



**T.C.
SAKARYA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMA PROJESİ SONUÇ RAPORU**

PROJENİN BAŞLIĞI
**(Blue Black Sea: New Dimensions of History, Security,
Politics, Strategy, Energy and Economy,)**

PROJE NO:

Proje Yöneticisi : Doç Dr. Giray Saynur Bozkurt

Araştırmacılar : Doç Dr. Giray Saynur Bozkurt

Başlama Tarihi : (1 Şubat 2012)

Bitiş Tarihi : (1 Haziran 2012)

Çalışmanın Amacı: The University of Texas at Dallas’da 1 Şubat 2012 ve 1 Haziran 2012 tarihleri süresince misafir öğretim üyesi (visiting scholars) olarak çalışma sahamla ilgili araştırma yapmak, bilgi ve deneyimimi arttırmak, meslektaşlarımla akademik projeler geliştirmek, uluslararası ilişkiler, strateji, yönetim ve eğitimle ilgili gelişmeleri takip edebilmek..

Görevlendirme Süresince Yapılan Çalışmalar:

2547 sayılı kanunun 39. maddesi ile Yurt içinde ve Yurt dışında Görevlendirmelerde Uyulacak Esaslara ilişkin Yönetmeliğin 2. maddesinin (a) fıkrası ve 3.maddesi gereğince, “Üniversitemiz Yurt Dışı Araştırma Faaliyetlerini Destekleme Programı” çerçevesinde, Yevmiye masraflarına karşılık yevmiyeli, maaşlı-izinli görevlendirildim._1 Subat ve 1 Haziran 2012 tarihleri arasında ABD’nin Texas eyaleti Dallas sehrinde The University of Texas at Dallas Naveen Jindal School of Management’ fakültesinde misafir öğretim üyesi (visiting scholars) olarak çalışma sahamla ilgili araştırma yaptım, bilgi ve deneyimimi arttırdım, meslektaşlarımla akademik projeler geliştirdim, uluslararası ilişkiler, strateji, yönetim ve eğitimle ilgili gelişmeleri takip edebilmek amaçlı kütüphanede çalıştım. Bu araştırma sonucu **Blue Black Sea: New Dimensions of History, Security, Politics, Strategy, Energy and Economy**, edited by Giray Saynur Bozkurt, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. (ISBN (10): 1-4438-4244-3; ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4244-0) kitabım yayınlandı. Ayrıca New-York sehrinde Türk-Amerikan Federasyonu Başkanlığı ve Türk Konsoloslugu tarafından düzenlenen Sayın Ali Babacan’ın da katıldığı Kırım Türklerinin 18 Mayıs sürgün toplantısında konuşmacı olarak görev aldım. Haber Turkish New York Times’da haber olarak yer aldı. Aşağıdaki haber ajansında bu haber yer aldı.

<http://www.turkishny.com/headline-news/2-headline-news/89607-kirim-turkleri-soykirimi-new-york-turkevinde-anildi>

Değerlendirme ve Sonuç:

The University of Texas at Dallas bünyesinde çalışan değerli hocalarla temasta bulundum ve ülkemizi ve üniversitemizi temsil edebilme imkanı elde ettim. Bu bağlamda çalışma sahamla ilgili literatür çalışması yapabildim ve alanımla ilgili uluslararası düzeyde uzmanlarla tanışma olanağı ve bilgi birikimimi geliştirdiğim kanatindeyim. Bu araştırma sonucu **Blue Black Sea: New Dimensions of History, Security, Politics, Strategy, Energy and Economy**, edited by Giray Saynur Bozkurt, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. (ISBN (10): 1-4438-4244-3; ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4244-0) kitabım yayınlandı.

Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. (ISBN (10): 1-4438-4244-3; ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4244-0)

<http://www.c-s-p.org/Flyers/978-1-4438-4244-0-sample.pdf>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables..... x

List of Figures..... xi

Preface..... xii

Introduction 1

Part I: History

1. Bilgin, Mehmet, “A Glance at the History of the Black Sea Region”, p. 10.
2. Celik, Nihat, “The Black Sea and the Balkans under Ottoman Rule”, p. 21.
3. Davitashvili, Zurab, “The Preconditions of Ethnic-Political Conflicts in Georgia (A Georgian Perspective)”, p. 45.

Part II: Security

4. Mehtiyev, Elhan, “The Security Policy of the Caucasus Nations in the New Security Environment”, p. 56.
5. Nechayeva Yuriychuk, Natalija, “The Georgia-Russia Conflict as an Example of Interdependence in World Politics”, p. 70; vi Table of Contents
6. Perepelytsia, Grigoriy, “The Roles of the Ukraine and the EU in Settling the Russian-Georgian Conflict in the Caucasus”, p. 78.
7. Bozkurt, Giray Saynur, “The Security Policies of Turkey and Russia towards Abkhazia and the Internal Georgian Conflict”, p. 97.
8. Mehtiyev, Elhan, “Background to the Hostilities between Armenia and Azerbaijan: From the Prague Process to the Madrid Principles”, p. 107.
9. Gaber, Yevgeniya, “Black Sea Regional Security after 9/11”, p. 120.
10. Alam, Mujib, “Turkey’s Security Strategies in the Extended Black Sea Region after September 11, 2001”, p. 130.
11. Akkaya, Saffet, “The US Military Bases in Romania and Bulgaria and their Possible Implications for Regional Security”, p. 143.
12. Anlar, Aslihan, “Security in the Black Sea Region from a Neorealist Perspective”, p. 153.

Part III: International Relations and Strategy

13. Khani, Mohammad Hassan, "The Black Sea Region: Challenges and Opportunities", p. 170; Blue Black Sea vii
14. Ustun, Cigdem, "Regional Cooperation Efforts in the Black Sea Region: Black Sea Synergy", p. 180.
15. Konoplyov, Sergei, "US Interests in the Wider Black Sea Region", p. 197.
16. Bal, Idris, "US Policies towards the Black Sea Region", p. 207.
17. Efezil, Ertan and Neziha Musaoglu, "The EU's Black Sea Policy", p. 219.
18. Sotnichenko, Alexander, "Relations between Russia and Turkey under the New Conditions in the Black Sea and Caucasus Region", p. 234.
19. Bozkurt, Giray Saynur, "Black Sea Regional Policies of Russia and the United States after September 11", p. 241.
20. Yalcinkaya, Alaeddin, "International Organizational Initiatives in the Black Sea Region", p. 266.
21. Shelest, Hannah, "The Role of Mediators in Settling Conflicts in the Black Sea Region", p. 285.

Part IV: Energy

22. Iordan-Constantinescu, Nicolae, "The Geopolitics of Energy in the Black Sea Context", p. 300; viii Table of Contents.
23. Khanna, Jatinder, "Energy Politics in the Black Sea Region: The Superpowers' Race for Fuel", p. 311.
24. Salgin, Serkan, "Energy as a Foreign Policy Tool in the Wider Black Sea Region", p. 320.
25. Umudov, Agshin, "The Role of Azerbaijan in EU Energy Security", p. 372.
26. Ozkan, Guner, "The Nexus between the Energy Pipeline Contest and Security in the Black Sea Region: Russia Versus the Rest", p. 401.
27. Erdemir, Halil, "Policies around the BTC Pipeline", p. 427.
28. Eken, Evrim, "Gazprom: A Leading Actor in the Post-Soviet Gas Policy-Making Process in the Black Sea Region", p. 450.
29. Demir, Idris, "Domestic Supply of Natural Gas and Oil in Relation to Total Energy Demand in Turkey: How Can its Energy Needs be Secured?", p. 484.

Part V: Economy

30. Nedelchev, Aliosha, "Enhancing Security and Stability in the Black Sea Region through Economic Cooperation", p. 496; Blue Black Sea ix

31. Sakar, Birgul, “Analyses of the Banking Sector in Black Sea Region Countries and Turkey”, p. 503.
32. Kaymakçı, Oğuz, Ömer Canbeyoğlu and Deniz Emre Türkgenç, “A Handicap to Regional Economic Cooperation: Poverty (The Example of Turkey)”, p. 519.

Contributors, p. 526.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 12-1 Comparison between domestic political structure and international political structure

Table 12-2 Situation of Ukraine and Georgia

Table 12-3 Georgia’s trade with main partners (2008)

Table 12-4 Ukraine’s trade with main partners (2009)

Table 12-5 Turkey’s trade with main partners (2009)

Table 12-6 Russia’s trade with main partners (2009)

Table 22-1 EU-30 Energy dependency by 2030

Table 22-2 Global oil import dependency (as % of global demand)

Table 22-3 Proven reserves of oil at end 2007 (thousand million barrels)

Table 22-4 Proven reserves of gas at the end of 2007 (trillion cubic meters)

Table 22-5 Current participants of the ITER project

Table 25-1 EU energy suppliers

Table 25-1a EU imports of crude oil, by country of origin (megatonnes)

Table 25-1b EU imports of natural gas, by country of origin (Petajoule = 1015 Joule)

Table 25-2 Azerbaijan: Energy and the economy

Table 25-3 Projected petroleum supply growth 2008–2009

Table 25-4 BTC/AIOC Project Shareholders

Table 28-1 Gazprom’s major joint ventures and overseas subsidiaries (selected)

Table 28-2 Amounts of proved reserves, current production and consumption of gas in Central Asia:

Table 31-1 Growth in Turkey, Development of Unemployment, and Labour Efficiency

Table 31-2 Total Assets in Turkey and Black Sea Countries (billion EUR)

Table 31-3 Growth of Total Assets in Turkey and Black Sea Countries by Percentage (%)

Table 31-4 Number of Banks in Turkey and Black Sea Countries

Table 31-5 Growth in the Number of Banks in Turkey and the Black Sea Countries by Percentage (%)

Table 31-6 Loans in Turkey and Black Sea Countries (billion EUR)

Table 31-7 Loan Growth of Turkey and Black Sea Countries by Percentage (%)

Table 31-8 Total Deposits in Turkey and Black Sea Countries (billion EUR)

Table 31-9 Growth of Total Deposits in Turkey and Black Sea Countries by Percentage (%)

Table 31-10 Total Loans/Total Assets in Turkey and Black Sea Countries

Table 31-11 Total Loans/Total Deposits in Turkey and the Black Sea Countries

Table 31-12 Total Deposits/Total Assets in Turkey and Black Sea Countries
LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 7-1 Map of Georgia

Fig. 22-1 Supremacy of fossil fuels

Fig. 22-2 Gross inland consumption of the EU-29 (2005)

Fig. 23-1 The Black Sea Region

Fig. 23-2 BTC Pipeline

Fig. 25-1 Central Asia natural gas balances, in billion cubic feet (2006)

Fig. 25-2 Map of the South Stream and Nabucco natural gas transportation pipelines

Fig. 27-1 Bosphorus Bypass Options

PREFACE

The book presents the opinions of experts and researchers from the Black Sea states with respect to the political, economic, social, and cultural relations in the region, and explains various dimensions of the present relations and problem areas from both theoretical and conceptual perspectives. While some articles in the book study existing and newly emerging institutions, others examine areas of disagreement and suggest peaceful resolutions for conflicts. Offering the reader a comprehensive approach that covers a wide range of affairs, we hope that this book will fill an important gap in international relations studies. While the added word “Blue” in the title indicates our shared aspirations for a clean and peaceful future, overall this book is intended to provide valuable academic assessments and share them with the wider world community, thus disseminating findings about the regional and global policies being

pursued in the Black Sea region today. Given that all regional issues impact globally, it is surely true that any steps towards peace achieved at the regional level are also highly significant for the world overall. To be able to attain a peaceful world order, we need to address each other's requirements and dissatisfactions with an attitude of understanding. To pursue further research projects that examine related problems in an unbiased way, and to find sound and acceptable solutions for ongoing issues, is absolutely necessary. In this sense, I hope that this book will also serve the cause of world peace.

—Associate Professor Dr. Giray Saynur BOZKURT

INTRODUCTION

We are living through an extraordinary period and the Black Sea region has not been exempted from this. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, two decades ago, the Black Sea region has gradually passed out of the sphere of influence of the Russian state.

With the end of the Cold War, the USSR collapsed and left the United States as the only superpower. Though the Russian Federation, successor to the USSR, is still a great regional power that is trying to regain its former global status, it so far has insufficient weight to counterbalance US power. Meanwhile, this geopolitical power gap creates new opportunities for other regional and global actors. The fifteen former Soviet republics have been faced with radical movements linked to ethnic and religious fanaticism. While the whole world has been affected by these events, they have struck most firmly at Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea regions.

Today we can observe that further changes are brewing, and that important developments are taking place in the Black Sea region. The coastal states of Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, and Georgia, and the wider Black Sea regional states of Moldavia, Macedonia, Albania, BosniaHerzegovina, Croatia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, are increasingly siding

with the Western world and turning away from the Russian Federation.

The importance of this development becomes more obvious when we remember that until recently these states were either members of the former Warsaw Pact or acting under the influence of the Soviet Union. The term "Greater Black Sea Region" encompasses the countries situated in the corridor that links Asia to Europe as well as those situated in the transportation zone of the Caspian energy sources to the west

(Albania, Serbia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan), in addition to the standard coastal countries of the Black Sea. Both the energy resources in the region and the energy transport lines used for these energy resources to the West have increased the importance of the Black Sea. In addition, the so-called Colour Revolutions have started a new power struggle around the Baltic, Black, and Caspian Seas. The United States and Russia, as well as other global and regional powers and coastal states and institutions, are competing for influence over the strategically prominent Black Sea region. The strategic rapprochement with the Western world is likely to produce a new Black Sea, one which will be part of the Euro–Atlantic zone, the European Union, and NATO. Such a geopolitical shift in search of identity will have significant repercussions for the future of the states involved, and also means that the Black Sea region will come into closer contact with two major powers in world politics in addition to Russia—namely the United States and the European Union. The full implications of this rapprochement are not yet in sight. On the other hand, the security of the Black Sea is not just a matter for the region; it has global impacts, and directly affects the political and economic security of the global powers—particularly the United States, which encourages and supports new democracies in the region. Their success, stability, and prosperity are all essential to the security and peace of the whole region, and thus also of the world.