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THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF KURDISTAN REGION (KRG) WITH TURKEY AND RUSSIA

Abstract. The primary goal of that paper is to look into economic and political situation of Iragi Kurdistan in context of its relations with Turkey and Russia. Turkey, which had once spearheaded opposition to the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), is implementing a 180-degree turn in its policy toward the KRG. It is developing close economic and political ties with the KRG. On the economic and natural resource fronts, Turkey is by far the most prosperous and industrialized of all of Iraq's neighbors. It offers transit routes to and from Western markets, as well as an exit to the Mediterranean for Iraqi hydrocarbons. Indeed, the Kurdistan Region is a major market for Turkish exports and industry is the gate for Iragi government regarding Turkish exports and imports.

The current geopolitical interests of the Russian Federation in the Middle East are now being considered in the context of the Kremlin's attempts to change its foreign policy and foreign economic positions not only in the Middle East and strengthening the positions and the vigilant and economic role of Kurds in the Middle East, especially also in the world, requires Russia to intensify Russian-Kurdish interaction. In the global energy market that poses a threat to the security interests and geo-economics of Russia. The fight against terrorism and playing a role in global energy are a key area for possible cooperation between two parties. Moscow is ready to cooperate with these issues and expand cooperation with (KRG). In the Kurdistan Region of Irag (KRI), economic development and infrastructure recovery extended at a great pace over the last decade. In order to achieve the aim, authors firstly adequate explained to research below a brief history of the Kurdistan and political relations with two sample countries. Next, it presents underlying economic relations of (KRG) with these countries in recent years.

In this article, the authors argue that ensuring the cooperation and good political relations between Turkey and Russia also ensuring their mutual economic benefits with Kurdistan will guarantee: (a) changes in power relations of the Kurdistan Region with Iragi government and own achievements in self-governance, (b) solve the problem of difficult circumstances accompanying the region's oil export and as a result making economic and national security of Kurdistan, (c) benefits and long contracts of the two countries with (KRG) will help to solve political crisis of the Region with other neighbor countries especially Russian factor to solve unexpected tensions between Kurdistan and Turkey regarding Kurdistan's independence.

Key words: Kurdistan Regional Government, Russia, Turkey, Economic situation, Political situation. JEL: F52, F55

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Introduction

world, with an estimated 30 million Kurds in a ge- years been centered on four main themes; betrayal, ographic area encompassing territories in Turkey, abuse, war, and the struggle for national liberation Irag, Iran, Syria, and Armenia. They comprise 18% of [Phillips, 2012]. The Kurdistan Regional Government the population in Turkey and 15-20% in Iraq, and are (KRG) was formed in 1992 by the Kurdistan Nationthe third largest ethnic group in the region after the al Assembly, the first democratically elected parlia-Arabs and Persians [Galloway, 1958]. According to ment in Kurdistan (and in Irag) following the no-fly The Kurdish people is a distinct one in the Middle zone designed to protect the Kurdistan Region from East, it is the fourth largest ethnic group with an es- the violence of Iraq's former Ba'ath regime. The KRG timated population of 40-45 million and are divided developed experience and expertise throughout between Irag (7 million), Iran, Turkey and Syria. Their successive cabinets, especially after the fall of the history dates before the existence of the Sumerians, former regime in 2003. These included the construc-

Medes, Ayyubids, Safavids and Ottomans. The mod-Kurds are the largest stateless minority in the ern history of the Kurdish people has for the past 100





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tion of international airports, proactive oil and gas macro-economic environment [MERI.., 2018]. policy, reconstruction of the Region's infrastructure, the promotion of relations with members of the international community, and greater funding for so- mous government established in the northern provcial and economic projects within the Region⁴.

on a number of issues, including security and econ- huge oil reserves (45 billion barrel of oil and about omy is not new for the KRG. By and large, the KRG 6 trillion cubic meter of natural gas), that is about has attempted to circumvent Baghdad by building 1/3 of Iraq reserves and accessing what the Libya strong ties with Turkey and in the recent years have has. KRI is one of 10 richest areas around the world long-term contracts with Russian's big energy com- where it's indicator of oil reserves per population is panies. The result is that Turkey is the biggest trad- more than 8,800 barrels of oil, more than double of ing partner for the Kurdistan Region [Denise, 2016]. Iraq's and even more than Saudi Arabia's, hence the The Region is currently exporting almost all of its oil, KRI was named by financial times as "an Ocean of rearound 600.000 bpd, via the Turkish port of Ceyhan serves waiting to be tapped". and the KRG ranks third as Turkey's export destination and this number will increase by the function stable macroeconomic environment enhances prosof Russian companies [Cagaptay, Fidan & Sacika- pects for growth and improved living standards, ra, 2015]. In addition, in 2013, approximately 1,500 and besides the ultimate goal of macroeconomics is Turkish companies were operating in the Region, to avoid uncertainty and risk in economic decision which translated into 65% of all foreign business op- making"⁷. In general, macroeconomic policies incluerating in Kurdistan⁵.

on the multifaceted relationship between Turkey in economic stability, reduced poverty, and improand the KRG, the KRG Prime Minister, Nerchivan ved living standards. It is pointed out that the critistrategic and most significant"⁶. In the context of the the region. The KRG receives the annual budget from since February 2015. As discussed previously, the fi- and approved by the Iragi Council of Ministries. Connancial needs of the KRI supersede this amount by tinued economic development in the Kurdistan Re-

KRG Macroeconomic View and 2014 Crisis

Kurdistan Region of Irag (KRI), is a semi autonoinces of Iragi federal, with area of 40,643 sg.km and Engaging actively with the main regional players population of 5.1 million (2012 estimated). KRI owns

According to the World Bank's description, "a de taxes, government spending and borrowing, exc-In the security sector, Turkey has been collabo- hange rate determinants, and monetary and credit rating with the KRG on training Kurdish Peshmerga rules. Dealing with the concept of macroeconomics and Sunni Arab forces for the liberation of Mosul. To- in Iraqi Kurdistan is a complex issue which has direct wards that end, a number of Turkish troops are sta- influence on the economic growth of the region. The tioned in Bashiga camp, in the Ninawa plains, with efficiency of macroeconomics in Kurdistan led to the KRG's consent [Kalin & Coskun, 2015]. Reflecting rapid economic growth since 2003, which resulted Barzani, stated that "our relationship with Turkey has cal concern in the KRG's macroeconomic measures reached a strategic level, and it is mutually benefi- is complete dependency on oil revenues, and the ial" [MERI.., 2018]. Similarly, the Turkish Prime Minis- distribution of wealth, which triggered drawbacks in ter, Ahmet Davutoglu, described the relationship "as economic growth rather than a healthy progress for KRI's economic crisis, Turkey has provided the KRG the federal government at the end of every financial with around 700 million dollars in emergency loans year, and the budget for the next year is prepared far. And as the economic crisis persists and deepens, gion is stressed in the recent "regional development the KRG will need even more money to stabilize its strategy for 2012–2016", in which the 2003–2008 national income increased from IQD 4,373 billion to IQD 35,665 billion, an average growth rate of 46.6% at current prices. In the same period, GDP increased from IQD 2,419 billion to IQD 24,725 billion, an average growth rate of 68.9%. The per capita GDP income increased from IQD 0.524 million to IQD 4,754 million, representing an average growth rate of 64.3%. The strategic plan for economic development applies a multidimensional approach with focus on all





⁴ Regional Development Strategy for Kurdistan Region, 2012–2016. Kurdistan Regional Government, Ministry of Planning-Erbil-Kurdistan Region-Iraq, 2018. [WWW document]. Available at http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/p. aspx?l=12&p=224

⁵ Invest in Group, Determined to Grow: Economy. Invest in Group, October 2013. [WWW document]. Available at http://investingroup.org/review/236/ determined-to-grow-economy-kurdistan/, accessed 1 April 2018.

⁶ Prime Minister Barzani and Turkish Prime Minister discuss bilateral relations. Kurdistan Regional Government, 27 December 2015. [WWW document]. Available at http://cabinet.gov.krd/a/d. aspx?s=040000&l=12&a=54081, accessed 1 April 2018

⁷ Macroeconomic Policy. World Bank Group, December 22, 2014. [WWW document]. Available at https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/ macroeconomics/brief/macroeconomic-policy, accessed 1 April 2018.

The economic relations of Kurdistan Region (KRG) with Turkey and Russia

factors of economy, as they are interrelated¹.

tors, which show that based on the available data, tor of the Kurdistan Region is completely dependent in mid-2010, local and foreign investments amoun- on oil, and this is directly affected by the internatioted to about USD 12.491 million, while government nal oil companies in the region, which are the source investment in the 2004–2009 periods increased by of foreign direct investment. It is estimated that "al-92.1%, with the government investment expenditu- most 55% of all investment in Irag is made in Kurdisres making 25% of the overall public spending in the tan region" Despite of that KRG is only able to export same period². Macro-economics in the KRG is highly almost 400,000 barrels pre-day, which is approximacomplex, fragile and burdened with conflicts. In this tely 16% of the Iraq's total exports [Frank, 2014]. context, macroeconomics is the driver underlying the conflicts, since the distribution of the wealth of is risky for a developing region like Kurdistan due to natural resources is contested.

the current economic threats in the Kurdistan Re- most foreign investors to invest in Kurdistan region gion, because the budgetary issues of the Kurdis- rather than the other regions of Iraq. Economically, tan Region have always been bargained on by the the KRG is a rich oil dependent region, the same financial crisis hit the Kurdistan Region hard, and the budget depends on oil, in which the revenues the most severe phase of the crisis, which involved share of the oil is calculated and distributed accordin the budget dispute with the federal government ing to the population of the regions, based on this of Iraq was dragged for 2 years (2013-2014). Some calculation constitutionally, KRG has 17% of the oil are of the opinion that the key point is that "a fis- share. The Kurdistan region was a hub of foreign cal hole is a fall in availability of budget revenue to investment in the region, with a very peculiar and fund spending"³. The current crisis was caused by an impressive fast economic development since 2003. unexpected security- and instability-related tension Notably", in 2007, 65% of foodstuffs in the Kurdistan that emerged from the Islamic State of Irag and Syria Region was imported, and 35% was produced dom-(ISIS), and economic stability is very worrying, beca- estically"6. use the KRG's economic ability is manipulated by the federal government, to a large extent.

Economic Resources of Kurdistan Region

oil revenues which are generated since 2007 by the are more fragile than before and dispute resoluti-KRG government independently. "An estimated 45 on seems to be pending. The Kurdistan Regional bn barrels of oil reserves, up to 200TCF of natural Government adopted its own hydrocarbons law, nues are still untapped, and this makes the Kurdis- this move is a "historic moment" and "together with

at USD 4.452, and the growth rate being 12% in 2012, The same report analyzed the economic indica- predicted to reach 8% in 2013"5. The economic sec-

Economic growth depends on oil revenues which the security-related and political instability of Iraq The regional government is weak to overcome and the Middle East. However, since the invasion, federal government [Collier & Hoeffler, 2004]. The as the federal government, approximately, 95% of

Kurdistan Region's oil and economic problems with Iraq

Since Irag's invasion by the United States, the re-In essence, the KRG economic sector is based on lations between Baghdad and Erbil have changed, gas reserves and relatively unexplored mineral de- the Oil and Gas Law of the Kurdistan Region in 2007. posits"⁴. The Kurdistan region's energy-related reve- Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani highlighted that tan region an attractive economic region for the glo- the Iragi Constitution, it will be the foundation of bal energy importers. "In 2011, GDP of KRG was over our economic development"7. However, the federal USD 23,6 billion, with a per capita income standing government proclaimed the oil export deals of the KRG to be illegal and unconstitutional. "In January

⁷ Kurdistan Oil and Gas Law approved by Kurdistan Parliament. Kurdistan 4 Kurdistan Oil and Gas Law approved by Kurdistan Parliament. Kurdistan Regional Government, August 6, 2007. [WWW document]. Available at http://previous.cabinet.gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=010000&l=12&a=19507. Accessed on 1 April, 2018.



¹ Regional Development Strategy for Kurdistan Region, 2012–2016. Kurdistan Regional Government, Ministry of Planning-Erbil-Kurdistan Region-Iraq, 2018. [WWW document]. Available at http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/p. aspx?I=12&p=224

² Ibid.

document]. Available at www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/issues3/, accessed on 1 April, 2018.

Regional Government, August 6, 2007. Available at http://previous.cabinet. gov.krd/a/d.aspx?s=010000&l=12&a=19507. Accessed on 1 April, 2018.

⁵ Overview: Kurdistan Region of Irag economy. Invest in Group. Available at www.investingroup.org/publications/kurdistan/over-view/economy. Accessed on 2 April, 2018.

⁶ The Potential for Food Processing in Iraq. March 15, 2006. KRG. Ministry of 3 Confronting Budget Deficits. International Monetary Fund, 1996. [WWW Agriculture, Descriptive Survey, March 3, 2008. Text: www.trade.gov/static/ iraq foodprocessing.pdf.

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history of mistrust, and besides, both sides offici- munity"10. ally blame each other for the ongoing dispute. 2014 was a year of economic crisis in the Kurdistan Re- lize the economy, which is currently a serious chalgion, and currently, the region faces economic dif- lenge, since according to the World Bank's estimathe oil production in the Kurdistan Region. Basically, on oil has made the economy of the Kurdistan rethis directly affected public servants in the KRG, and gion vulnerable to the recent crisis. The main conalmost 100 thousand foreign and local workers have 17 percent of Iraq's national budget in monthly stilost their jobs⁹.

nomy include the Syrian conflict and the emergence barrels of oil per day, drawn from the Kurdistan regiof ISIS in both Iraq and Syria. The biggest challenge on, to the central government 'for the purpose of exthe government of Kurdistan faces concerns addres- port". The KRG also exports 300,000 b/d drawn from sing the economic problems, which affect the whole northern fields near the city of Kirkuk to Turkey via population of the region. The unemployment rates a pipeline that runs through Kurdish areas." It is to nomy, the host community and access to public ser- KRG will give 150,000 barrels per day of oil to Baghcities and settle in the Kurdistan region. Since 2013 changed with the new Prime Minister Abadi. In fact, the number of internally displaced persons and ex- the deal with Kurdistan is approaching a common ternal refugees has increased and the flow of refu- interest compromise, although the parties still have gees grew fast. According to a report "almost 95% of a long way to go [Georgy & Coles, 2014]. the refugees are hosted in Kurdistan region mainly in campuses in Erbil and Sulaimanyeh [Countries hosting.., 2013]. Obviously, this has affected economic growth in the region and has put great pressure on public services and on the regional government

2014, the KRG started to ship the oil independently in general. The humanitarian crisis faced by the KRG to the Turkish port of Ceyhan" [Presthus, 2014]. De- had an adverse impact on economic performance, puty Prime Minister for Energy, Hussein al-Shahris- further increased by the drop in oil prices and the tani, pointed out that "the central government had federal government's refusal to allocate the regional been entrusted with the wealth of the country and budget. The ISIS war cost the KRG a lot since early cannot remain silent when the Kurdistan Region's 2014. It is estimated that "the KRG has spent USD 70 oil is being exported without its consent"⁸. In this million dollars Peshmerga's fight with ISIS, excluding respect, the Baghdad–Erbil relationship has a long the spending on weapons by the international com-

There is a significant need for the KRG to stabificulties, apparently rooted in the tension between tes "the stabilization cost for 2015 is estimated at Baghdad and Erbil. Since 2014 the federal govern- USD 1.4 billion additional spending above the KRG ment of Irag has suspended the KRG budget, due to budget"¹¹. Additionally, the lack of diversification in a disagreement between the parties over shares in the economic sector and the heavy dependence jeopardized the KRG's economic stability. Economic cern is that the duration of the crisis in Iraq cannot downturn in the Kurdistan Region triggered diffe- be estimated. The federal government and the KRG rent economic concerns, including unemployment decided to distribute the oil revenues as also stated especially in the private sector. "In 2014 in the region in the federal constitution. The KRG should receive pends. During the Maliki administration it received Major challenges for the Kurdistan Region's eco- 12 percent, and in return "Erbil is to supply 250,000 and demographic figures of Kurdistan region have be analyzed that the cooperation is affected by the changed. "The Kurdistan Region's population incre- unsolved dispute for years¹². Eventually, "Baghdad ased by 28 percent, and this strains the local eco- will release some funds - USD 500 million - and the vices." The advance of the Islamic State of Irag and dad", based on the mutual agreement between the Syria (ISIS), have forced many people to leave their KRG and the federal government. The scenario has



⁸ Baghdad-Erbil oil dispute:agreeing to disagree, for now. Al Monitor, March 24, 2009. [WWW document]. Available at www.al-monitor.com/ . Accessed on 2 April, 2018.

⁹ ISIS and Baghdad siege on Kurdistan hit the economy and drives 100 thousands into unemployment. Shafaq News, September 30, 2014. [WWW document]. Available at https://www.english.shafaaq.com/. Accessed on 12 Ahmad Paiman Ramazan, Economic Hub "Kurdistan Region" During the April 20, 2016.

¹⁰ Ahmad Paiman Ramazan, Economic Hub "Kurdistan Region" During the 2014 Economic Crisis. [WWW document]. Available at https://polgariszemle.hu.

¹¹ The Kurdistan Region of Iraq Needs an Estimated US\$1.4 billion this Year to Stabilize the Economy. The World Bank IBRD-IDA, February 12, 2015. [WWW document]. Available at www.worldbank.org. Accessed on 15 April, 2018.

²⁰¹⁴ Economic Crisis. [WWW document]. Available at https://polgariszemle.hu.

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KRG and Turkish geopolitical and economic relations as determinant of KRG economic security

In subject literature there are many definitions of economic security. Economic security is capability of economic system of the state (or many states) to make utilization of internal aspects of growth and interdependence to international economic correlation to let the state develop impregnable. Impregnaopmental correlation. On the basis of this definition of 1926. When the Soviet Union collapsed and new Zenon Stachowiak standpoint came to exist that the states emerged in the Eurasia region, oil became efficiency of functioning – through adequate use of other strategic considerations. internal factors of growth – and ability to effective oppose pressure from outside, that can lead to de- incorporating the Caspian oil pipeline within the velopment disorders. Creation and maintaining of framework of Turkish foreign and security policy. this security is limited, because of occurring in mod- Turkish energy security policy will have significant ern world economic pendency's and independen- repercussions if converted into reality; possibly, it cies' that reduce states sovereignty. In case of Kurd- might reposition Turkey geopolitically. The emeristan, one of these factors is energy resources that gence of Turkey as a significant transit country will made positive impact on development of another arguably give it increased power on the internationfactor, which are investments [Sosnowski, 2016].

the key role in realization of Kurds national es, such as a future independent Kurdistan [Bryza, interests – survival and aiming for independence. In 2012]. Turkey therefore finds itself needing to play order to make a proper assessment about state of eco- a future role regarding the securing of oil to the EU nomic security of Kurdistan region in Irag, one must and the international market. For example, the outfamiliar himself with indicators of this security, which come of the Blue Stream gas pipeline that runs from are f. ex. GPD, GPD per capita, or inflation. Official data Russia to Turkey has shed light on potential future on this topic is posted on Kurdistan Regional Govern- political games, as well as blackmail factors, with ment in Poland website¹. On this site we can learn, Turkey focused on two major tools regarding secuthat Kurdish GPD was tripled from 2006, and in 2015 rity policy that are central for any state: political and was at 25.5 billion dollars. Similar to GPD per capita, economic gain. which had grown 1400% from 2003, and now it is on and 2016 was at 8%, unemployment 10%, and infla- of securing its supply. Despite strong objections tion 6%. Value of foreign investments is 3 billion \$, from the USA and Baghdad, Turkish companies, indiand overall value in years 2006–2014 elevate to 41.4 vidually or in partnership with international compabillion \$. Investments projects are calculated to be nies, have comprehensively invested politically and about 2.3 billion \$. Labour force stand at 2.1 million economically in Iraqi Kurdistan's oil sector. The role people. In GPD of Kurdistan Region in 2013 consist of energy as a significant factor in Turkey's come-[ibid.]: services: 30,1%; public services: 20,6%; agri- back as a regional geopolitical power demonstrates culture: 17,5%; trading and transport: 13,5%; mining its importance to the EU and world market [Babali, production: 9,4%; construction: 7,6%; banking and 2010]. Meanwhile, the Kurdistan region appears eainsurance: 1,3%. Also Key elements of Kurdish econ-ger to play a parallel role by developing oil and gas omy are oil and gas resources:

- reported oil reserves stands at 45 billion barrels:
- oil export in 2014 was above 34,5 million barrels;
- reported reserves of natural gas stands at 165 TFC (2015);
- Amount of Kurdish investments in energy sector: 20 billion \$.

Geopolitical impact of energy

Since Irag and Turkey became divided, Turkey has ble growth means condition, when it is the result of demanded its share of Iragi oil, particularly in Kirkuk a proper use of internal aspects of growth and devel- and the Mosul area as per the Ankara agreement economic security is condition of development of part of Turkey's foreign policy decision-making and the state's economic system, which let it keep high institutions, in the context of energy security and

This resulted in a national policy proposal al stage, and it could also mean that the country For Iraqi Kurdistan economic security is has more of a stake in geopolitical, regional chang-

Economic growth and increased domestic de-7000 dollar level. Economic growth between 2015 mands for energy make Turkey vulnerable in terms policies in order to become a credible partner assisted by Turkey. As Turkey imports most of its gas from Russia, Iran and Azerbaijan, and is heavily dependent on them, new suppliers are also attractive if they manage to provide future reassurance. The Kurdis-



¹ Kurdish Regional Government in Poland, 2017. [WWW document]. Available at http://cabinet.gov.krd/p/p.aspx?l=12&p=224, accessed 1 April 2018.

boring states at this moment, but it may become a the Kurds direct access to world markets, bypassing valuable strategic partner for Turkey both to ensure the Baghdad-controlled Kirkuk-Ceyhan pipeline. Andeep and solid political relations and also future mu- kara and Erbil signed an additional multibillion enertual security issues [Sharif & Towfig, 2015].

Political relationships between KRG and Turkev

and lead to similar demands for greater autono- from northern Iraq to Turkish ports on the Meditermet Davutoğlu, then Erdoğan's main foreign-policy & Gonul, 2014]. adviser, met with Barzani in Baghdad. This was the first high-level contact between Turkish officials and Barzani in four years. The visit by Özcelik and Davutoğlu initiated a series of formal contacts with the all, is having many fuels in the region. Which harmokey and the KRG at the diplomatic, economic and was worth 7.7 billion \$, and import goods from Tur-In May 2012, Turkey and the KRG cut a deal to build Iraqi Kurds. one gas and two oil pipelines directly from Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq to Turkey without the 2 UPDATE 2-Kurdistan oil flow to Turkey begins, exports await Iraqi consent. approval of Baghdad, taking the rapprochement Reuters, 02 Jan. 2014. [WWW document]. Available at http://www.reuters. started between the two in 2008 one step further. com/article/2014/01/02/turkey-iragidUSL6N0KC0M220140102.

tan Region appears less important than other neigh- These Kurdish pipelines will for the first time provide gy deal in late 2013 and crude oil from Iragi Kurdistan began filling the pipeline in late December².

The KRG's economic future will depend heavily on In the aftermath of the 1990–91 Gulf War, Anka- its relationship with Turkey. Although the KRG is rich ra shunned direct contact with the KRG, fearing it in oil and natural gas, it needs to be able to extract would strengthen the KRG's drive for independence and transport it to Western markets. Oil pipelines my and independence on the part of Turkey's own ranean provide the most efficient and cost-effective Kurdish community. The Turkish military staunchly means to get Iraqi oil to Europe [Gonul, 2013]. In adopposed formal contact with the KRG and the Turk- dition to economic benefits, there are clear geopoish General Staff made little differentiation between litical implications in Turkey's rapprochement with the PKK and the KRG, an attitude shared by many the KRG. Through this energy partnership, Turkey high ranking officials. But Turkish policy began to has not only secured a low-cost supplier but has also shift in late 2008. In October of that year, Murat Özce- created unprecedented level of cooperation against lik, at the time Turkey's special envoy to Iraq, and Ah- the PKK through economic interdependence [Omer

Economical relationships between KRG and Turkey

The key aspect of these economic relations, above KRG that has resulted in a significant improvement nize well with Turkish plan to be an energy corridor in relations between Ankara and Erbil, particularly to Europe [Kuropiewska-Korbut, 2014]. Average level in the energy field. In addition to a growing energy of Turkish-Iraqi economic exchange in 2007 was at 3 partnership – which remains most critical because billion \$, and in 2012 raised up to above 10 billion \$. of Turkish dependence on Russia and Iran – there is About 70% of this amount was from exchange with now a multidimensional relationship between Tur- KRG [Tocci, 2013]. Value of trades with each other cultural level. Turkey opened a consulate in Erbil in key is 80% of Kurdish market [Turunc, 2011]. Turkey 2011 and Turkish trade with the region is booming. began to be the biggest foreign business partner for

Year	Export to Iraq, \$	Estimated quota of KRG, %	Estimated export to KRG, \$		
2007	2 844 767 091	50	1 422 383 546		
2011	8 310 129 576	61	5 060 868 912		
2013	11 948 905 271	67	8 029 664 342		

Table 1. Turkish export to Irag and Kurdish Region in Irag

Source: [Cagaptay et al., 2015].

Sacikara, 2015]. Only export value to GB and Germa- border traffic. ny is higher. Iraq excluding KRG is just on 11 places.

For comparison, excluding oil and gas, value of the Middle East. Turkish investments are the key for Iraqi (with KRG) export to Turkey is low. In 2007 it has this region. Turks invested into building new airports been 87 billion \$, and grown only to 153 billion \$ in (Duhok, Erbil), administration buildings for Kurds, 2014. According to ranking publicized by The Wash- hospitals, hotels, housing development, factories, ington Institute for Near East Policy, KRG in 2013 be- infrastructure, power plants and schools. More incame 3rd biggest outlet of Turkey [Cagaptay, Fidan & tensive economy relationships can also be seen in

In 2006, 480 000 Turkish citizens went through Ha-That makes Iraqi Kurdistan most important outlet in bour Gate border crossing, and in 2013 this amount

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raised to above 1 209 000. It is worth to notice, that in cost¹. Turkish companies that wanted their employ-2007 there wasn't any airport connections between ees to stay in the KRI simply applied for either a short Turkey and Iraqi Kurdistan. In year 2014 number of or long term residency permit. In 2010, an estimatdirect flight from Iragi Kurdistan to Turkey stands at ed 25,000 Turkish workers were operating in the KRI 78 per week. Turkey is also playing important role followed by approximately 30,000 Turkish citizens in in relations between KRG and Baghdad. According 2012 [Fidan, 2016]. to Iragi constitution, money from selling oil and gas should go firstly to central government, and only later, 17% of this amount would go back to Iragi Kurdistan. Baghdad used this as a instrument of political and economic pressure for Kurdistan region, and hence, could not fulfill the budget obligations. Kurdistan was trying to make Turkey help them with negotiations with Baghdad, to make them pay this 17% directly to KRG with excluding of Baghdad. This plan didn't work, so Kurdistan started to trade fuels with excluding of Baghdad. Initially no state, aside from Israel, didn't want to buy Kurdish resources in fear of protests from Baghdad, but situation changed now in favour for KRG. Now it is only a part of global market for oil and gas, and became economic independent from Baghdad [Zhdannikov, 2015].

Table 2. Oil and gas reserves of Kurdistan Region of Irag

Confirmed reserves of oil	4 billion barrels	
Estimated undocumented reserves of oil	45 billion barrels	
Confirmed reserves of gas	~ 5753 km 3 (165 TCF)	
Possible reserves of gas	~ 1020 km 3 (35.37-38 TCF)	
Source: [Paasche, Mansurbeg, 2014		

ergy resources all the time, so data presented et al., 2014]. According to Turkey's Trade Ministry, in table 2 can grow in time. This is a good news for the Turkish-Iraqi trade relationship amounted to Turkey, because this state is importing more than about 940 million dollars prior to the US-led in-90% of oil and gas, and in year 2011 their economy vasion of Irag in 2003 [Ayla Oğuş and Can Erbil, consumed above 700 000 barrels of oil daily [Paasche 2005]. With the end of the United Nations econom-& Mansurbeg, 2014].

Presence of Turkish Companies in the KRG

climate aimed at the international private sector, the KRG, increased stability, familiar cultural refercoupled with the entrepreneurial spirit of the Turk- ence points, a growing commercial infrastructure, ish private sector and the normalization of relations and the demand for reasonably priced high-gualibetween Ankara and Erbil, resulted in significant ty goods by the burgeoning Kurdish middle-class. economic cooperation, unthinkable a decade ago Turkish companies rapidly expanded their share the KRI market, consumer demand for new goods, and the trans-border mercantile culture of compa-1 Nationalities requiring a visa to enter Kurdistan, Kurdistan Regional nies in Turkey and the KRI contributed to the rapid Government, Ministry of Interior, General Directorate of Citizenship. [WWW expansion of economic interdependence between document]. Available at http://erbilresidency.com/countries.php. Ankara and Erbil [Olson, 2006; Barkey, 2005]. Due to 2 the visa-free regime for Turkish citizens who wished to stay in the KRI for under 15 days, Turkish companies were able to send workers of all skill levels to the KRI without foreplaning, without completing any government paperwork, and at a relatively low

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Year	N. of the companies	
2009	485 companies	
2010	730 companies	
2012	1,023 companies	
2013	1,500 companies	
	Source [Fidan 2016]	

Table 3: Turkish Companies Operating in KRG

Source: 1Flaan, 20161.

Turkish Construction Sector in the KRG

The Turkish construction sector was well positioned to win most bids, due to its depth of experience; proven track record of performance in Russia, Central Asia, the Middle East and North Africa; contiguous land borders with the KRG for low-cost transport of equipment and materials; availability of Turkish Kurds to act as intermediaries with Iragi Kurds; and similar cultural values. According to a Finnish-Swiss report, approximately 75 to 80 percent of the construction projects were undertaken by Turkish companies². Over the last decade, the construction sector experienced above-average employment growth and a substantial share ^{4].} of employment, despite the limited amount of job On KRG territory there is searching for en- opportunities offered by Turkish companies [Shatz ic sanctions and Saddam Hussein's internal embargo, Turkish manufactures and exporters were The creation of a liberal business and investment able to capitalize on low-transportation costs to [Aylin, 2008]. Furthermore, the close proximity of of the market and supplied roughly 80 percent of



Report on joint Finnish-Swiss fact-fiding mission to Amman and the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG) area, Switzerland: State Secretariat for Migration (SEM), 10-22 May 2011. [WWW document]. Available at http://www.refworld.org/docid/533a82c64.html; Turkey: investing in Iraq, Oxford Business Group, 2012. [WWW document]. Available at http://www. oxfordbusinessgroup.com/economic updates/turkey-investing-irag.

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Iraqi Kurdish consumer imports including furni- ture, food products, and textiles [Fidan, 2016]. Table 4: Turkish Exports to Irag with Estimated Exports to KRG

Year	Exports to Iraq, \$	KRG's Est. Share, %	Est. Exports to KRG, \$
2007	2,844,767,091	50	1,422,383,546
2011	8,310,129,576	61	5,060,868,912
2013	11,948,905,271	67	8,029,664,342

Source: [Fidan, 2016].

KRG and Russian Federation economic relations as determinant of KRG economic security

Kurds³.

On September 25, 2017, the Kurds of Irag held a referendum on political independence from Bagh- Kurdish people like any other nation on the planet dad, which 92.3% of the population supported. The can fulfill its hopes and aspirations," Foreign Minister result provoked an angry response from the Iraqi Sergei Lavrov said in July. "We start from the fact that central government, supported by Turkey and Iran. the legitimate aspirations of the Kurds, like other The tension culminated in Baghdad's capture of the peoples, need to be fulfilled within the framework of oil-rich city of Kirkuk. Russia was restrained in its re- existing international legal norms." But unlike other action to the referendum. Although it "respected the powers, Moscow has avoided giving a verdict on the national aspirations of the Kurds," it simultaneously legality or wisdom of holding the referendum itself. encouraged dialogue between Erbil and Baghdad. The Foreign Ministry in Moscow said it had nothing Significantly, Russia was the only major power that to add to Lavrov's comments on the matter from did not call on the Iraqi Kurds to cancel the referen- July [Zhdannikov, 2017]. Russian President Putin dum. In addition to Moscow's historical ties to the said. Russia is going to continue its cooperation with Barzani clan, it is the top funder of Iraqi Kurdish gas Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan, he said. "Our companies, inand oil deals. Russia has emphasized that cooperation in the energy sphere remains unaffected by the 4 lbid.

According to Reuters, "We are interested that the



referendum. On October 18, Russian energy giant Rosneft signed an energy deal with Iragi Kurdistan, reaffirming its commitment to the region⁴. The Dep-Russia's cooperation with the Kurds of Iraq and uty consul-general of the Russia Federation in the Syria in the fight against ISIS has been widely publi- Kurdistan Region said Russia would respect the decized by the Western media. The Soviet Union played cision of the people of Kurdistan on independence. a vital role in preserving Kurdish culture. In the drive Evgeny Arzhantsev said that Russia has good relatoward mass literacy, Kurds and Yazidis in Soviet Ar- tions with the Kurdistan Region, Russia wants to have menia learned their language in three alphabets - "good and permanent political relationship with the first Armenian, then Latin, and finally Cyrillic. Arme- leadership of Kurdistan," The deputy consul-genernia became a major center for Kurdish-language al said that Russia is working to improve its military publications, including the newspaper Riya Taze relations with the Kurdistan Region. Arzhantsev re-(New Path) and several children's books. The first vealed that Russia delivered four shipments of mili-Kurdish novel, written by Soviet Yazidi author Ereb tary assistance to the Peshmerga forces, stating that Shamilov, was published in Yerevan in 1935. Kurd- twice the shipments were sent via Baghdad but the ish-language broadcasts by Radio Yerevan began in last two shipments were sent directly to the Kurdis-1955 and had a major impact on Kurds beyond the tan Region. Before the Russian military assistance to borders of the USSR. Kurds in neighboring countries, Peshmerga forces were sent via Baghdad but some especially Turkey, picked up the Soviet transmissions of the weapons and ammunition were taken by the and were delighted to hear their native language, Iragi government and the rest was sent to Kurdistan which was heavily repressed elsewhere. The broad- Region, Arzhantsev told Kurdistan24. "This means casts were crucial for the development of Kurdish that we respect Peshmerga fighters who have a big ethnic self-awareness, and the socialist message of burden on their shoulders to fight Daesh and we rethe Soviet Union strongly resonated among many spect that Peshmerga forces are fighting on behalf of the world"⁵.

⁵ Russia respects the decision of people of Kurdistan over independence. 3 Top Ten Origins: Russia's Relations with the Kurds. Current Events in Kurdistan24.net, August 24-2016. [WWW document]. Available at http:// Historical Perspective. Origins, 2018. [WWW document]. Available at <u>http:// www.kurdistan24.net/en/interview/ca846290-2e60-428d-8088-</u> origins.osu.edu/connecting-history/top-ten-origins-russia-s-relations-kurds. 631978d3e299/.

The economic relations of Kurdistan Region (KRG) with Turkey and Russia

cluding Rosneft, are working in Iraq and Iraqi Kurd- preparation for full scale development. The Kurdisistan in particular," the "We believe this cooperation tan Regional Government (KRG) is currently considwill benefit Irag at large and Iragi Kurdistan, and the ering the initial field development plan³. Russian economy," "We traditionally have very good and trust-based relations with Kurdistan and Kurds is currently producing crude oil in the volatile Iragi in general," Three Russian companies are working region of Kurdistan. In an interview with Nefte Comon Iraqi fields now - Lukoil, Gazprom Neft, and Bash- pass, Sergei Petrov, general director of Gazprom Neft neft¹.

KRG and Russian Federation Economic Relations

mined to develop economic relations with Russia, their presence at very different markets. After the oil Mahmood Mohammed, the official representative price collapse and disappointment in initial geologof the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), "We con- ical expectations, companies reconsidered efficiensider that Russian firms have a better understanding cy indexes and reduced the least efficient projects. of how to invest in our economy than companies Gazprom Neft considers its assets portfolio in terms from many other countries. That is why we are open of its long-term economic efficiency. We are ready for cooperation. There are no obstacles. Kurdistan to expand, to look at new blocks. Gazprom Neft wants to develop relations based on mutually bene- is in constant negotiations on the issue with the reficial cooperation with many countries, and Russia is gional natural resources ministry, which offered us one of these states"².

ing an exploration well at the Shakal block in Kurd-promising license areas and are currently holding istan (Irag) and is soon to commence drilling on a negotiations⁴. second exploration well. The project will study two oil reservoirs in the Shakal block including flow test- nomic influence in the Middle East after the Arab ing. Well testing will be completed by late 2014 / ear- Spring, it should be noted that Gazprom Neft has ly 2015. Grey Wolf (Canada) has been appointed as recently been the operator of projects in Kurdistan. contractor for the project based on the company's Economic penetration of Russia assumes reduction extensive experience in the region. The wells will of positions of the Arabian countries in oil and gas have a depth of up to 3.5km. Earlier, 2D seismic sur- branches. Russia received observer status with OPEC veys have been conducted covering an area of more and participates in current forums of gas-exporting than 1,000 linear kilometres at the Shakal block, countries since 2008. where an exploration well has also been drilled. 3D seismic surveys covering 290 square kilometres have neft announced its latest investment, to help Iraqi also been conducted since Gazprom Neft joined the Kurdistan develop its natural gas industry, for doproject. Gazprom Neft is involved in three projects in mestic supplies and eventual export. The full val-Shakal block, the company is conducting geological according to industry sources familiar with it, it is surveys of the Halabja block where it is planning 2D worth more than \$1 billion. It is Rosneft's third giant seismic surveys covering 1,000 linear kilometres in venture in the Kurdish region since February, trans-2014, and drilling the block's first exploration well in forming Moscow from an outsider with little profile 2015–2016. Gazprom Neft is also involved in the de- in Kurdistan into the region's biggest source of cash. velopment of the Garmian block where the depos- According to the industry sources, Rosneft's deals it is currently undergoing further exploration and since it first arrived in Kurdistan last December are

Gazprom Neft is the only Russian company that Middle East, explains why the company aims to expand its presence in the region and outlines how existing projects are progressing. When oil prices were The authorities of Iraqi Kurdistan are deter- high, companies invested in all regions, expanded some 10 blocks for consideration. Having studied On 1 august 2014 Gazprom Neft has begun drill- the available geological data, we chose the most

Speaking about the development of Russia's eco-

According to Reuters, Russian state oil giant Ros-Iragi Kurdistan. In addition to its operations on the ue of the deal has not been disclosed officially, but worth around \$4 billion in total. That exceeds the \$2 billion in financing the Kurdish region has previ-





¹ Putin on Kurdistan's future: Iraqi sovereignty and laws must be respected, Russian Politics & Diplomacy. Tass, December 14, 2017. [WWW document]. Available at http://tass.com/politics/981082.

² Iragi Kurdistan Seeks to Develop Economic Ties With Russia - KDP. Sputniknews, 13.09.2017. [WWW document]. Available at https:// sputniknews.com/business/201709131057361454-irag-kurds-ties-russiaparty/.

³ Gazprom Neft Sees Good Prospects in Kurdistan. Interview with general director of Gazprom Neft Middle East Sergei Petrov. Gazprom-neft.com, 28 September 2017. [WWW document]. Available at http://www.gazprom-neft. com/press-center/lib/1159674/

⁴ Ibid.

ing firms that pre-pay for its exports, and \$1.5 billion tan. It also had previously loaned Kurdistan \$1.2 bilit has received from neighbor Turkey. It also marks lion, guaranteed by oil sales, and is seeking to help a big change in focus for the Iragi Kurds, who have Erbil build two major oil and gas pipelines⁵. had close ties with Washington since 1991 when the United States offered them protection from Saddam Hussein, the dictator later toppled by U.S. forces in Regional Government of Iraq signed a Cooperation 2003 [Zhdannikov, 2015].

45 billion barrels of oil and 5.66 trillion cubic meters Agreement the parties signed a pre-financed Crude of gas, which could rise further with exploration. In Oil Purchase and Sale Contract of Kurdistan Region February 2017, Rosneft ramped up its cooperation Crude oil over the period 2017–2019. The purchas-\$1.2 billion, becoming the first big foreign oil com- Trading SA⁶. pany to publicly commit to pre-financing Kurdish exports. Kurdistan's minister of natural resources gional Government, as part of the XXI St. Petersburg Ashti Hawrami called the deal a ground-breaker for International Economic Forum, signed a series of the region that would help its economic independ- agreements on widening their cooperation in exploence – a crucial condition for seeking political inde- ration and production of hydrocarbons, commerce pendence. Russia became the Kurds' single biggest and logistics. The documents were signed ahead of financer with its next deal in June this year to lend the meeting between the President of the Russian money and help search for more oil, bringing its total Federation Vladimir Putin and the Prime Minister investments close to \$2.8 billion. This week's Russian of Iraqi Kurdistan Nechirvan Barzani by Igor Sechin, pledge to invest more than \$1 billion in Kurdistan's Rosneft Chief Executive Officer, and Dr. Ashti Hawragas infrastructure could help the region become a mi, Minister of Natural Resources for the Kurdistan major gas exporter to Turkey and Europe one day, Regional Government. The Parties signed an invest-Rosneft says. The independence referendum won't ment agreement under which they committed to be a problem. "Holding the referendum will not af- develop cooperation in exploration and production, fect our work. We are doing business in an autono- agreed on monetization of the export oil pipeline mous region in Iraq that has been recognized by law," in Iraqi Kurdistan, as well as entered into a number Rosneft spokesman Mikhail Leontev said. "This place of production sharing agreements. The agreement is run by Iraqi Kurdistan's nation and it is the people outlines the main terms of the project which proof Iraqi Kurdistan who live there. That is why we don't vides for the establishment of a joint venture for imthink we are embarking on an adventure" [ibid.]. plementation of the long-term contract related to According to Voanews.com Russian energy major infrastructure systems in Iragi Kurdistan. Rosneft will Rosneft has agreed to take control of the main oil get access to the major regional transportation syspipeline in Iraq's Kurdistan, further boosting its role tem with the throughput capacity of 700 thousand as the main international investor in the semi-auton- bbl per day, which is planned to be expanded up to omous region. Rosneft said its share in the project 1 mln bbl per day by the end of 2017. The signed may total as much as 60 percent, while the current documents strengthen cooperation between Rospipeline operator KAR Group will retain 40 percent. neft and Iraqi Kurdistan, which started in February And Rosneft's investment in the project was seen to- 2017 from signing a contract on purchase and sale taling about \$1.8 billion. Irag, along with neighbor- of crude in 2017–2019. The new agreements will aling Iran and Turkey, has pledged to isolate Kurdistan low to talk about full entry of the Company in one of in the wake of last referendum. That includes cutting the most promising regions of the developing globoff air and banking ties and reviving an old pipeline to Turkey to deprive Erbil of a big chunk of oil revenues. Rosneft will be investing in expanding Erbil's independent pipeline, which Baghdad has targeted, hoping to boost its capacity by a third to 950,000 barrels per day. That is the equivalent of about 1 percent of total global supply. With Rosneft acquiring 60 percent in the project. Rosneft has already agreed

ously received for oil sales from international trad- to invest \$400 million in five oil blocks in Iragi Kurdis-

Rosneft steps of deals with KRG

On 21 February 2017, Rosneft and the Kurdistan Agreement in the fields of upstream, infrastructure, Kurdistan has estimated recoverable reserves at logistics and trading. Pursuant to the Cooperation by agreeing to lend the semi-autonomous region er of crude will be Rosneft's trading arm – Rosneft

On 02 June 2017, Rosneft and the Kurdistan Re-





Russia to Control Iraq Kurdistan's Main Oil Pipeline. Voanews, Oct 20, 2017. [WWW document]. Available at https://www.voanews.com/search?search_ api fulltext=Russia+to+Control+Irag+Kurdistan%E2%80%99s+Main+Oi I+Pipeline&type=1&sort by=publication time.

⁶ Rosneft Board of Directors approves 2018-2019 plan of financial and economic activities. Rosneft, 18 December 2017. [WWW document]. Available at https://www.rosneft.com/press/releases/item/189205/.

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al energy market with the expected recoverable re- expanded access to substantial crude resources of serves in the order of 45 billion bbl of oil and 5.66 the Kurdistan and Venezuela fields provided a statrillion m3 of gas (according to the estimate of the ble basis for creating additional value through the Ministry of Natural Resources of Kurdistan Region)¹. integrated use of various oil baskets, crude and oil

Also at 18 October 2017, Rosneft and the Gov- products trading². ernment of the Kurdish Autonomous Region of Iraq signed the documents required to put into force Profrom block), the heads of terms of the agreements economic profits. It was based more on Turkish resimilar to the PSA in Iraqi Kurdistan that were signed losses. Kurds must pursue to stabilize situation. Poto start full-field development of the blocks. Accord- economic crises need support from foreign counoil reserves at five blocks may be about 670 million wasn't prepared to manage in that highly complibarrels. And at 19 October 2017 Rosneft and Kurd- cated situation. Iragi Kurdistan will not overcome inistan Regional Government are continuing to build stability without Turkish good will. It looks like seiz-Verona the parties have announced the start of joint threats for whole region, including Turkey. Kurdoperation of the oil pipeline in the Kurdish Auton- in that country. It can change without internationomous Region. Rosneft's share in the project may al support. Actions are needed to be taken to impipeline operator.

the Kurdish Autonomous Region of Irag signed the for both parts, and helped to realize Turkish stratedocuments required for the enactment of Produc- gic goals (f. ex. diversification of suppliers of enertion Sharing Agreements (PSA) for five production gy resources). Turkey is making a lot of chances to oil reserves of 670 mln bbl which are located in the time Turkish economic influence can be consider as Kurdish Autonomous Region. The key terms of the a threat. agreements and the basic principles of production distribution are similar to the PSA in Iraqi Kurdistan Kurdistan to construct an autonomous pipeline to companies. On 18 December 2017, in the third quar- intervention, strategically Turkey has become a seriter of the year, Rosneft successfully closed the deal ous actor that might at any time be able to influence to enter Essar Oil Ltd, one of the largest Refining, the Iragi Kurdistan Region. On the other hand, po-Commerce and Logistics companies operating in In- litically and strategically the independent pipeline dia, one of the world's fastest growing markets. The implementation of this project, as well as gaining an

Conclusion

Economic Economic security of KRG is condiduction Sharing Agreements (PSA) with respect to tioned by many factors. Most important from all five production blocks located in the Kurdish Auton- of them are relations with Turkey. This counomous Region. The share of Rosneft Group Subsidi- try is a window into the world and control aries in PSA will be 80%, the amount of payments for movement of goods through its border. Because of the projects farm-in and geological information for geopolitical localization Iraqi Kurds are doomed of each of five blocks ranges from 40 mln. USD to 110 Turkish authorities' good will. Turkish policy makers mln. USD and may total to 400 mln.USD (incl. 200 for a long time was consider increasing sovereignty mIn.USD that can be compensated by oil produced of Iragi Kurdistan more as a vital threat despite its and the basic principles of product distribution are sentments than realistic calculation of profits and by other international oil and gas companies. The litical freedom and economic growth is beneficial parties agreed to implement the geological explo- for local security environment. This is the only way ration program and to start pilot production as early to meet the goal, which is first of all – economical as in 2018. In case of success, in 2021 it is planned and political stability. Current humanitarian and ing to conservative estimates, the total recoverable tries. Both economy and administration of KRG on agreements they have reached previously. On ing Kurds crises is within Turkish interests, because the sidelines of the X Eurasian Economic Forum in Iragi Kurdistan instability can potentially generate implementation of an infrastructure project for the istan Region in Iraq is the most stabilized territory amount to 60%. The other project participant with prove economic security and development of that 40% share will be KAR Group, who is the current Region. Kurdistan is trying to strengthen ties with world market and economies of other states. Time In October, the Company and the Government of showed that Turkish investments was profitable blocks with a conservative estimate of recoverable development of Iraqi Kurdistan, but at the same

Turkey by providing technical assistance to Iraqi that were signed by other international oil and gas transport oil independently of Iraqi observation and





² Rosneft Board of Directors approves 2018-2019 plan of financial and economic activities. Rosneft, 18 December 2017. [WWW document]. Available at https://www.rosneft.com/press/releases/item/189205/.

rent regional changes. Economically, Turkey remains role in global energy are a key area for possible cotegrated interaction has been a major factor in the respect the Kurdish aspirations of the Russian For-

portant role in wars and the world energy market. to the absence of a Kurdish state. Kurdistan oil re-The positions of the Kurdish elites and Russia are serves are estimated at 45 to 50 billion barrels (sixth the closest to the fight against the ISIS. Partial coin- in the world), 60% of the stock of all Iraqi oil is in the cidence of the positions of Moscow and the Kurds territory of Kurdistan. is possible by solving the Kurdish problem and the Iraqi settlement. At the beginning of the 21st cen- neft and Gazprom, but the leadership of Kurdistan tury, especially after 2011, Russia emerged from has made the right decision by signing agreements political uncertainty and forms a fairly clear foreign with Russian companies". Further economic cooperpolicy strategy; its socio-economic and political sit- ation with Russia should be developed, and in the fuuation has reached a new level. In this regard, the ture, if possible, Kurdish businessmen should invest Russian influence on the foreign policy level has sig- in Russia, too. But anyway, it can be said that the prenificantly increased. Political leaders of the leading vailing circumstances in Kurdistan provide an opporcountries of the world, as a rule, understand that tunity for Russia to catch up on the Kurds. And with a they cannot do without constructive dialogue with reasonable approach, and the ability to balance Rus-Russia in order to realize their own national inter- sian foreign policy, which will not damage Russia's ests. The current geopolitical interests of the Rus- relations with the countries of the region, and even sian Federation in the Middle East are now being vice versa. We note that this approach is very rationconsidered in the context of the Kremlin's attempts all at this stage of the development of Russian-Kurdto change its foreign policy and foreign economic ish relations. Former President Kurdistan M. Barzani positions not only in the Middle East but through- once argued that there will be a serious reworking of out the world, which, after the collapse of the Soviet relations with the United States. According to him, Union of Risk, fell. In the 1990s, the geopolitical in- Russia's position was friendlier for Iraqi Kurds than fluence of the Russian Federation weakened in the Washington's position on the referendum and inde-Middle East also in the world in connection with pendence. Therefore, cooperation and co working of what had happened after the collapse of the USSR. Turkey and Russia in the Middle East and especially Strengthening the positions and the vigilant and in Kurdistan is very important for all parties. Today economic role of Kurds in the Middle East, espe- Kurdistan is not an independence state and could cially also in the world, requires Russia to intensify not discover and produce their natural resources, Russian-Kurdish interaction. From the perspective of thus Russian companies as their possibility and exthe Kremlin, the Kurds are a moderate secular force, perience to work on these resources also turkey as a playing an increasing role in the fight against the corridor and his geopolitical position can be impor-ISIS, also in the global energy market that poses a tant to assist Kurdistan economically and as a result threat to the security interests and geo-economics securing economic and political security.

puts the Kurdistan region in a great position in cur- of Russia. The fight against terrorism and playing a Kurdistan's main trade partner, and a large share of operation. Moscow is ready to cooperate with these the Kurdistan Region imports originate from Tur- issues and expand cooperation with all groups of key. From the Kurds' perspective, such close and in- Kurds in Iraq and Syria. Russia will understand and development of political/strategic relations. In fact, eign Ministry said during the referendum on Sepa great political goal is to allow the Iragi Kurdistan to tember 25, 2017. Thus, at the world level, one of the transport its oil to international markets (mainly the most important national interests of Russia is active EU) without international structure challenges. The and full participation in the formation of an effecdimensions of interdependence between Kurdistan tive system of international relations that meets its and Ankara appear quite visible. Also, Kurdistan-An- political economic and intellectual capabilities, milkara cooperation on the subject entails mutual ben- itary-political and foreign economic needs and poefits that have propelled both actors into regional tential. Kurdistan on the political map of the world geopolitical positions. Ankara has attempted to har- occupies a key geopolitical and geostrategic posimonize its energy politics with the Kurdistan Region. tion in the Middle East region. Determining its exact To date, Iraqi Kurdistan has played certain and im- boundaries remains a complex issue to this day due

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МИРОВАЯ ЭКОНОМИКА И МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВО

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ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ КУРДИСТАНА (КРГ) С ТУРЦИЕЙ И РОССИЕЙ

Аннотация. Основная цель этого документа — изучить экономическую и политическую ситуацию в иракском Курдистане в контексте его отношений с Турцией и Россией. Турция, которая когда-то возглавляла оппозицию региональному правительству Курдистана (КРГ), осуществляет поворот на 180 градусов в своей политике в отношении КРГ. Турция развивает тесные экономические и политические связи с КРГ. В мировой экономике Турция, безусловно, является наиболее процветающей и промышленно развитой из всех соседей Ирака. Турция обеспечивает транзитные маршруты на западные рынки и обратно, а также выход в Средиземное море для иракской нефти. Действительно, Курдистан является крупным рынком для турецкого экспорта.

Нынешние геополитические интересы Российской Федерации на Ближнем Востоке в настоящее время направлены на изменение внешнеполитической и внешнеэкономической позиции в регионе, предусматривает обеспечение безопасности и экономическое развитие курдов. В настоящее время происходит интенсификация российско-курдского взаимодействия. Борьба с терроризмом и участие в мировой энергетике являются ключевой областью возможного сотрудничества между двумя сторонами. Россия готова сотрудничать по этим вопросами и расширять сотрудничество с (КРГ). В течение последнего десятилетия в Курдистанском регионе Ирака (КРИ) экономическое развитие и восстановление инфраструктуры продвигается большими темпами. В статье рассматривается краткая история Курдистана и политических отношений с Россией и Турцией. Охарактеризованы экономические отношения (КРГ) с этими странами в последние годы.

В этой статье авторы утверждают, что обеспечение сотрудничества и хороших политических отношений между Турцией и Россией, а также обеспечение их взаимных экономических интересов в отношениях с Курдистаном будет гарантировать: а) изменения в отношениях Курдистана с иракским правительством и достижение мирного развития; б) решить проблему безопасности поставок нефти, как следствие, обеспечение экономической и национальной безопасности Курдистана; в) соглашения двух стран с (КРГ) помогут решить политический кризис в регионе, снять напряженность между Курдистаном и Турцией в отношении независимости Курдистана.

Ключевые слова: региональное правительство Курдистана, Россия, Турция, экономическая ситуация, политическая ситуация, экономическая безопасность.

JEL: F52, F55

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