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Increasing Multilateral Effects of Un/Armed Drones in the New World Order and Central Asia

06

Changing Perception
of Taliban in the UAE's
Afghanistan Policy

09

The Cost of
Arming
Greece

CONTENTS

ANKASAM OUTLOOK

- 03 Increasing Multilateral Effects of Un/Armed Drones in the New World Order and Central Asia**
Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL

ANKASAM ANALYSIS

- 06 Changing Perception of Taliban in the UAE's Afghanistan Policy**
Dr. Doğancan BAŞARAN
- 12 Russia's Energy War with Europe**
Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU

- 09 The Cost of Arming Greece**
Gözde KILIÇ YAŞIN

- 14 The Return of the USA to the Seas**
Mustafa Cem KOYUNCU

ANKASAM IN PRESS

- 17 Media**

JOURNALS

- 19 Journal of International Crisis and Political Studies**

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ANKASAM OUTLOOK

Increasing Multilateral Effects of Un/Armed Drones in the New World Order and Central Asia

In the Post-Cold War period, it was considered that human security would be prioritized instead of the hegemony of liberal values and the security of the states. However, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, have disrupted this process. Therefore, instead of humanitarian security, military security, or in other words, state security became a priority. In that process, in which the struggle with terrorism was intense, states attached importance to their defense industry.

Due to the fact that terror is an ambiguous threat, states had to be more careful on this issue.

On the other hand, the rivalry and armament between the East and the West reluctantly caused a security dilemma in the world. In that sense, the states, which did not want to suffer from the rivalry of the great powers and protect their sovereignty and independence, focused on developing their defense industry and



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eliminating the threats. Un/Armed Drones became one of the leading technologies in the defense industry in this process.

The Multilateral Effects of Un/Armed Drones

From the point of view of states, Un/Armed Drones turned into an essential tool. In that period, we can mention three types of states. Those are the manufacturer, the user, and the successful user states. At this point, in addition to having a weapon system, being able to use it successfully and effectively is not only in the military field; It is of great importance to evaluate it in terms of effects and results in political/diplomatic, economic and cultural dimensions. That is why the essential criteria of being the leader country in that issue are not producing or owning those systems. What is essential to be a leader state is having great experience and military capability.

From the military perspective, the Proxy wars in the Post-Cold War periods are threatening the countries in many ways. The Proxy Wars that held with proxy actors instead of conventional wars have brought different security problems, yet that situation has changed with Un/Armed Drones. Since Un/Armed Drones are accepted as essential weapon systems in the fight against terrorism. While the terrorist groups were mentioned as “Kalashnikovs,”; Un/Armed Drones became one of the most significant symbols of the states in the fight against terrorism. Therefore, those features of the terrorist groups, which use geography as an advantage, were destroyed by the Un/Armed Drones.

In conventional and new generation wars, the importance of Un/Armed Drones, which has become one of the most effective weapons of security forces, especially armies, is increasing. As seen in the Second Karabakh War, Un/Armed Drones has determined the fate of the war and victory with their performance. In this process, Un/Armed Drone’s success has become one of the discussed topics. It is almost as if the Un/Armed Drones have become synonymous with the war in question.

In addition, the intelligence obtained through Un/Armed Drones and the difficulty of detecting and destroying the systems in question provide a greater advantage to the countries. The impact of Un/Armed Drones has made regional actors one of the main agendas of various military exercises. Countries are trying to develop various methods to prevent UAVs in their exercises.

With its political/diplomatic impact, Un/Armed Drones have shown that they have the capacity to affect many balances, equations and dynamics in a conflict or crisis area. To give an example, middle powers has become an effective capacity over against the global actor in virtue of Un/Armed Drone technology they have developed. Changing of equilibrium and equation on the subject is not just on land and in the air; it is also valid in the naval force. Further, it is known that various naval forces have been using the Un/Armed Drones recently.

The influence of a regional actor through Un/Armed Drones affects the dynamics of wider geography and the foreign policies of the actors which are trying to be effective in this geography. While Un/Armed Drones have become one of the tools that should be taken into consideration by nation-states, the developments, changing of balance and of equations, in the Mediterranean are cited as a significant example of this.

States that can use Un/Armed Drones effectively are also gaining a similar success in the field at the table. States which use Un/Armed Drones, rather than an actor that will act as requested by other states; it is seen as a country where alliances may be built, and strategic partnerships may be established. The decisive role of Un/Armed Drones on the grounds has started to indicate its influence more clearly at the diplomacy table. Hence, this improvement paves the way for countries to build and develop strategic cooperation, joint relations, and various alliances. In this sense, while Un/Armed Drone gives encourage countries to become closer to each other; it also leads to the establishment of multi-dimensional relations.

From an economic point of view, Un/Armed Drones are a major element of income as they are export tools. Even though various technologies still maintain their dominant position in the world arms trade, it is possible to say that the share of Un/Armed Drones has been increasing. Countries that are confined in a small slice of world trade can break these limitations by exporting weapon systems. Furthermore, exports of Un/Armed Drones are vital in terms of gaining prestige as well as public diplomacy. It can be said that actors that produce and effectively use Un/Armed Drones are considered more in world politics. In addition to this, the identified threats can be realized at a very low cost, with very little effort and with the least loss, and some unexpected risks/results can be avoided with the point operations performed.

Investments in Un/Armed Drone technology contribute to the development of countries in military and civilian technology. Un/Armed Drones, which can be seen as small and simple weapons, actually contain an important complicated technology. In this way, in today’s world, where the importance of the sky and space for countries has increased, Un/Armed Drones are also an incentive for new technological steps. In this way, in today’s world, where the importance of the sky and space for countries has increased, Un/Armed Drones are also an incentive for new technological steps. In particular, a state that produces Un/Armed Drones and exports them to different countries can make more effective technological investments by acting more confidently thanks to the success of the technology it has developed.

Considering the cultural dimension of Un/Armed Drones, exporting Un/Armed Drones to a country will be considered as contributing to its security, and thus pave the way for gaining an important sympathy in the society of the importing country. Presently, states are trying to increase their prestige and soft power by making multidimensional agreements in order to spread their influence on a wider area. At this point, Un/Armed Drones exports also serve this purpose and contribute to the increase of soft power. In addition, the importing country is not only influenced by Un/Armed Drones; it can also be affected by the military doctrine and structuring of the exporting state.

Un/Armed Drone Policy of Central Asia

Today, Europe has been underdeveloped in the production of Un/Armed Drones. In contrast, the states in the Asia region, including Ukraine, have developed different strategies on this issue and increased production capacities. Significant steps also have been taken in Central Asia in terms of Un/Armed Drones. In the region, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan stand out as the leading countries that have made breakthroughs in the subject. On January 15, 2022, Uzbekistan opened an Un/Armed Drones production facility. Kazakhstan has been carrying out various studies for a while to produce Un/Armed Drones independently. Looking at Central Asia, it is seen that every country has Un/Armed Drones. The last country to add Un/Armed Drone to its inventory is Kyrgyzstan. Turkmenistan also exhibited Un/Armed Drones in the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the Independence Day. Turkmenistan, which has the Permanent Neutrality Status, has seen Un/Armed Drones as a significant tool in strengthening its defense systems in order to eliminate all

kinds of threats against its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unitary structure, especially terrorism.

A significant part of Central Asian countries is a geography that has been directly affected by security problems, radicalization and separatist movements, especially Afghanistan-centered, almost since their independence. In this context, the production and effective use of Un/Armed Drones has become an important military necessity for the countries of the region. As it is known, today, there is an intervention of global powers in various regions for imperialist purposes. In this sense, Central Asia needs to reach the capacity to provide its own security so that the “New Great Game” does not turn into a conflict area.

Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, which invest in Un/Armed Drones technology in Central Asia and take strategic steps to produce the mentioned technology, have also found an important opportunity to gain economic profit. Because, as seen in proxy wars such as Libya and the Second Karabakh War, the performance of Un/Armed Drones has increased the demand for these vehicles. While the increase in the demand enabled the opening of new export items for the Central Asian countries; It means that together with the increasing gains thanks to technology, the welfare levels of the countries of the region will increase even more and they will allocate resources to new technological investments more confidently, and thus the strong state-building and regional cooperation in the region will expand-deepen.

It is seen that Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan implement multi-dimensional foreign policies and establish relations with different actors within the framework of common interests and mutual respect. Thanks to the influence they will create on the political basis and the relations they will establish in the diplomatic framework, the production of Un/Armed Drones will make Central Asia a stronger cooperation and welfare center. The relations that the countries of the region will develop with various actors will gain a deeper and broader feature beyond the political, economic and cultural dimensions, thanks to the Un/Armed Drones. These countries, which follow an uncompromising policy in protecting their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unitary structures, will increase their prestige and influence in the international arena by making a great contribution to the security of other states.

ANKASAM ANALYSIS



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Changing Perception of Taliban in the UAE's Afghanistan Policy

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is following the developments in Afghanistan closely. As a reflection, Abu Dhabi administration has developed connections with Taliban lately and carried to a new level of Afghanistan politics. In that sense, it is needed to analyze the UAE's Afghanistan policy.

As it is known, the UAE was one of the three countries that are recognized Taliban at the first period. In that period, Abu Dhabi administration has developed positive relations with Taliban and change its policy towards Afghanistan due to radicalism and increasing activities of terrorist group Al-Qaeda. Thus, to act in accordance with the international community, UAE supported "Endless Freedom Operation" of the United States of America (USA) started on 7 October 2001. Therefore, Abu Dhabi administration became the first Gulf Country that supported American interruption to Afghanistan.

It can be understood that the UAE's policy on Afghanistan has shaped accordingly with the international community. Therefore, Abu Dhabi administration has never hesitated to help Afghan people and built good relations with the government's established in the period of occupation for 20 years. The two elements affected the UAE's policy. The first one is reflecting Abu Dhabi administration's general foreign policy understanding. Because the UAE has focused on establishing economic relations, based on non-interruption to the domestic politics and mutual benefits. Secondly, the UAE has followed public diplomacy regardless of administration in Afghanistan, to make Afghanistan a livable country. In that sense, in 2013, two countries have signed "Strategic and Security Cooperation Agreement." [1] Therefore the UAE, has showed that she is ready to be in accordance with Afghanistan on organized crimes, dealing with drugs, terrorism, human trafficking and illegal migration. [2]

Shortly the UAE has built good relations with Taliban administration in the 1990s and with Afghanistan governments in 2000s. That approach can be analyzed as the UAE's effort to establish positive relations with Afghan people and Afghan State regardless of who ruled Afghanistan. In other words, Abu Dhabi administration does not care about who is the hegemon in Kabul and evaluate that issue as Afghanistan's internal issue.

The issues that led UAE's Afghanistan policies are observed on the Second Taliban period as well. Therefore, while Abu Dhabi administration gives Ashraf Ghani the right to asylum, also she developed de facto cooperation with Taliban. But Abu Dhabi explained that she limited the political activities of Ghani, Former Advisor of Afghanistan National Security Hamdullah Muhip, and former Balkh Governor Ata Muhammed Nur, as confirming Abu Dhabi is not interrupting Afghanistan's domestic issues. [3]

Moreover, the UAE, has announced that Kabul Embassy, which was closed in the period of insecurity in Afghanistan, opened again in 2021. [4] After that development, Taliban's spokesmen Zabihullah Mucahid has told that. [5]

"The UAE has opened her Embassy in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. An important step was taken to the more positive developments. We think that the UAE and Afghanistan has good relations. Moreover, it is needed to make the relations to move forward."

After the embassy opened, with the order of the UAE's Prime Minister Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Muhammad bin Rashid Al Maktoum Humanitarian Organization have sent 60 tons of basic food and humanitarian aid packages to Afghanistan. [6] That will also showed that Abu Dhabi government is implementing an effective public policy and being sensitive towards humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan.

It is obvious that Afghanistan is facing a vast humanitarian crisis. In such an atmosphere, every aid and investment are quite important. Thus, the UAE has focused on giving aids and making investments to Afghanistan by developing de facto cooperation with Taliban. In accordance with that aim, Ali Mohammed bin Hammad Al Shamsi, UAE Federal Minister of Identity, Citizenship, Customs and Ports has visited Afghanistan on 29 December 2021. During his visit, he met with Hasan Ahund, the Prime Minister of Permanent Government by Taliban, Deputy of Prime Minister Mollah Abdulghani Birader and Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaqi, and he claimed that they are ready to invest in solar energy, and railway systems. [7] In addition, Shamsi has specified that they can cooperate on education and agriculture. [8] Besides, it was claimed that the UAE is ready to give technical support to Taliban to the operation of different airports. [9]

Abu Dhabi has increased connections with Taliban, even she did not officially recognize Taliban government. It is obvious that this situation was affected by Qatar and Saudi Arabia. Because between Abu Dhabi and Doha and Riyadh, there is a rivalry. Qatar stands out as a hosting state of Taliban's political office, and the basic address to the connection with foreign states. It is clear that Doha, who followed intermediary diplomacy, has gained international prestige. In the last period, Saudi Arabia has improved her connection with Taliban and led the extraordinary meeting of Islamic Cooperation Organization (ICO) held in Pakistan's capital, Islamabad.[10]

While those developments are happening, it cannot be expected that the UAE cannot be excluded from Afghanistan equity. Therefore, Abu Dhabi is focused on increasing soft power in Afghanistan with outstanding diplomacy and economic relations.

As a conclusion the UAE has increased its attention on developments in Afghanistan and has started de facto cooperation process with Taliban. It can be observed that those relations will be more intense in future. However, when we look at Abu Dhabi's change of Taliban perception, from 1990s, it can be said that it is not an independent actor. That's why, the UAE would not recognize Taliban unless international community has an incentive to recognize it.

[1] Ahmad Shah Ghani Zada, "Afghanistan-UAE Sign Long Term Strategic and Security Agreement", Khaama Press Agency, <https://www.khaama.com/afghanistan-uae-sign-long-term-strategic-and-security-agreement-2298/>, (Date of Accession: 05.01.2022).

[2] Aynı yer.

[3] "Islamic Emirate: 'UAE Restricting Political Activity of Ghani'", Tolo News, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-175673>, (Date of Accession: 05.01.2022).

[4] "UAE Reopens Its Embassy in Kabul", Ani News, <https://www.aninews.in/news/world/asia/uae-reopens-its-embassy-in-kabul2021121045440/>, (Date of Accession: 05.01.2021).

[5] Zaini Majeed, "A Positive Step: UAE Reopens Embassy in Afghanistan", Republic World, <https://www.republicworld.com/world-news/rest-of-the-world-news/uae-reopens-embassy-in-afghanistan-taliban-says-we-have-good-relations.html>, (Date of Accession: 05.01.2022).

[6] Ibid.

[7] "Afghan PM Discusses Bilateral Relations with UAE Minister in Kabul", Ani News, <https://www.aninews.in/news/world/asia/afghan-pm-discusses-bilateral-relations-with-uae-minister-in-kabul20211229230312/>, (Date of Accession: 05.01.2022).

[8] Ibid.

[9] "دش دهاوخ زاغ ی چراخ ی اهورپ و دراد هم ادا رطق و هی کرت اب هرکادم: نابل ا ط یوگنخس", Afintl, <https://www.afintl.com/202112299612>, (Date of Accession: 05.01.2021).

[10] "Saudi Arabia to Convene Extraordinary OIC Meeting to Discuss Afghanistan", Saudi Gazette, <https://saudigazette.com.sa/article/614141>, (Date of Accession: 29.11.2021).

ANKASAM ANALYSIS



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The Cost of Arming Greece

Greece was shocked with the explanation of the United States of America (USA) of not supporting the East-Med Pipeline Project, which was claimed that it will pass the Eastern Mediterranean completely. Whereas it was already known that, this project cannot be realized, it is impossible to build such long pipeline, and the amount of reserves that are explored are not enough for this project.

It was known that the USA has established a New York-based firm, which will rule all the reserves except of Israel and Egypt. Moreover, the gas that has a liquefied gas filling facility to be built in Alexandroupoli is not through pipelines; it was a clear statement that he would be transported by ships. That's why, it was clear that East-Med pipeline was a step for developing military alliance with the states of the region.

The shock against the acts of the US is not new though.

Against Turkey, Greece felt tracked by the US since they did not hear support words from them. Prior to this, the agreements that Greece was under pressure to sign with Egypt and Italy during the Eastern Mediterranean domination race were also in content that Greece did not expect and contradicted the Greek theses. The same situation is valid with the agreement she was forced to sign with North Macedonia. However, at the starting point, Washington had clarified that the agreement signed with Macedonia is important due to the US policy towards the Balkans.^[1]

With the agreement, the USA is opening the door to enter the Balkan. Therefore, Washington saw that agreement as a validation for investments to the relations built with Greece. Meaning that, Greece was measured, if they take step back on Macedonian issue. The procedure was just a test and Greece has passed that test. Thus, the US has realized her promise and Greece have withdrawn her claims on many issues, draw back the objections and showed her fidelity. However, after all these concessions, the expectation of a reward from the USA that would upset the balance between Turkey and Greece did not cease. However, she could not see any green light for that. Then what is the meaning of that issue for the US?

Greece is armed with American weapons, while she was turning into an US base. It is questioned within the framework of which threat perception the arming of Greece was made. The comments are pointing towards Russia, it is impossible that the military of the US in Greece is not a threat for Russia, even a deterrence. The weapons are not threatening Turkey, which is a member of NATO. When we look at the other neighbors of Greece, on the one hand there is Bulgaria, again a NATO member, on the other hand Kosovo, which has American bases in her territory, and Albania, in which the US plans to build an operational bases.

In this context, the fact that Greece, which perceives the threat of attack neither from any of its neighbors nor from Russia, has turned into a weapons pile far above the number of soldiers on duty, requires a review of global positions.

First of all, the changes in power in the Balkans against the preferences of the European Union (EU); however, it seems to be developing in line with the interests of the USA. The new governments, on the other hand, against the EU and even their own national interests; However, it is observed that they take decisions in favor of the USA.

In that context, some agreements have signed which forces the Balkan states to do so. Those agreements' organizations was the US and the EU and Germany tried to prevent it and give negative opinion. Some of them reluctantly consented to the fait accompli agreements. The part of the job that falls to the EU in matters that they are reluctant to do; that is, the continuation of EU enlargement has been put on hold. Therefore, Washington's plan on Europe and the Balkans was not supported by the EU.

In this context, it is clear that Germany and partly the United Kingdom do not support the US's position on the Eastern Mediterranean-centered developments. Again, Germany is dissatisfied with the fact that Greece has been turned into a US base. It is seen that the union did not fulfill the membership promise given to Macedonia on behalf of the EU regarding the name agreement. On the other hand, Greece, on the other hand, once again paid the price by accepting the document handed to the USA in the maritime

sovereignty areas delimitation agreements signed with Egypt and Italy for the Eastern Mediterranean issue, on top of the price it paid in the name agreement.

Athens administration is paying price over price to be included in the US orbit and taking the steps back as they are defending as "national theses". It is understood that those actions make Greece lonely. Leaving aside the small calculations arising from the desire of some parts of Greece to take advantage of this new situation, the purpose of armament, which brings a great burden to the country's economy, cannot be explained. According to the Washington administration, one of the two main pillars that will enable the USA to remain in the global leader position is Europe and the other is Asia-Pacific.

The USA needs to be sure of its European leg in order to strengthen its position in the Asia-Pacific and enter the competition. Obviously, anti-Chinese sentiment could not find the unconditional support that it expected from the EU in terms of preventing Russia and managing the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, the White House feels the need to put an end to the Eurocentric challenge to itself. In this context, it can be thought that the USA wants to achieve the following three goals:

1- Establishing its former influence and power in the EU and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

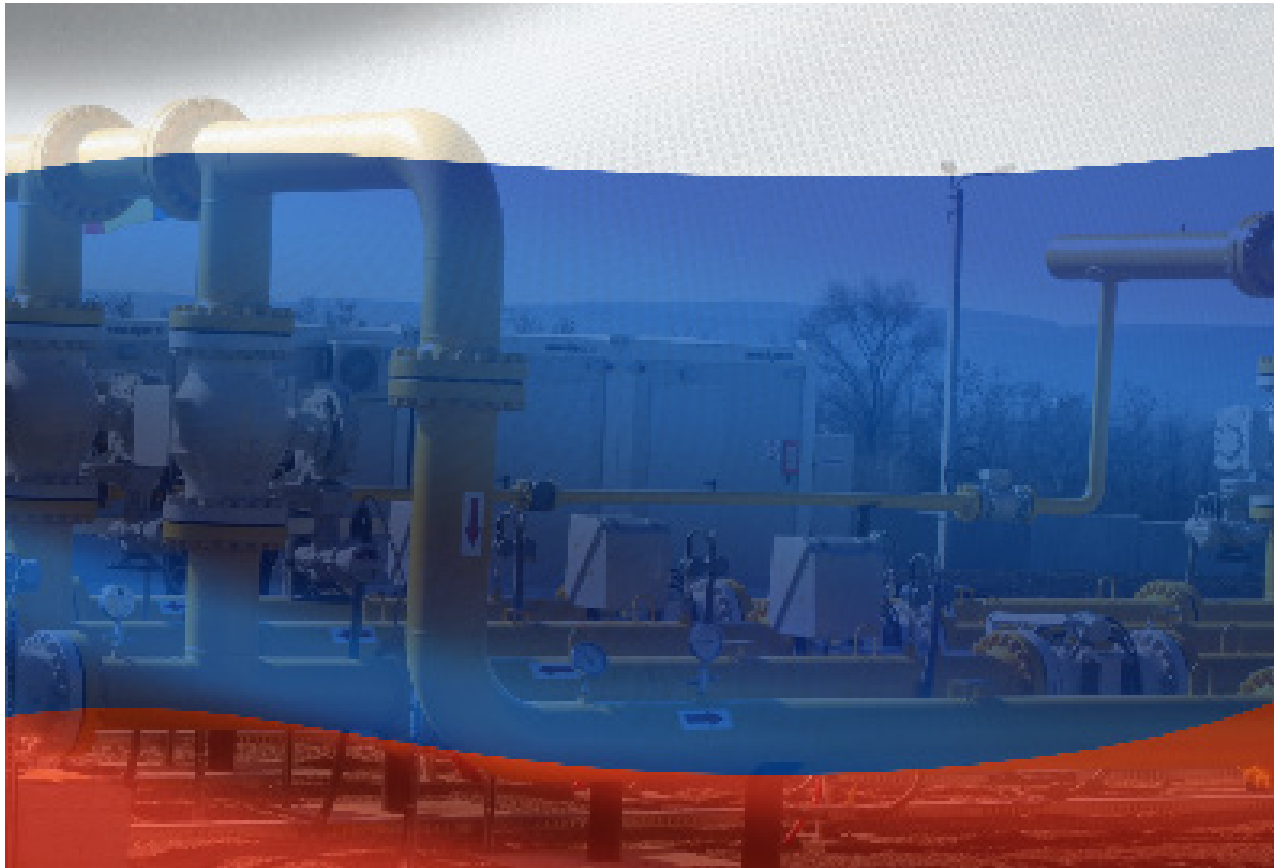
2- Eliminating Germany-based Europe's interaction with Russia

3- To do this by focusing on the Russian threat without making the Chinese target feel.

For the US, the Asia-Pacific region, where China is at the center, is a more important target, and Washington perceives a threat from China's rise and challenge there. While Beijing is currently spreading towards Europe with its investments and loans it distributes without question; The USA cannot show a serious/sufficient/effective/deterrent presence against China in the Asia-Pacific. For this reason, while the USA directs attention to the Russian threat; In fact, it is conducting an operation in Europe. Because the USA; It will remain weak in the Asia-Pacific struggle it will wage against China without taking the European states behind it, destroying Russia-Europe relations and re-establishing its influence in Europe.

Looking at the whole picture, while Greece is in debt for more weapons than it can use; It acted on the assumption that it would be supported against Turkey or that the state arguments would be guarded. However, with each passing day, he sees that the issue has nothing to do with Turkey and that he is constantly politically indebted, let alone being supported in any matter. While giving up the state theses that Greece can fight for; In reality, it receives no response. In fact, Greece remains only a pawn in the US policy of bringing Europe to its knees and establishing its influence in the EU.

[1] "Greece and Russia Exchange Furious Statements Over Macedonia", Euroactiv, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/greece-and-russia-exchange-furious-statements-over-macedonia/>, (Date of Accession: 15.01.2019).

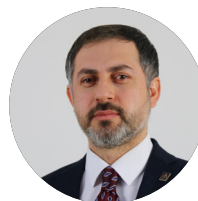


ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Russia's Energy War with Europe

On December 29, 2021, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Novak announced the condition of Russia's ability to send natural gas to Europe in desired quantities. Making evaluations on the subject, Novak said:

"In physical terms, we are ready to increase production and supply volumes. Russia's resources make it possible to meet the demand of European consumers in any amount. But, of course, this is not a quick process, since the EU policy sought to reduce the demand. Gazprom needs long-term contracts, as the growth in production requires large investments, which should pay off over the longer term. Make long-term contracts, and we will be ready to supply more. This offer



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is always open." For many years, Moscow has been struggling seriously for the European energy market. As it is known, Russia is the biggest energy supplier of Europe and does not want to miss this trump. Russia meets about 30% of Europe's natural gas imports. However, security problems in Europe have led Europe to reduce its dependence on Russian's natural gas.

In fact, it is known that Europe has been looking for alternative sources to Russian natural gas for many years. One of them is the NABUCCO project, which took a large place on the agenda in the 2000s. However, it was difficult to find a "reliable supplier" in order for the mentioned pipeline project to become realize. This has led to the continuation of dependence on Russian energy resources. It has been observed that the dependence on Russia has also been effective in the energy crisis in Europe in recent months.

In essence, Russia's energy policy towards Europe is only one of the reasons for the increase in natural gas prices. Russia triggered the problem in Europe, causing it to turn into a crisis. Of course, while doing this, it took care of own interests. In this sense, it consciously took advantage of the opportunity that stand in front.

Russia gradually reduced some of the natural gas it exports to Europe during the periods when natural gas prices in Europe started to rise and during the coldest days in Europe, and then decided to cut off the flow of the Yamal-Europe pipeline completely. This has led to a rapid increase in natural gas prices.

Russia's use of such a method is related to its own goals. Perhaps the most significant goal in this regard is to make Europe's dependence on Russia sustainable. In this context, the Moscow administration expects agreements that offer long-term guarantees to them.

At the same time, this expectation is also related to the implementation of the Nord Stream-2 Project. Europe clearly states that the Nord Stream-2 Project does not coincide with the interests of the continent. In addition, the fact that the Green Party is the ruler partner in Germany has strengthened this critical approach. Two important events have occurred in recent months, such as the increased risk of war on the Ukraine-Russia border and the outbreak of the refugee crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border. European states blamed

Russia in every incident. In this environment, it was perceived as a reasonable move to suspend the Nord Stream-2 Project and to reduce energy relations with Russia. Moscow, on the other hand, tried to prevent the process of exclusion from the European energy market.

The second reason for the increase in natural gas prices in Europe, as Novak mentioned, is the policy of Europe to reduce natural gas consumption. Europe's long-term energy strategy foresees switching to renewable energy sources. However, while European states want to move on to this process quickly; ignores other factors. For example, these countries have reduced the natural gas they import from Russia and thus entered the winter season without filling their natural gas reserves sufficiently.

The third reason that affects energy prices in Europe is the energy policy of the USA towards Europe. The Joe Biden administration's abandonment of Donald Trump's energy strategy, or at least not paying enough attention to the policies implemented in the Trump period, has affected the energy processes in Europe. The USA, which directed all its attention to Asia, left Europe alone with energy problems. However, in the Trump era, the USA gave great importance to the energy market of Europe.

As a result, it can be said that Russia effectively uses its energy card against Europe. Thus, Moscow has shown that it is an actor that can affect energy prices in Europe. But the USA is also a serious actor that can affect energy prices in Europe. For this reason, while Russia is the losing side of the process; the USA has become a state that has gained a reputation in Europe. Russia's policies are aimed at putting Europe in a difficult situation. Playing active role of The USA, on the other hand, is regarded as a "crisis solver" by directing LNG (liquefied natural gas) tankers going to Asia to Europe, and thus came to the fore as the party that solved the energy problem of Europe. More importantly, although Russia wanted to establish itself as a "reliable energy supplier" for many years, after the recent events, it has done great harm to the image it wanted to build in this direction with its own hands. Therefore, it can be predicted that Europe will approach Russia more cautiously from now on and will take concrete steps to reduce its energy dependency.

ANKASAM ANALYSIS



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The Return of the USA to the Seas

With the end of the Cold War, being the hegemonic power of the United States of America (USA) in international relations has led to the emergence of an Atlantic-centered order. The USA, which has established superiority over Asia in terms of ideological, military, technological, cultural and economic, has used its superiority to intervene in various parts of the world, either with its allies or alone, and has followed a policy of controlling the resources that will maintain its hegemony.

Continuing the aforementioned policies until the early 2000s, Washington experienced some challenges because of the emergence of new powers. While Russia, which weakened partially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, became stronger by adopting a policy based on the control of energy resources and military strength under the leadership of Vladimir Putin; China, located in the east of Asia, has achieved the ability to transform the global system and establish a Sinocentric order in the near periphery with its tremendous economic growth and the diplomatic and military power it has acquired.

From the point of view of the USA, the rise of revisionist countries led to new policy discussions. In this process, Washington's intervention in Iraq in the Middle East and the Afghanistan operation in the center of Asia were subjected to various criticisms in the public opinion of the country and were among the issues that occupied the agenda of the ruling administrations. For this reason, the administrations of Barak Obama, Donald Trump and Joe Biden have declared their intention to withdraw from both countries on various dates.[1]

Undoubtedly, there are different domestic and external reasons for the statements made by the US Presidents at certain intervals. However, in essence, the withdrawal of US troops from the middle of Asia points to an essential geopolitical strategy. From a military point of view, the geographical, demographic and logistical drawbacks of land wars both damage the international image of the USA and create a great cost. As a matter of fact, Founder of Stratfor, George Friedman's article titled "Never Fight a Land War in Asia"[2] published in 2011 also points to this problem. Friedman described the inability of the USA to have devastating effects in wars dependent on land forces as the weakest aspect of the American international power

Based on this assessment, it would not be wrong to say that it is in the interests of the USA to withdraw its land troops from Asia. In point of fact, the process that started with the plan to strengthen the presence of the USA in the Asia-Pacific region

and to direct its resources to the region in Obama's "Address to the Nation"[3] speech on January 5, 2012, has increasingly continued today. The main argument of this analysis is that with these changes that will cause new military engagements and deployments, the USA will return to the seas, which makes it a superpower and where America is the strongest military power. Without any doubt, the unique power of the US Navy comes first among the factors that support this argument.

Today, as the only country that has the opportunity to float a fleet of warships in all the seas of the world at the same time, the USA, has maintained its superiority since World War II. Contrary to the uncertain elements that determine the winner of the land wars (human heroism, the breadth and depth of the geography, the local people being natural soldiers, etc.); the result of naval wars depend on technological superiority, tonnage capacity, logistical advantage, war experience, naval culture, command of the commons and personnel training. In terms of both the naval strategy shaped by the strategies of Alfred Thayer Mahan, known as the father of naval power, and the tonnage capacity used in the measurement of sea power, the USA seems to be unrivalled in the seas. The most vital element of this capability is aircraft carriers. According to data for 2020, the USA has 11 warships. This amount is more than the total warships of other countries.[4]

Another argument for the thesis that Washington will return to the seas is that the gravity of great power competition will shift from land to sea. The region that comes to the fore in this sense is the Indo-Pacific. The region is roughly composed of as many as 38 countries, accommodating 65 percent or 4.3 billion of the world population, and accounts for 63 percent of the world GDP. In fact, above 50 percent of the world's maritime trade occurs in this region.[5]

As can be understood, the interest of regional and global actors in the Indo-Pacific geography has been increasing day by day. The region has been "securitized" systematically since the former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's article titled "America's Pacific Century"[6] in Foreign Policy Journal. The "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy"[7] announced by Trump at the Asia-Pacific Economic Summit held in Vietnam in 2017 has also been a notable turning point in the US's view of the region. In June 2019, the first official report titled "Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region"[8], prepared by the US Department of Defense and clarifying America's Indo-Pacific policies and the report titled

"A Free and Open Indo-Pacific: Advancing a Shared Vision"[9] announced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the same year, provided the official base of this strategy.

The main purpose of the USA to adopt such a strategy is to implement the "Containment" strategy toward Beijing, together with the countries of the region by controlling China's energy and trade traffic passing through this region.

Another argument is that the multinational dialogues that the USA has been involved in are subject to naval-based in recent years. In this sense, the most significant unity that stands out is Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) and the more newly AUKUS process. In this sense, the most significant unities that stand out are Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) and the more newly AUKUS process. While QUAD is a comprehensive diplomatic and security association covering the most powerful countries of the region (India-Japan-Australia-USA); AUKUS is an Anglo-Saxon based defence organization. While the Washington administration is trying to take steps to cover the spirit of the region via QUAD; It shows that the USA acts together with its traditional allies with AUKUS. The common goal of both structures is to restrain China, which demands more authority in the global system and ultimately tries to establish its World order.

Today, the elements of being a global power are in a structural change. The approach, which generally bases the balance of power in the world solely on military and economic capacity, has been gradually changing and being replaced by; supply chain security, technological superiority, quantum mechanics, autonomous systems, soft power, fusion energy and hypersonic systems. Countries wanted to dominate these areas are trying to control the Indo-Pacific zone, which is the center of trade and population mobility. Proceeding towards this goal, the USA, in its latest "Global Posture Review Recommendations" report, stated that it will increase its military presence in the Indo-Pacific region and will deploy permanent forces to some islands in the Pacific, giving the message that it is returning to the seas.

At this point, there are two things that should not be forgotten. First, as the importance of the Pacific Ocean gradually increases, the strategic geographical location and navy presence of the USA, which is located in the center of the Atlantic and the Pacific, will become stronger. Secondly, it is not the land forces enabling the USA to emerge victorious from World War II and to become the hegemon actor of the global system; it is naval and air forces. For this reason, in the future strategies of the USA;

It would not be wrong to state that sea power theory will come to the fore instead of heartland theory.

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17 January 2022

ANKASAM Foreign Policy Specialist Emrah Kaya evaluated the strained relations and possible scenarios between Russia and NATO in the ON4 TV İşin Özü program.

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20 January 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated Turkey's mediation role in the Russia-Ukraine tension in TRT Haber.

21 January 2022

The interview, in which Kazakhstan's Ankara Ambassador Abzal Saparbekuly evaluated the backstage of the events in Kazakhstan with ANKASAM Media Coordinator Sibel Mazrek, was shared on the Turkuaz Haber Ajansı (TÜHA) and Uluslararası Haber Ajansı (UHA) websites.

21 January 2022

"Global and Regional Gas Price Increases and Their Reflections on Turkish Gas and Electricity Markets" held at ANKASAM under the moderation of ANKASAM Energy Consultant Dr. Cenk Pala, was published on NorwayToday.com.

21 January 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol was a guest of the Günlük program presented by Seda Anik on the Ulusal Kanal. Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine tension, which is one of the hot topics of the agenda in the program.

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23 January 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the latest developments in foreign policy in Akit TV Ankara Kulisi.

23 January 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations about Metsamor appeared on AZ TV.

23 January 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Political Studies Center Foreign Policy Specialist Emrah Kaya made evaluations about the ongoing tension between Russia and the West stemming from "security guarantees" in the "İşin Özü" program presented by Muhammed Acar on On4 TV.



The latest issue of the International Journal of Crisis and Politics Studies, an international peer-reviewed journal operating within the Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM), has been published. Academic Keys, ASOS Index, CEEOL, Cite Factor, DRJI, Index Copernicus, Ideal Online, Research Bible, Sindex and TUBITAK DERGIPARK databases are scanned by our journal can be accessed via the link below.

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The latest issue of the Journal of Regional Studies, an international peer-reviewed journal operating within the Ankara Crisis and Political Research Center (ANKASAM), has been published. Our journal is scanned by Academic Keys, ASOS Index, CEEOL, Cite Factor, DRJI, Index Copernicus, Ideal Online, Research Bible, Index and TUBITAK DERGIPARK databases. You can reach our journal via the link below.

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