

**ENERGY AND ITS IMPACT
ON DEVELOPMENT IN
SOUTHEAST EUROPE AND
THE BLACK SEA AREA**



POLICY PAPER

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*Energy and its impact on development in
Southeast Europe and the Black Sea area*

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold: first, to examine to which extent energy sector can foster development in Balkans-Black sea area and second, to examine to which extent exporting EU policies and institutions in energy sector supports balancing commercial, political and social interest in the region. For the purpose of this paper Balkans-Black Sea region includes EU member states (members of the Energy Union: Greece, Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia), the Energy Community contracting parties (Western Balkans 6: Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo) and Turkey.

The region is strategically located between the regions rich in fossil fuels (Russia, Caspian states and the Middle East) and main Central and West European markets. The starting hypothesis is that relevance of energy sector for the countries in the region and their strategic and geopolitical importance for the EU in providing access to energy sources and diversifying routes could, with time, serve as a basis for strengthening regional cooperation and promoting regional interests.

First, key economic and energy issues in the region are presented and discussed. Next, policies and regional organisations are presented, including planned energy infrastructure projects. Based on the above, relevance of these projects for the countries concerned and their development potential is evaluated. Finally, conclusions and recommendations are formulated.

Key economic and energy issues

Socio-economic snapshot

The countries of Balkans- Black sea area are very diverse (Table 1). The largest country of the region (Turkey) has more than hundred times more inhabitants than the smallest (Montenegro, 74 and 0.5 million of inhabitants, respectively) and almost 200 times higher GDP. The countries also face opposing demographic trends: all the countries of the region except Turkey are faced with depopulation. The recovery after the 2008 crisis has also been uneven: Serbia, Croatia and Greece were heavily hit with long recession and slow recovery, while Bulgaria, Macedonia and Turkey experienced much faster growth.

Table 1
Population and GDP

	Country	Population, 000 inhabitants		GDP, million euros		GDP per capita, Euro, current prices					
		2008	2015	2008	2015	2004	2008	2010	2012	2014	2015
1	Albania	2.947	2.889	8800	9268	16001	2986	3088	3300	3400	3600
2	Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.8402	3.819	13040	14594	n/a	3394	3372	3500	3600	3800
3	Bulgaria	7492	7.197	37200	45287	2700	5000	5200	5700	5900	6300
4	Croatia	4.312	4.213	48130	43847	7800	11200	10500	10300	10200	10400
5	Greece	11.077	10.858	241990	175698	17700	21800	20300	17300	16300	16200
6	Romania	20.537	19.819	142396	160353	2900	6900	6300	6700	7600	8100
7	Serbia	7.350	7.095	33705	33491	2700	4600	4100	4400	4700	4700
8	Turkey		74.724	498602	645394	40001	7064	7585	8200	7800	8300
9	Kosovo		1.7721	n/a	5568	n/a	n/a	n/a	2800	3100	
10	Macedonia	2.046	:	6772	90614		3308	3300	3500	3700	
11	Montenegro		622	3086	3624		4907	5045	5100	5600	5800

Source: Eurostat, 2017.

Differences in socio-economic conditions among the states of the region make identification and pursuing of common economic and energy interests difficult. Despite differences, there are some common features that might help in formulating regional interests.

Energy consumption

Per capita primary energy consumption of countries of the region is about half of that of more developed countries (illustrated by OECD data: Table 2, TPES/pop). Energy

intensity (measured as consumption of energy per GDP) is generally higher than OECD-average, but there are significant differences among countries. Energy intensities of Greece, Croatia and Turkey are comparable with the OECD average, while energy intensity in Montenegro is twice as high. Energy intensity of Bulgaria and Kosovo are three times higher than OECD average, and in the BiH it is four (Table 2, TPES/GDP). High energy intensity in the Balkan-Black Sea region shows that countries are lagging behind OECD average in economic and energy transitions.¹

¹ Data for 2003

² Data for 2011

¹ The statistical relation between energy intensity and the level of competitiveness implies that countries that are more competitive use energy more efficiently.

Table 2
Energy production, import and total primary energy supply, 2008 and 2014

		Energy production, Mtoe		Net energy imports, Mtoe		Energy import dependency, %		TPES, Mtoe		TPES/pop		TPES/GDP	
		2008	2014	2008	2014	2008	2014	2008	2014	2008	2014	2008	2014
1	Albania	1,15	2,01	1,13	0,67	54%	29%	2,09	2,34	0,66	0,81	0,37	0,18
2	Bosnia and Herzegovina	4,34	6,05	1,63	1,71	27%	22%	5,99	7,82	1,59	2,05	0,71	0,44
3	Bulgaria	10,24	11,36	10,50	6,45	53%	36%	19,78	17,90	2,59	2,48	1,01	0,34
4	Croatia	3,95	4,35	5,51	3,62	61%	45%	9,8	8,04	2,05	1,90	0,30	0,14
5	Greece	9,86	8,80	25,16	16,93	84%	73%	30,10	23,31	2,71	2,12	0,81	0,09
6	Romania	28,78	26,37	10,65	5,36	27%	17%	39,38	31,69	1,83	1,59	0,64	0,17
7	Serbia	9,92	9,44	6,38	3,72	40%	28%	16,03	13,26	2,18	1,86	1,16	0,35
8	Turkey	28,98	31,35	72,52	93,72	74%	77%	98,50	121,54	1,39	1,59	0,26	0,14
9	Kosovo	-	1,62	-	0,60		27%	-	2,21	-	1,21	-	0,34
10	Macedonia	1,72	1,27	1,40	1,38	45%	53%	3,10	2,62	1,52	1,26	0,70	0,26
11	Montenegro	-	0,69	-	0,29		30%	-	0,96	-	1,54	--	0,22
	OECD		4144		1322				5273		4,16		0,11

Source: IEA (2016)

² Total primary energy supply (TPES) is made up of production + imports – exports – international marine bunkers – international aviation bunkers ± stock changes

Energy production

Hydropower and coal are most commonly used energy sources (see Annex). Most of the countries of the region produce coal (exception being Croatia) and crude oil (exceptions are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Montenegro). There is no production of oil products in the region, while availability of gas and nuclear power varies significantly (see Annex).

Gas is not used nor produced in Kosovo and Montenegro. BiH and Macedonia do not produce it, but use it in small amounts. Croatia and Romania are the only countries in the region with significant gas production. In the wider Black Sea area, Azerbaijan and Ukraine are also in that position. Recent explorations have positively identified considerable, commercially viable offshore gas deposits in the Black Sea territorial waters and exclusive economic zone of Romania and, potentially, Turkey, Bulgaria and Georgia.

Nuclear energy is currently produced only in Bulgaria and Romania. There are various approaches towards nuclear issues. In Turkey, plans for nuclear power are a key aspect of the country's aim for economic growth³, while most of the Western Balkans countries do not plan nuclear utilities.

The importance of renewable energy sources (RES) and energy efficiency is increasing, but the potential of renewables is still underutilised. Similarly, changes in energy consumption as well as available financing instruments show that energy efficiency is not very high on the agenda⁴.

Generally, many countries in the region depend heavily on coal (lignite) for power generation, and in the Western Balkans on hydroelectricity: Albania relies almost 100% on hydro, while Kosovo depends 100% on lignite (see table 3) and the other countries enjoy a mix based on oil and gas. On the other hand, in the East Balkans the energy mix for power generation is more diversified. Bulgaria and Romania make more use of gas and also use nuclear energy, whereas Greece and Turkey rely heavily on lignite and steam coal with growing inputs from RES (including wind, photovoltaic and hydro electricity).

Another common feature of the region (with the exception of Greece and Turkey) is that key elements of the region's energy infrastructures (e.g. gas pipelines, major thermal power plants) were built in the 1960s and 1970s. This concentration in age and type of technology, combined with inadequate maintenance, creates urgent need for investments in modernisation, rehabilitation and replacement of ageing infrastructure⁵.

³ Three nuclear power projects are being prepared: Akkuyu, to be built by Rosatom, Sinop, which is to be built by a Franco-Japanese consortium and China is in line to build the third plant, with US-derived technology (c.f. World Nuclear Association, 2016).

⁴ For more about energy efficiency see policy section of this paper.

⁵ The need for rehabilitation and modernisation is well known and elaborated. For instance, European Commission financed the Regional Balkans Infrastructure Study, managed by the World Bank (REBIS-

Table 3
Planned power generation capacity by 2020
compared to 2012

MW el	Albania		BH		Croatia		Macedonia		Montenegro		Serbia		Turkey
	2012	2020	2012	2020	2012	2020	2012	2020	2012	2020	2012	2020	
Coal	0	1372	1855	1870	330		818	1352	210	1144	3914	4686	
Gas	0		0	1050	999		280	300	0	356	336	2540	
Oil/dual fuel	9	120	0	730	786		210	300	0		0	450	
Nuclear	0		0		398		0		0		0		5%, 300
Hydro	1480		2188		2191		538		676		2883		
Renewable (other than hydro)	0	1191	46		180		0	752	0		3	251	
Total	1577	61	4089		4884		1846		886		7136		

Source: Energy Community Secretariat, 2013, Serbia energy strategy

Energy demand

There is no uniform trend in energy demand within the region (see Table 2 and Annex). TPES in 2014 in Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Macedonia was smaller compared to 2008, while other countries of the region experienced increase.

In most countries projected is growth of energy demand in the short term (until 2020, see Table 4)

Table 4
Growth scenarios and targets

	GDP growth	Energy demand anngrowth	Renewable energy sources		Energy efficiency target
	%, annually	%, annually	share2009 share	2020 target	target%,
Albania	4.5	2	31,2	38	9 (2018)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.6-6.2	2-3.2	34,0	40	9.2 (2018)
Bulgaria			12,1	16	16,9 (2020)
Croatia	n/a	2.7-3.1	23,6	20	9 (2016)
Greece			8,5	18	24,7(2020)
Kosovo	2.4-8.3	n/a	18,9	25	9 (2018)
Macedonia	5.7	2.2-2.6	21,9	28	9 (2018)
Montenegro	5.2-6.8	1.7-2.8	26,3	33	9 (2018)
Romania			22,7	24	43 (2020)
Serbia	3	1-.11	21,2	27	9 (2018)
Turkey					

Source: Energy Community secretariat, 2013, Serbia Energy Strategy, 2014

Table 5
2020 forecast, total primary energy and electricity supply

	Total primary energy supply 2020, Mtoe	Electricity, GWh			
		Production	Import	Export	Supply
Albania	2.664-2.957	10467	9	0	10497
Bosnia and	6.884-7.332	25836	407	-4047	22223
Croatia	n/a	36723	2697	n/a	29420
Kosovo	2.371-3.735	9123	0	1591	7532
Macedonia	4.212	10150	2	0	10152
Montenegro	1.942	6970	0	1291	5679
Serbia	9.756-10.676				
Turkey					

Source: Energy Community Secretariat, 2013. Serbia's energy Strategy

Available projections for the period until 2030 (with projections for year 2020, 2025 and 2030) show increase in total final energy consumption. Continuation of current trends would lead to shortcomings in electricity between 15.1 TWh (in 2020) and 36.1 TWh (in 2030) in Western Balkan 6 and Croatia (Energy Community Secretariat, 2013:27). To avoid such shortcomings, investments of minimal 15,1 billions euros are needed until 2020 (23,7 billions until 2025 and 35,2 billions until 2030; Energy Community Secretariat, 2013).

On the other hand, main drives of energy demand are generally population and economy. Depopulation trends (exception being Turkey), together with new investments (increase in energy efficiency, use of renewable energies, technological development) should diminish demand. Such development is not projected in official strategic documents, indicating traditional approach to energy issues.

Import dependency

Given the limited availability of energy source, there is significant import dependency, which varies within the region (between 17 and 73%, see Table 2) and during the time (e.g. increased in Turkey or Macedonia while decreased in Croatia, Albania, Bulgaria). Almost all countries (with the exception of Romania and Croatia) depend heavily on hydrocarbon imports (see Annex), primarily oil and gas. In short to medium term, oil and gas consumption are likely to increase due to the expected economic growth (see Table 6). Thus the energy security situation is bound to worsen, which might impede development. As a result, new energy routes and sources are of significant importance – both from economic and political perspective. First, new sources and supply routes are needed in countries of the region to meet their own energy needs. Second, new transit routes increase region's geopolitical importance.

Table 6
Planned crude oil and petroleum products, 2021, ktoe

ktoe	Domestic production	Import	Export	Power	Industry, commercial	Residential	Transport
Albania	702	1506	450	-	166+137	57	1137
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1480	1730	1640	30	80	10	1420
Kosovo	37	663		-	133+63	35	455
Macedonia	-	1381	366				
Montenegro	-	643	-	-	211+34	13	385
Serbia							
Turkey							

Energy mix

While the structure of the energy mix is diverse, most of the energy markets within the region significantly depend on fossil fuels, predominantly imported (See Annex). Shares of solid fuels (mainly coal and lignite) and oil are relatively stable (based on 2005, 2010 and 2014 data, see Annex). The role of natural gas is also important, and increasingly important to the energy mix of the various countries of the region, both for power generation and domestic use. The use of gas has experienced impressive expansion in Turkey in last 10 years, while in the other countries it remained on the approximately the same levels. Its further use, especially in Western Balkans, is hampered by poor infrastructure, including lack of adequate cross border interconnections.

Dominance of fossil fuels implies significant decarbonising potential, but the transition might be difficult due to importance of industry for economy and employment.

The share of renewables is increasing. E.g. in Turkey and Greece the production from geothermal and solar plants increased four fold in 2005-2014 period, and exceeds hydro power. On the other hand, according to the latest IEA data, production from this types of facilities in BiH, Serbia and Kosovo was non-existent in 2014 (IEA, 2016, see also Annex).

Nuclear's share for power generation is small and stable⁶.

Policies

The implementation of the EU energy acquis (related to security of supply, the internal energy market, energy efficiency, renewable energy sources, nuclear energy, nuclear safety and radiation protection) and relevant targets (such as renewables targets, energy efficiency targets and decarbonisation goals) foster changes in energy mix of the member states (Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia). Energy acquis also provides a roadmap for energy transition until 2050. Structural change in energy sector is expected to contribute to climate sustainability, greater energy security and increased efficiency and productivity, on the EU and level of individual member states. Potential benefits for individual member states include issues related to energy security, internal market, energy efficiency, decarbonisation and technological development (see Table 7). Benefits related to internal energy market are identified for all member states, as common energy market, planned to be established by the Energy Union, enables production of energy where it is the cheapest and delivery to where it is needed. As the EU is the largest energy importer in the world, importing 53% of its energy at an annual cost of around €400 billion, this is of particular interest and drives many aspects of energy policies. Other categories of benefits are not imminent to all member states.

⁶ It should be noted that in some tables here we present nuclear energy for Croatia: Croatia owns ½ of NPP Krško, located in Slovenia and has no nuclear facilities on its own territory.

So far, the EU energy transition has led to changing of energy mix, primarily increasing share of renewables. During 2016, net new capacity added in EU was virtually 100% renewables.⁷ Some cities set 100% renewable goals.⁸ Given the availability of natural gas globally, lower long-term prices and smaller emissions compared to other fossil fuels, natural gas is considered as bridging fuel during the shift to

renewables, as there is still no effective utility-scale solution to the intermittency in renewable generation. More traditional generation assets, particularly coal, are being phased out or converted to biofuels. Size of nuclear sector (25% of electricity consumed in the EU) indicates that changes in nuclear's role in the generation mix will take time, especially considering significant differences in national energy policies.⁹

Table 7
Benefits of the Energy Union for Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria, Greece

	Croatia	Romania	Bulgaria	Greece
Energy security	Diversification of European gas sources, suppliers and routes and better coordination of emergency response mechanisms among Member States will further strengthen Croatia's energy security situation		The diversification of European gas sources, suppliers and routes and the better coordination of emergency response mechanisms among Member States will significantly help to provide adequate level of energy security for Bulgaria. The funding of critical infrastructure (domestic grids and interconnections) and the reinforcing of regional cooperation (High Level Group on Central East South Europe Connectivity) are also important elements of the Energy Union Strategy with direct benefits for Bulgaria.	

⁷ Net European generation capacity during 2016 increased by 7 GW. Close to 75% of new capacity comes from wind (44%) and solar (29%). While some new coal (16%) and gas (6%) capacity was added, far more coal and gas assets were decommissioned.

⁸ Güssing reached 100% renewable target. Munich, Copenhagen and Malmo set 100% renewable target for 2025. For more see <http://www.go100percent.org>

⁹ New plants are under construction in France, Finland and Slovakia, while nuclear decommissioning program has been accelerated in Germany

Internal energy market	A completed internal energy market will support Croatia's efforts for regional cooperation on generation adequacy, which will be more cost-effective than a national approach. The diversification of gas supplies sources will provide the possibility to moderate gas prices in Croatia.	Market integration of renewables and regional cooperation in relation to support schemes will increase the cost-effectiveness of Romania's renewable production. Electricity interconnections and enhanced cross-border trade will help control electricity prices and increase Romania's security of electricity supply. The completion of gas interconnections and reverse flow projects will support increased exploitation of domestic gas sources.	A completed internal energy market combined with strong regional cooperation will provide more cost-effective options on dealing with generation adequacy. Bulgaria's structural overcapacity in electricity generation can ensure affordable prices to domestic consumers and offer export opportunities in an integrated regional electricity market.	Full integration of Greece into the EU's electricity and gas markets and convergence upon the EU electricity target model will increase competition on Greece's electricity and gas markets. Aligning the Greek gas retail market to EU standards for market liberalisation will ensure that Greece can benefit optimally from the gas-to-gas competition that will evolve when gas sources have become more diversified.
Decarbonisation	EU 2030 Framework for Climate and Energy can contribute to maintaining public acceptance of the energy transition.			The EU 2030 Framework for Climate and Energy will provide additional opportunities to further develop Greece's potential for renewable energy and hence can contribute to maintaining public acceptance of the transition to a greener energy sector. A move towards the EU electricity target model will allow for an even deeper renewables integration by providing for proper investment signals.
Energy Efficiency	The Energy Union will strengthen the targeted use of financial instruments for increased investments particularly in the transport and buildings sector. In Croatia, significant contributions can be expected from the European Structural and Investment Funds and the European Fund for Strategic Investment. The revenues from auctioning of ETS allowances will also contribute to investment in climate and energy.	The Energy Union will strengthen the targeted use of financial instruments for increased investments particularly in the transport and buildings sector. It will help ensure that Romania harvests the economic and other benefits of reducing its much higher than-average energy intensity.	The Energy Union will strengthen the targeted use of financial instruments. This will trigger investments in areas where Bulgaria has significant energy savings potential (e.g. transport and industry) and help to improve the energy efficiency of residential buildings, thereby reducing energy costs for households	The Energy Union will strengthen the targeted use of financial instruments for increased investments also for Greece particularly in the transport and buildings sector, e.g. through the European Structural and Investment Fund. Investments in energy efficiency can reduce energy bills of Greece's vulnerable customers and enterprises whilst providing a much needed boost to the construction sector.

Research and innovation	The Energy Union's new strategy for Research and Innovation (including an upgrade of the Strategic Energy Technology Plan) can support Croatia's progress on low-carbon technology development	The Energy Union's new strategy for Research and Innovation can support Romania's progress on low-carbon technology development.		The Energy Union's new strategy for Research and Innovation can support Greece's progress on low-carbon technology development.
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Source: authors, based on European Commission (2015), European Commission (2015a), European Commission (2015b), European Commission (2015c)

In order to ensure its energy policy goals (primarily related to security of supply and decarbonisation) the EU also tries to export its standards, policies, and regulations. The most effective EU's foreign policy, enlargement, is about to reach its limits. Thus, enlargement process is less motivating for the implementation of reforms. New solutions are needed for neighbouring regions (Western Balkans, Mediterranean and Eastern neighbours). The EU offered energy market integration through participating in the Energy Community to countries

of the South East Europe (SEE) and to Eastern neighbours. The Energy Community should (i) improve and sustain economic development in its member countries, (ii) diversify supply of gas and electricity and (iii) help to achieve lasting peace and stability in the region and improving the security of private citizens (European Commission, 2005). This should be beneficial for the EU and its partners, both (see Table 8).

Table 8
The EU's formal reasons for launching the Energy Community

	The Energy Community	Benefits for the region	Benefits for the EU
1.	Improve and sustain economic development in South Eastern Europe	Innovation is a tool for improving and sustaining economic development in the region, technology transfer	Technology transfer, related to market access
2.	Diversify supply of gas and electricity	Increased security of supply	Security of supply- new routes for conventional sources (EnCT) and new sources - renewables (Medreg)
3.	Achieve lasting peace and stability in the region and improving the security of private citizens in the SEE	General security	General security

Source: Boromisa (2014)

The access to energy sources is the common interest of EU member states and non member countries. The Energy Community's Ministerial Council, consisting of the Ministers of Energy of the member states and EU representatives takes strategic decisions (such as on extension of the relevant acquis, membership), gives directions, or formally adopts secondary legislation. Establishment of regional institutions that can take strategic decisions provides indications that the Energy Community is more than mere extension of the EU acquis. It might evolve into an organisation that formulates and promotes regional interests, thus strengthening the negotiation position of its members towards main investors or suppliers.

However, there are significant differences over a wide spectrum of economic and social parameters within the Energy Community, which makes establishing integrated strategies for the area very challenging. Also, implementation of commitments is slow and partial (see table 9). However, it should be noted that the EU policy instruments are not necessarily well suited for countries (or even regions) of the Balkans-Black Sea Area.¹⁰ The priorities are seen much differently from the Balkan-Black Sea region, especially when it comes to the development of indigenous energy sources. While energy efficiency, renewables, decarbonisation and market issues are high on the EU agenda, in the Balkan-Black Sea region the most important strategic issues relate to the diversification of energy routes and new gas suppliers.

Table 9
Alignment with non-EU countries of the region with the EU energy acquis

	Overall	security of supply	the internal energy market	energy efficiency	renewable energy sources	nuclear energy, safety and radiation protection
Turkey	Moderately aligned	Significant progress	Good progress electricity Need to complete gas market reform (third party access, unbundling)	No progress	Good progress	No progress
Serbia	moderately prepared	High level of alignment	primary legislation is compliant with the EU's third energy package but secondary legislation in the gas sector has yet to be completed and implemented.	Partially coherent	by-laws need to be passed to allow full implementation	partially in line with the acquis

¹⁰ This can be illustrated by the experience of Greece, which suffered from continuous contraction over the last six years and Bulgaria and Romania where rapid RES growth was followed by deflation within a 3-4 year period.

Kosovo	Early stage, some progress	Needs improvement (reliability of transmission, investment in distribution)	Does not participate in Western Balkans 6 MoU, laws from 2016	Need alignment with EU rules, action plans, funds, institutional capacity	Very little progress	Early stage of preparing regulatory and legal framework
Albania	Moderately aligned, some progress	Early stage	Legal framework adopted, implementing legislation missing	Needs enhancing the capacity	Early stage	No progress
Montenegro	Moderate/good level; good progress	Adopted policy, implementation missing (level of stocks close to zero)	Third energy package transposed, implementing legislation missing	Partially transposed rules	Action plan available, no funds	Does not have industry
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Early stage, some progress	Failing to address adequately security of supply, diversification, use of indigenous resource	Not aligned with third energy package	not have a national energy efficiency action plan in line with the EnC requirement	no state-level legal framework on renewable energy. The legislation at entity level is not compliant with the EU <i>acquis</i> .	<i>NO nuclear power industry</i>
Macedonia	Moderately prepared	Some progress	NO progress, not aligned with the third energy package	Adopted national plan, target of 21% for 2020 is not in line with mandatory target of 28%, lack of funding	Partially transposed	<i>Ratified important international convention, does not have long term and safe radioactive waste facility, no plans for NPP</i>

Source: authors, based on European Commission 2016, European Commission 2016a, European Commission 2016b, European Commission 2016c, European Commission 2016d, European Commission 2016e, European Commission 2016f

Based on differences in prioritising and scope of the necessary actions (e.g. national or regional approach), two broadly defined types of activities can be identified: first relate to renewables, grid modernization, and distributed energy resources. These are primarily to be dealt with on national level. The second line of activities (and related investments) concerns traditional generation and trading, which requires more regional cooperation. Streamlining priorities is supported by the EU and the Energy Community, both, have developed investments plans based on common interest of the countries involved.

Investment plans

The EU and World Bank have been promoting cost-effective expansion of generating capacity within the region, that would produce a more diversified mixture, including new technology, more efficient lignite power plants (with less CO₂ emissions), gas-fired combined cycle and CHP, and renewables including hydropower. Such development would support a more sustainable energy mix for the region and would lower its carbon and overall energy intensity. However, the political and economic conditions do not offer stability necessary for regional energy generation facilities.

Thus, the projects of common interest (Projects of Energy Community Interest - PEI) are mostly transmission/transport networks, considered to be relevant for the Energy Community member states as well as for Croatia, Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey. Namely, mechanism for operation of energy markets under Energy Community Treaty applies equally to Energy Community members and EU members from Balkans-Black Sea region."

PEI include 6 electricity projects, three gas projects and one oil pipeline (Table 10). Five electricity PEI projects aim at creation of a regional electricity market (Trans-Balkan corridor) through the construction of a 400 kV transmission corridor between Montenegro, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. All 10 PEI projects should benefit from streamlined permitting and the possibility of regulatory incentives, cross-border cost allocation and funding under the EU's Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance and the Neighbourhood Investment Facility.

"These also apply to Italy and Poland. For more see Ministerial Decision (2015)

Table 10
Current PECO projects

Electricity	Gas	Oil
<p>— Transbalkan corridor:</p> <p>1. (EM) 400 kV OHL Resita (Romania) - Pancevo (Serbia)</p> <p>2. (EM) 400 kV OHL Kragujevac (Serbia) - Kraljevo (Serbia)</p> <p>3. (EM) 400 kV OHL Obrenovac (Serbia) - Bajina Basta (Serbia)</p> <p>4. (EIJ) 400 kV OHL (Bajina Basta (Serbia) - Visegrad (Bosnia and Hercegovina) - Pljevlja (Montenegro)</p> <p>5. (EL_3) Grid section in Montenegro — (EM3) Interconnection between Albania and former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: 400 kV OHL Bitola-Elbasan</p>	<p>1. Serbia - Bulgaria Interconnector</p> <p>2. Serbia - former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Interconnector</p> <p>3. Albania - Kosovo Interconnector</p>	<p>1. (Ukraine - Poland oil pipeline (Brody - Adamowo)</p>

Source: Ministerial Concil, 2016.

Also, some projects of common EU interest are relevant for the Balkan-Black Sea region. These include projects in

- Priority electricity corridor: Priority corridor North South electricity interconnections in Central Eastern and South Eastern Europe ('NSI East Electricity'), which supports reinforcement of the interconnection between Bulgaria and Greece, reinforcement of the interconnection between Bulgaria and Romania and Black Sea Corridor;²²
- Three priority gas corridors: (i) : Priority corridor North-South gas interconnections in Central Eastern and South Eastern Europe ("NSI East Gas")²³ ; (ii) Corridor and/or LNG terminals in Greece through Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and further (iii) Priority corridor Southern Gas Corridor ('SGC');

- Priority oil corridor: This includes several projects, such as JANAF- ADRIA project, as well Adamowo Brody Oil project. JANAF-ADRIA was prior to Croatia's accession to the EU considered as PECO project. It includes oil supply connections in Central Eastern Europe (JANAF- ADRIA). Planned is reconstruction, upgrading, maintenance and capacity increase of the existing JANAF and Adria pipelines linking the Croatian Omisalj seaport to the Southern Druzhba (Croatia, Hungary, Slovak Republic). Adamowo Brody Oil project is currently in permitting phase. It is 371 km pipeline connecting Brody (Ukraine) and Adamowo (Poland). Maximal technical capacity is 10, 20 and 30 million tonnes per year respectively, depending on the three consecutive stages of project implementation; and

²² "Black Sea Corridor" is known also as Cluster Bulgaria — Romania capacity. It includes reinforcement of the interconnection between Slovenia, Croatia and Hungary, reinforcements of the internal grid in Slovenia, as well as hydro-pumped storages in Bulgaria and Greece.

²³ It includes projects allowing bidirectional flows between Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary linking the LNG terminals in Poland and Croatia; projects allowing gas to flow from Croatian LNG terminal to neighbouring countries; projects allowing gas flows from the Southern Gas Corridor and/or LNG

- Two thematic areas: creating smart networks and constructing electricity highways;

Here we present more details on selected gas projects within priority corridor Southern Gas Corridor (SGC) which illustrate difficulties in harmonising regional, EU and interests of main suppliers.

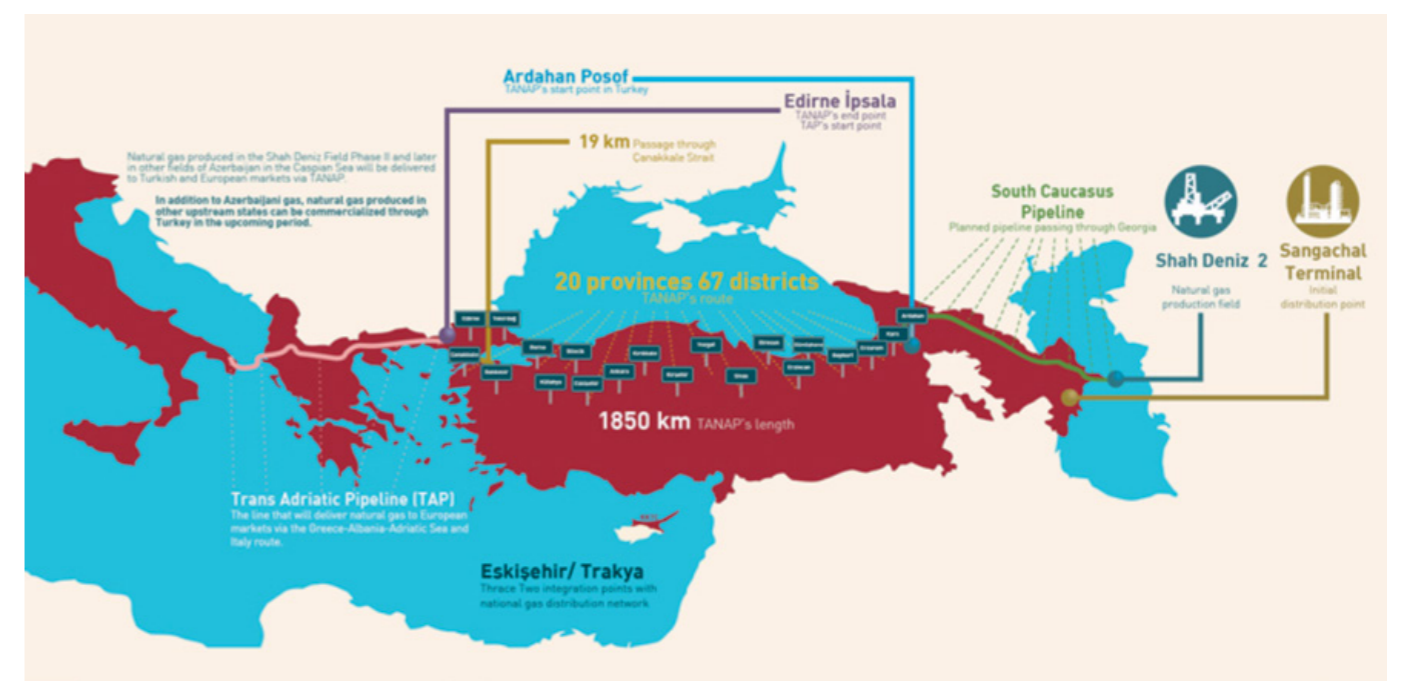
Southern gas corridor refers to the various projects to bring gas to the EU from Azerbaijan. It includes a cluster of integrated, dedicated and scalable transport infrastructure and associated equipment for the transportation of a minimum of 10 bcm/a of new sources of gas from the Caspian Region, crossing Georgia and Turkey and ultimately reaching Italy through the Adriatic Sea.

The current list of potential projects includes:

- Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP),
- Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline (TCP) and
- Expansion of the South-Caucasus Pipeline (SCP-(F)X).

TANAP will bring gas from Azerbaijan (and other possible neighboring countries) through Turkey to Europe. It is new onshore and offshore pipeline between the Eastern and Western borders of Turkey, crossing Anatolia with a length of 1900 km. Initial capacity is 16-billion-cubic meter yearly, about 6 billion cubic meters of which is expected to go to the Turkish market. Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the governments of Turkey and Azerbaijan in 2011: Planned date of commission is 2018. (See Picture 1)

Picture 1 - TAP, TANAP and SCP



Source: <http://www.tanap.com/tanap-project/why-tanap/>

terminals in Greece through Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and further to Hungary, including reverse flow capability from south to north and integration of transit and transmission systems; projects allowing development of underground gas storage capacity in South- Eastern Europe

TCPit is off-shore pipeline in the Caspian Sea from Turkmenistan (tie-in to the East-West Pipeline or offshore collection points) to Azerbaijan (tie-in to the SCP-(F)X). It will

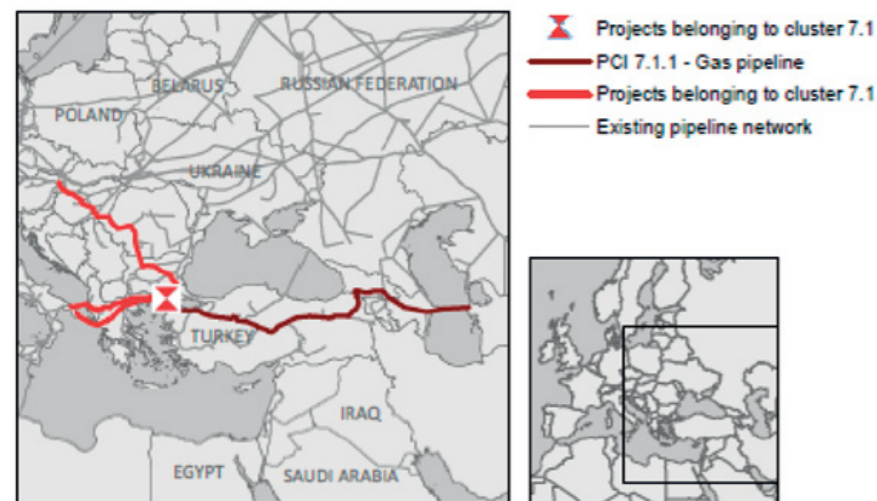
be 300 km long with an ultimate capacity of 32 bcm a year. It is currently in pre-feasibility phase and is expected to be operational in 2019-2020.

Picture 2 - Trans-Caspian Gas pipeline



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trans-Caspian_Gas_Pipeline#/media/File:Baku_pipelines.svg

Picture 3 - TCP and the SCP-F(X)



Source: https://ec.europa.eu/energy/sites/ener/files/documents/pci_7_1_1_en.pdf

Expansion of the South Caucasus Pipeline (SCP (F)X) is part of the Shah Deniz Full Field Development project. The South Caucasus Pipeline (SCP) was built to export Shah Deniz gas from Azerbaijan to Georgia and Turkey. It follows the route of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) crude oil pipeline through Azerbaijan and Georgia to Turkey, where it is linked to the Turkish gas distribution system. SCP was constructed jointly with BTC in order to minimise the environmental and social impact and to achieve capital and operating cost savings. The pipeline has been operational since late 2006 transporting gas to Azerbaijan and Georgia, and starting from July 2007 to Turkey from Shah Deniz Stage 1. The length of the pipeline is 691 km, with 443 km in Azerbaijan and 248 km in Georgia. The diameter is 42-inch. The expansion involves the laying of new pipeline across Azerbaijan and the construction of two new compressor stations in Georgia with subsequent tie into TANAP, to provide gas into Turkey and the European Union. Expansion will triple the gas volumes exported through the pipeline to over 20 billion cubic metres per year. A Final Investment Decision on the South Caucasus Pipeline Expansion (SCPX) project was taken on 17 December 2013, coincident with Shah Deniz Stage 2. The list of projects of European interests is dynamic: previously Southern Gas Corridor included projects such as Nabucco, Nabucco West, and IAP. Nabucco was planned to supply of gas from the Caspian region to Europe and bypass Russia. The preparations began in 2002 for route running from Turkey (Erzurum) to Austria (Baumgarten an der March), via Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary (the pipeline length is approximately 3,300 km), with a maximum transport capacity of 31 billion m³ annually. The project has never gone very far from a technical standpoint, as there was no supplier. First Iran, Turkmenistan, Egypt and Iraq pulled out, and then Azerbaijan finally rejected the idea. In 2011 the pipeline had been reduced in length to 1,300 km. The eastern section (from Azerbaijan across Georgia and Turkey to the Bulgarian border) was abandoned. Nabucco-West, which was to have carried gas from from the Bulgarian/Turkish border via Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary to Austria was

the only remaining part of the original project. Nabucco West lost out to the Trans Adriatic Pipeline in the 'Southern Corridor' contest to move Azeri gas to Europe from the second phase of the Shah Deniz project.

The Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) is contracted to carry 10 billion cubic metres of gas per year (bcm/y) to Europe. Connecting with the Trans Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP) at the Greek-Turkish border, TAP will cross Northern Greece, Albania and the Adriatic Sea before coming ashore in Southern Italy to connect to the Italian natural gas network. The project is currently in its construction phase, which started in 2016. TAP will be 878 kilometres in length (Greece 550 km; Albania 215 km; Adriatic Sea 105 km; Italy 8 km). The economic crisis, above all in Greece, could place the completion of the TAP project in doubt. When finalised, TAP would be a sign of growing geopolitical role of the TAP countries (Turkey, Greece, Albania).

The TANAP and TAP pipelines will reduce Europe's dependence on Russian supplies of gas. However, the capacity of 10 billion cubic metres of gas per year is only around one third of the amount Nabucco was to have carried. This equates to just 1 percent of Europe's total demand. The expansions (such as SCP F(X)) are significant, but considerably smaller than originally planned.

The increased independence of Turkey from Russian gas was one of the main goals of the southern route. Turkey is one of the largest importers of Russian gas, but at the same time is a key political partner of NATO and the EU in Eurasia and the Caspian region. The route will now not be built under the direction of the EU, but instead primarily under the control of Turkey and Azerbaijan. The laying of the TANAP and TAP pipelines will increase the geopolitical importance of these two countries as EU energy partners.

As regards LNG Krk, on the EU's list of projects of common interests is the Cluster Krk LNG Regasification Vessel and evacuation pipelines

towards Hungary, Slovenia and Italy. It includes LNG Regasification vessel in Omišalj, Krk (HR), gas pipeline Zlobin –Bosiljevo –Sisak –Kozarac –Slobodnica (HR), LNG evacuation pipeline from Omišalj – to Jelšane (SI) or gas pipeline to Italy. The Energy Community list includes LNG terminal and one of the pipelines which is also of the EU's interest: Zlobin –Bosiljevo –Sisak –Kozarac –Slobodnica.

Adria (Janaf) pipeline is considered as projects of common interest and the project of the Energy Community Interest (European Commission, 2013 ; Ministerial Council, 2013). It is based on increasing existing capacities of Janaf oil pipeline and connecting it to the Southern Druzhba. The Druzhba Adria Oil Pipeline would enable the export of Russian oil via Omišalj.

Picture 3 - Adria pipeline and location of LNG (Omišalj)



Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Druzhba.jpg>

Conclusions

Energy and development

Empirical research shows that (i) growth is positively affected by the stock of infrastructure assets, and (ii) income inequality declines with higher infrastructure quantity and quality (Calderón and Servé, 2004). Thus, construction of energy infrastructure in the region could foster development. However, to achieve such results, political, economic and technological preconditions have to be met.

Changes in list of projects of common interest show that postponing of investment decisions is closely linked with political and economic developments. Also, delays increase technical risks related to security of supply and thus necessary investments.

Regional cooperation

Individual countries of the region have limited impact on strategic decisions related to supply routes. Thus, coordination of negotiating positions within the region with respect to the main suppliers and markets is necessary to attract investors. Given the weak institutional capacities and political considerations, the development effects are more

likely to be achieved by investments in national infrastructure than in regional. As a result, regional ownership, as exclusive possession or control of process is not likely to be reached. The reasons include regional and international considerations.

Regional reasons include lack of regional trust and ownership. Also, institutional framework is not stable. The Energy Community borders and members are changing: Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia left the Energy Community when joined the EU, while Ukraine and Moldova joined later. The benefits of the membership are not recognised in the region.¹⁴

Given the diversity of countries, lack of common organisational framework and weaknesses of decision making body of existing ones (Ministerial Council of the Energy Community), formulation of truly regional initiatives and promotion of regional interests is not very likely.

If TAP and TANAP are implemented, interests of project promoters (Turkey, Azerbaijan) and international financial institutions will persist in the region in the long-term. Without strong regional organisation, including relevant countries on their own initiative, participation in the Energy Community and PECE projects are likely to be seen as a form of international intervention, rather than a regional ownership.

Regional cooperation might have an impact on defining priorities and conditionality applied, but requires co-ordination of positions towards important regional issues. Capacity to formulate and implement truly regional interests is missing. Energy industries in Energy Community are not likely to create regional economic interest. Thus, Turkey, EU and global energy industries and financial institutions could have a significant role in formulating national energy policies and regional policies.¹⁵ Such development makes it difficult to formulate regional ownership and coordinate national and regional policies. Policy coordination also requires strengthening of the process of

policy formulation, primarily enhancing the role of parliaments. National parliaments should be involved in decision making on the regional level and formulation of criteria for the identification of strategic projects and critical infrastructure at national and regional levels, including the relevant requirements regarding environmental sustainability and public participation.

Role of the EU and the Energy Community

Given the institutional weaknesses that undermine creation of truly regional initiatives, the EU serves as an anchor for the development of economic relations and cooperation. Through the Energy Community, as the EU's external energy policy instrument, the EU tries to promote investment that would increase its energy security. With distant (or non-existent) membership perspective, the political motivation is not sufficient for alignment with the EU rules. Thus, the principle of conditionality is applied for financial support and access to finance. As a result, the parties of the Energy Community are interested in participating in the implementation of the Energy Strategy in order to meet EU conditionality and accordingly to be able to apply for funding. Energy Community has not developed in a tool for furthering regional cooperation and hence improving energy security. This explains lack of initiative of the decision making institutions of the Energy Community (primarily the Ministerial Council). As the South East European countries generally do not have coherent medium-term strategy for reform, priorities are very much determined by short-term policy considerations, the process of integration into the European Union or deals with potential investors. This might foster competition instead of regional cooperation in concluding deals with main players (e.g. Turkey, Russia, EU or international financial institutions).

As a result, conflicting interests and economic and political instability might postpone investment decisions.

¹⁴ E.g. integration of Ukraine and Moldova into the Energy Community entailed both costs and benefits for all parties, but they were asymmetrical costs and benefits for the EU and Ukraine and Moldova. For more, see Petersen, 2012)

¹⁵ As seen when Serbia struck an energy deal with Russia.

Annex. Energy Balances, Mtoe

Country		Coal*			Crude oil*			Oil products			Natural gas			Nuclear	
		2005	2010	2014	2005	2010	2014	2005	2010	2014	2005	2010	2014	2005	2010
Albania	production	11	2	0	418	744	1368	0	0	0	9	12	25	0	0
	TPES	13	111	86	418	156	361	1001	1065	962	9	12	25	0	0
Bosnia and Herzegovina	production	2947	3501	3768	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TPES	3030	4030	4440	149	1160	1028	980	551	446	302	199	151	0	0
Bulgaria	production	4176	4940	5120	29	22	25	0	0	0	384	59	159	4875	3997
	TPES	6915	6904	6393	6612	6125	6189	-1812	-2251	-2228	2803	2300	2362	4875	3997
Croatia	production	0	0	0	1034	765	610	0	0	0	1865	2214	1443	0	0
	TPES	59	683	647	5436	4449	3010	-981	-789	12	2369	2639	2019	0	0
Greece	production	8538	7315	638	92	105	58	0	0	0	18	8	5	0	0
	TPES	8952	7863	6687	20001	20655	25578	-3050	-6802	-14840	2353	3234	2484	0	0
Romania	production	5795	5904	4449	5899	4186	3961	0	0	0	9699	8616	8763	1448	3029
	TPES	8757	6954	5710	14582	10246	10896	-4886	-1681	-2903	13919	10785	9362	1448	3029
Serbia	production	7461	7229	5713	663	942	1217	0	0	0	228	308	444	0	0
	TPES	8072	7827	6249	3800	3068	3142	581	825	121	1946	1853	1608	0	0
Turkey	production	10806	17524	16202	2231	2650	2610	0	0	0	738	562	394	0	0
	TPES	22626	32172	35879	25605	20853	20701	3140	10652	12098	22785	31386	40193	0	0
Kosovo	production	1221	1612	1342	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TPES	1242	1675	1355	0	0	0	455	530	548	0	0	0	0	0
Macedonia	production	1229	1194	985	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TPES	1399	1303	1079	968	875	0	-59	64	889	63	69	111	0	0
Montenegro	production	287	426	364	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TPES	281	411	359	0	0	0	275	301	260	0	0	0	0	0

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