

## STRATEGJI PËR SIGURINË ENERGETIKE STRATEGY FOR ENERGETIC SECURITY

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### PERMBLEDHJE

Shfaqet si imperativë që Shqipëria të hartojë strategji për sigurinë energjetike. Furnizimi i përballeshëm dhe i pandërprerë nëpërmjet burimeve të energjisë përbën një çështje thelbësore për arritjen e zhvillimit të qëndrueshëm ekonomik të një vendi. Kjo është e lidhur me anën industriale dhe mirëqenien e qytetarëve. Por, ç’është më e rëndësishmja, siguria e furnizimit me energji lidhet ngushtë me sigurinë kombëtare të një vendi dhe janë të pakta ato vende që janë në gjendje të përballojnë vetë nevojat për energji. Rrjedhimisht politikëbërësit duhet të ndërveprojnë me aktorë të tjerë për të garantuar këtë furnizim që është shumë i nevojshëm për zhvillimin ekonomik. Për t’i shpëtuar varësisë nga gazi rus, Bashkimi Evropian po kërkon burime alternative të furnizimit. Turqia, e pozicionuar ndërmjet vendeve më të mëdha prodhuese dhe tregut konsumues të BE-së, mund të japë një kontribut thelbësor në sigurinë e energjisë në Evropë. Mirëpo, për të kaluar në tregun evropian, gazsjellësit e ardhur nga Turqia, kalojnë nëpër Ballkan. Dhe njëri prej tyre, Tras Atlantic Pipeline, është planifikuar të kalojë në Shqipëri. Në këtë mënyrë Shqipërisë i lind nevoja të përcaktojë një strategji të qartë për të ardhmen e saj në fushën e energjetikës, gjë që lidhet fort me bashkëpunimin me aktorë të ndryshëm – nga burimet (Kaspik, Azi Qendrore) tek vendet transit (Turqia, Bullgaria, Maqedonia etj) dhe tregjet konsumuese europiano-perëndimore. Ky punim synon të ofrojë një qasje të sigurisë energjetike kombëtare në kuadrin e kontekstit rajonal dhe evropian.

**Fjalë kyce:** siguria energjetike, Tras Adriatic Pipeline

### SUMMARY

It is an imperative that Albania should develop strategies for energy security. The affordable and uninterrupted supply through energy sources constitutes a crucial issue for achieving sustainable economic development of the country. Such issue is associated with the country’s industry and citizens’ welfare. But most importantly, security of energy supply is closely related to national security of the country and there are only few countries that are able to afford the energy needs. Therefore, policymakers should establish the right policies with other actors to guarantee the required supply for the economic development. To avoid dependence on Russian gas, the European Union is seeking alternative sources of supply. Turkey, positioned between the largest producing countries and the consuming market of the EU, can make a substantial contribution to energy security in Europe. However, the gas pipelines coming from Turkey will pass through the Balkans. And one of them, Tras Adriatic Pipeline, is scheduled to go through Albania. In this way, Albania should define a clear strategy for its future in the energy field, which is strongly related to the cooperation with different actors - from sources (Caspian region, Central Asia) to transit countries (Turkey, Bulgaria, Macedonia, etc.) and Western European consumer markets. This paper aims to provide an approach to national energy security in the context of regional and European context.

**Key word:** energy security, Tras Adriatic Pipeline.

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**Beyond the traditional definition of geopolitics**

Geopolitics is defined as the relationship between the politics and the territory in local, regional or international level. However, in today's context, in a new world order, this relationship may vary considerably as geopolitical considerations compete with each other to form a "new geopolitics" (Tuathail, 1998:2)

For some, the end of the Cold War has allowed the emergence of a new geopolitical order dominated by geo-economic questions and issues, a world where the globalization of economic activity and global flows of trade,

investment, commodities and images are remaking states, sovereignty and the geographical structure of the planet. For others, the "new geopolitics" describes a world dominated no longer by territorial struggles between competing blocs but by emerging transnational problems like terrorism, nuclear proliferation and clash of civilizations. For yet others, the relationship of politics to the earth is more important than ever as states and peoples struggle to deal with environmental degradation, resource depletion, transnational pollution and global warming (Tuathail, 1998:7).

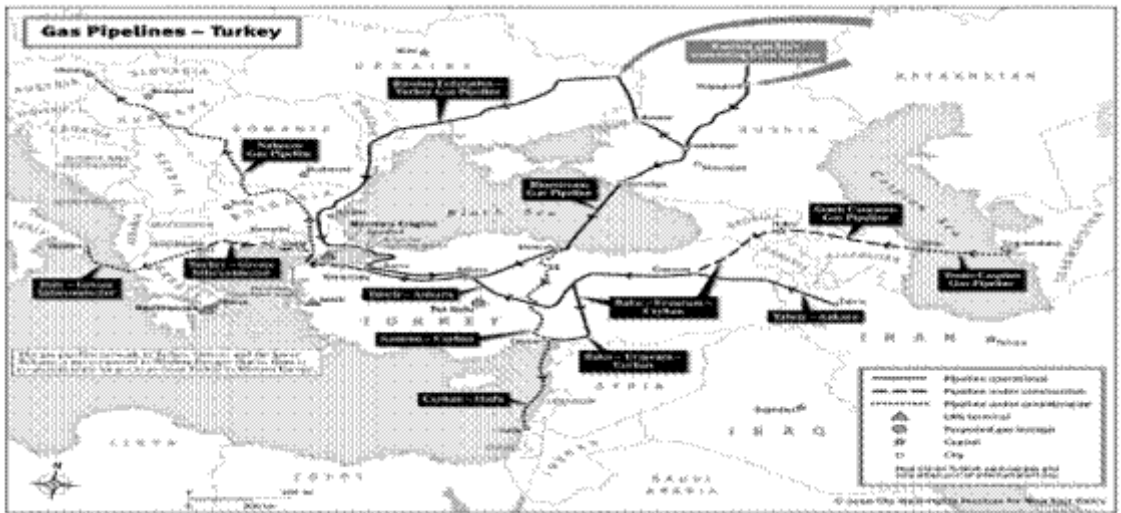


Figure 1 Pipelines coming from Turkey – a key country for the diversification



Figure 2 TAP and Western Balkans ring.

### *Energetic geopolitics*

Traditionally, geopolitics is associated with *realpolitik*, *raison d'état* and *machiavellianism*, i.e. the notion that the sovereign states should maximize the interests in a certain geographic and military context. Today, the energetic geopolitics, for instance, includes more than a mere physical control of the sources to develop the state interests. In fact, it refers to the capability of the states to influence on the fuel and technology prices and using this influence to achieve political objectives. Therefore, the energetic geopolitics implies the intervention to the policies related to energy of a state dependent on the energy (Luft, 2009:74). To emphasize such issued, in 1970, Henry Kissinger stated: "Control fuel and you will control the world".

### *Energy security*

Energy security is associated with the national security and the availability of the natural resources for the energy consumption. This term is defined by International Energy Agency as an ongoing physical availability with an affordable price, respecting the environment (2009) OSCE states that the concept in question goes beyond the supply, including the security of demand, transit and efficiency of energy<sup>105</sup> (2006). NATO says that the new strategic concept of energy security is related not only to supply security, but also to the protection of the infrastructure and preventing threats (2010). European Union bases its strategy on three main elements: diversification of resources, of supply and of supply companies. And the three EU project bringing about such diversification are Nabucco, TAP and Interconnector TGI.

### **The big game**

A new era is unfolding for energy in Europe. The current legislative and regulatory agenda for energy is arguably broader and more complex than it has ever been, with proposals now being

debated on renewable energy, fuel quality, the internal market, emissions trading, and a host of related issues.

The emphasis on finding new ways of being supplied that has characterized EU energy policies in recent years has raised some other concerns, such as the safety, reliability, and overall security of energy supplies. One example is the special role of natural gas as the 'cleanest' fossil fuel in combination with the open markets of the EU, which has led to increasing dependence on imported natural gas.

Europe is currently being supplied by Russia, Norway and North Africa. There is a need for diversification since Russians are dictating prices and there is no competitiveness (Jankowski, 2012: 134 – 137). The answer to this question is Turkey.

Turkey is different from other countries that are trying to seek EU accession. It is a country with a large area, with an economy rapidly developing and with favorable strategic position. Turkish politicians never cease pointing out the country's accession into the EU will "enrich" Europe in several directions: labor force and dynamic economy will give a boost to the EU market; Turkey will help EU establish stability in the Middle East, the Caspian and Caucasus area; and Turkey will contribute to energy security by being a *bridge* between the region and Europe's energy sources (Davidovic, 2012, 45 - 76).

"Turkey and EU will benefit greatly if they collaborate in this area" (Fuller, 2007:122). The EU will have an alternative supply, while Turkey would benefit from transit fees and will prove to be a reliable and necessary partner, and therefore a worthy member of the European Union. Although an EU candidate, Turkey is trying to behave as an independent entity, creating obstacles to cooperation. In a pro-European perspective, Turkey should coordinate actions with Europe, because only then it can become the fourth artery in Europe (after Russia, Norway and North Africa). Otherwise, this artery or node may be wasted.

But, EU split over Turkish membership and relations between the two camps remain tense. Turkish policymakers prefer to see Turkey as part of Europe. On the other hand, a good part of EU policymakers insist that Turkey is not “part of Europe”. Here Turkish game starts rolling – conditioning European policy on energy. Neither Turkey, nor the EU does not seem prepared to solve to the process of accession. Turkey’s Prime Minister Erdogan has said that “the European Union should openly say that it did not want Turkey if the situation was so and called on the EU not to keep Turkey waiting at the union’s door. They (EU member states) are making up some formulas to show that ‘they are not keeping as waiting’ (2012:3). Many Europeans believe that included Turkey’s EU talks will last 10 years or so.

In any case, Turkey is vital for the European Union because of its geographical proximity. Therefore, Turkey, as noted above, has a favorable position, among other things, to establish trade routes, transport and energy connecting Europe with the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia (Ebert, 2007). But the bigger role that Turkey has recently undertaken is that of an energy transporter and guarantor of the energy security in Europe.

#### **Albania in the European scheme of pipelines – TAP**

Europeans have examined various options to enable access to Central Asian and Caspian energy, without the need to have the support of Russia. Interconnector Turkey - Greece is just the first step, albeit small. However, Nabucco project that can bring the biggest change to Europe’s energy security and in this respect Turkey plays a huge role as a Eurasian energy hub. The Nabucco gas pipeline is one of the central infrastructure projects for the *diversification* of Europe’s natural gas supplies that would decrease EU dependence on Russian gas imports (Jankowski, 2008).

On the other hand, Nabucco will not be a positive innovation only for European consumers. This project is an important component of Turkey’s

plans to extend its role as a regional distribution center intercontinental. Also, as mentioned above, this is a valuable opportunity for the EU and Turkey to prove that cooperation and integration bring out the best for both parties. However, the project is under planning and there were obstacles and delays.

Recently, “Gasification of Albania” and “Albania an energy regional superpower” (Berisha, 2012) are randomly heard in the Albanian media. And, according to such sources, Trans Adriatic Pipeline will enable these achievements. TAP is a pipeline of the southern corridor, coming from Azerbaijan to Western and Eastern Europe. From Korça, it will get connected to the existing grid in Greece and through Albanian territory and Adriatic Sea the gas will end up in Southern Italy. TAP is going to develop the energetic infrastructure by bringing about economic growth (2011).

TAP provides a direct route to a high paying European market. It follows a carefully selected onshore route designed to minimize project risks and can easily double capacity when new gas becomes available. The main goal of such entrepreneurship is to improve the Europe’s security of gas supply by opening up the Southern Gas Corridor. Having such a scheme in the country, private investments will increase.

Each trans-Balkan pipeline relates to the energy security dimension of the power projections of, respectively, Russia, the US and the EU in Central Eurasia and the Caspian region (Ebert, 2010).

The Balkans gradual increase in importance for Russia’s geopolitical planning came about because of the region’s geo-strategic significance as a transit point to Western Europe for Russian and CIS<sup>106</sup> countries’ gas and oil. The network of pipelines carrying Russian gas and oil stretches from the Caucasus to Central Europe via the Balkans. As a consequence of Russian oil and gas strategies, the Balkan Peninsula is in the process of being transformed to the energy hub of Europe.

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<sup>106</sup> The Commonwealth of Independent States is a regional organization whose participating countries are former Soviet Republics, formed during the breakup of the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, The US and the EU consider the Caspian region's hydrocarbon resources and export routes as strategically significant with a view to diversifying supply means and routes, as they strive for diminishing their dependence on the Middle East. These interests are in opposition to Russia's objective to achieve near-monopoly power over the region's export capacity and routes.

*In this lions' arena, Albania has to maneuver as a player who should know what the next move is. The following are some considerations for the strategy Albanian state should prepare in order to have its stake.*

Albania has to collaborate with the neighbors in the framework of the pipelines geopolitics. The country is supplied by electrical energy produced by HPP-s. But the European need for gas coming from this route creates a new époque for Albania. The situation is much associated with the relation with the neighbors. After '90, such projects were not possible, thus the collaboration was limited.

In 2005 the Energy Secretariat is established. The treaty enables an institutional framework of the member countries. Therefore, improving the balance between energy supply and demand in the Western Balkans is critical to boost and sustain economic development. Primary sources of energy in the countries of the region are quite limited. There are substantial investment needs in the region to modernize the energy sector, to ensure access to external energy supplies, as well as to benefit economically from the transit of energy across the region. The current fragmentation of energy supply can be overcome by cooperation and major steps have already been taken in the last few years towards achieving these objectives in the electricity and gas sectors. In addition to focusing on energy infrastructure networks, the countries of the region have already started to collaborate in the creation of a regional electricity market (Energy Community, 2012:5). The World Bank states that if there is a common trade for Southeastern Europe, then three trillion euro would be saved (World Bank Outlook, 2010).

However, Albania needs to approach its legislation to the *acquis*. As the report states, there is no progress in this respect: "Progress has been very limited in the energy sector. The Power Sector Law is not in line with the *acquis*. Market reform in the electricity sector has not yet been effectively achieved and further efforts are required in order to ensure its economic viability ... Overall, preparations in the area of energy are advancing slowly" (EU Progress report for Albania, 2011: 56).

#### *Risks and threats*

Threats for the energy security:

Political instability for producing countries and transit countries (Albania);

1. Manipulation of energy supply (in the context of the region and of a state);
2. The game against resource competition (price manipulation);
3. Growing elements of terrorism in the area;
4. Infrastructure protection issues (NATO, state forces, private companies)

Actually, a new NATO role is being defined (Ribaj, 2012:25). Such institution was established to maintain peace in Europe and the protection of the energy infrastructure is nowadays one of the main aspects of peace in EU and the whole region of Western Balkans.

#### **Conclusion**

There is a saying: "It is easy to think strategically, but it is difficult to act strategically" (15). It looks like the motto to be followed by our policymakers who should leave aside the rhetoric.

It is necessary to recognize the European and global energy geopolitics. By having such approach, our policymakers would be able to know the regional context. This is not an easy enterprise. Getting to know the risks is indispensable. Problems with legislation and protection of the pipelines should be solved. A detailed analysis of the energy geopolitics should

really reflect the impact on the national geopolitics.

Therefore while preparing official documents the policymakers should have in mind the energy security. Inclusion of these concepts in the strategic documents of the Albanian state would make the country ready for such challenges and make it competitive with other actors. This is much related with good governance. However, modest players like Albania should be able to understand the “chess game of the big players”.

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