oil and natural gas have become a strong political weapon for the country, which has been used to support its policies inside the neighboring countries; chief among them, eastern European countries, in order not to let them having membership in NATO. In other words, cheap oil and natural gas have been provided by Russian government for those countries that compatible with Russia's natural resources' policy including Armenia and Belarus. However, Russia raised the price of natural gas on the countries that do not abide by Moscow and support NATO and also want to be a part of this organization, especially those which were a part of the Soviet Union. Russia also prevented them, especially Ukraine and Georgia from its natural sources as a pressure, particularly, obliging them to accept Russia's policy and not thinking of NATO membership.

Furthermore, oil and natural gas sources have become a crucial part of Kremlin policy; the companies in this field, especially the two giant companies Gazprom and Rosneft have played an important role in widening Russia's policy and its supremacy by manipulating oil and natural gas sectors in different countries, especially those that own a lot of oil and natural gas. This is obviously followed by Russia in order to influence the market and to be more powerful in the world.

In conclusion, it can be said that Russia continues to try to strengthen oil and natural gas sector, since its government have invested a great deal in the field and keeps trying to remain steadily in the world's energy market. In addition, in order for Russia to stay as a super power in the world, they are ready to intervene with military as it took place in Syria. Therefore, the researcher recommends that it is more useful for Russia to pay more attention to new technological tools and means in both oil and natural gas sector, in order that they do not rely on other companies and countries, which as a result could negatively affect oil and gas production. In addition, Russia has to take Asia's energy market into consideration rather than the Europe's.

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