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Cankaya District, Cemal Nadir Street, No. 20.0680.
Cankaya – Ankara/Turkey
Tel: +90 312 474 00 46 | Fax: +90 312 474 00 45
Email: info@ankasam.org

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Renewable Energy Resources and EU's "REPowerEU" Initiative

In recent years, the demand for renewable energy resources has increased along with the environmental sensitivity increased as well. This increase of demand escalated with COVID-19 pandemic and with Europe's aim to decrease energy dependency to Russia after Russian-Ukrainian War. In the pandemic period, renewable energy has become the sole energy resource that increased the demand and since the industrial revolution of 250 years

before, for the first time the demand for those resources has increased in the energy consumption of the world.[1] According to reports named "Statistical Review of World Energy 2021" by British Petroleum (BP);[2] the proportions of sustainable/renewable energy has increased dramatically in the post-COVID-19 period, yet it did not arrive the level of hydro energy, and still its proportion remains lower according to other energy sources.



Emekli Deniz Albay Ferhan ORAL
ANKASAM Security Advisor

It is predicted the proportion for solar and wind power, which is 20 years old yet, will arrive to the point of other energy types, by increasing significantly after Russian-Ukrainian War in the attempts of decreasing dependency of the EU to Russian energy resources. Moreover, they could exceed the fossil energy in the long term under the aims of climate change and decrease of fossil fuel reserves.

In the sense of developments that support the idea, for preventing struggles and interruption in energy market that was created by Russia's invasion to Ukraine, European Commission has developed the initiative named "REPowerEU" aiming at energy saving, clean energy production and diversification of energy resources. On the website of the European Commission on the initiative, which was supported by financial and legal preventions about new energy infrastructure that EU is needed,[3] it was clarified that 85% of the Europeans believed gas and petroleum dependency on Russia must be immediately decreased for supporting Ukraine, and if they unite, Europe can achieve this quickly.

In the REPowerEU initiative, there are issues such as the short-term supply of gas, LNG and hydrogen through the EU Energy Platform, the establishment of new energy partnerships with reliable suppliers, and the implementation of new solar and wind energy projects for the three objectives mentioned above. In the middle-term aims, which was predicted to be completed before 2027, there are topics on national REPowerEU plans should be supported with 300 billion euros and reforms, new legal regulations on constructing faster renewable energy centrals in the lower-risk regions, increasing the 2030 target of the share of clean energy in total energy from 40% to 45% and taking regulatory measures to increase energy efficiency take place.

In the EU action plan to achieve all those aims, increasing LNG supply from the USA and Canada by sea, and from Norway both by pipeline and by sea, increasing cooperation with Azerbaijan in the field of energy, especially on the Southern Gas Corridor, making political agreements with gas supplier countries such as Egypt and Israel, energy with Algeria Restarting the dialogue in the field, continuing cooperation with the main energy producers in the Gulf, including Qatar, and Australia, ensuring coordination with gas buyers such as Japan, China and South Korea, and finally investigating the export potentials of sub-Saharan countries such as Nigeria, Senegal and Angola were determined.[4]

It is obvious that there are some criticisms, on Turkmen gas, that do not take place in the action plan[5], or on Germany's deal with Qatar on long-term LNG gas supply, by claiming that the money flow to Russia will not stop in the short term.[6] In addition to this, there are also cases where results could not be achieved, such as British Prime Minister Boris Johnson's visit to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in March, which apparently did not yield any tangible results. Lastly, EU's 6th sanctions package to Russia, to decrease petroleum import for 92% until the end of year, to find alternatives to Russian petroleum, France's Minister of Economics Brune Le Maire had another meeting with the UAE.

The following information is included in the news prepared by Deutsche Welle (DW) regarding the plans of some EU member countries, which are ahead of other EU countries in renewable energy:[7] Prime Minister of Denmark Mette Frederiksen, has clarified that they aimed at to increase "offshore" wind power capacities to quadruple until 2030, and until 2050 they aimed at to increase 10 times more. Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte has highlighted that the first reason to put forwards renewable energy is that the climate change, and the other is Russia's invasion to Ukraine. Belgian Prime Minister Alexander De Croo has expressed that the investment will decrease energy prices ten times lower and CO2 emissions will decrease for the name of the EU. German Chancellor Olaf Scholz, on the other hand, emphasized that the North Sea is large enough to establish the wind power plants and that such projects can be realized after cost-benefit analysis.

In the action plan called "A 10-Point Plan to Reduce the European Union's Reliance on Russian Natural Gas" of International Energy Agency (IEA), which takes place under 2022 March Report,[8] except from the other prepositions, there are topics on renewable energy. Application of those advices, renewable energy resources will contribute 35 TWh in 2023, and that would mean saving 6 billion m³ of gas.[9]

From the perspective of Turkey, the situation of our country, which has made a significant progress in the production of wind energy equipment in terms of renewable energy, as well as natural gas scenarios that will reduce dependence on Russia, is noteworthy. According to the "Wind Energy in Europe-2021 Statistics and 2022-2026 Forecast Report" prepared by the European Wind Energy Association (WindEurope), the top organization representing the wind energy sector in Europe; In 2021, Turkey ranks 4th after England, Sweden and Germany in the production of installed wind power plant equipment in Europe with a capacity of 1.4 gigawatts (GW).[10] In order to achieve %40 percent of clean (renewable) energy proportion in the total energy aims, it was needed to produce 32 GWs of production in a year between 2022-2026 and Turkey's role will be significant in the production in the country.

As a result, considering that the investment costs of wind energy are decreasing day by day compared to fossil fuel-based energy such as natural gas and oil, and companies are starting to invest in this field without government support, it can be said that this type of energy will replace other types of energy in the future, especially for Europe. Another remarkable point is that the EU, which is trying to provide autonomy in the field of defense and security against the USA/NATO with the "Strategic Compass", which started its work long before the Russia-Ukraine War and came into force after being approved last March, is at least in terms of energy. It is his determination to achieve autonomy against Russia.

[1] Volkan Özdemir, Enerji Güvenliği ve Doğal Gaz Piyasaları, Pankuş Yayınları, Ankara 2022, s.14.

[2] "Statistical Review of World Energy 2021 | 70th edition s.12", BP, <https://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/business-sites/en/global/corporate/pdfs/energy-economics/statistical-review/bp-stats-review-2021-full-report.pdf>, (Date of Accession: 06.06.2022).

[3] "REPowerEU: affordable, secure and sustainable energy for Europe", European Council https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/european-green-deal/repowereu-affordable-secure-and-sustainable-energy-europe_en, (Date of Accession: 06.06.2022).

[4] Ibid.

[5] "ANKASAM Webinar | Avrupa'ya Türkiye Üzerinden Türkmen Gazı: Umutları Gerçeklerle Güncellemek", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/ankasam-webinar-avrupaya-turkiye-uzerinden-turkmen-gazi-umutlari-gerceklerle-guncellemek/>, (Date of Accession: 07.06.2022).

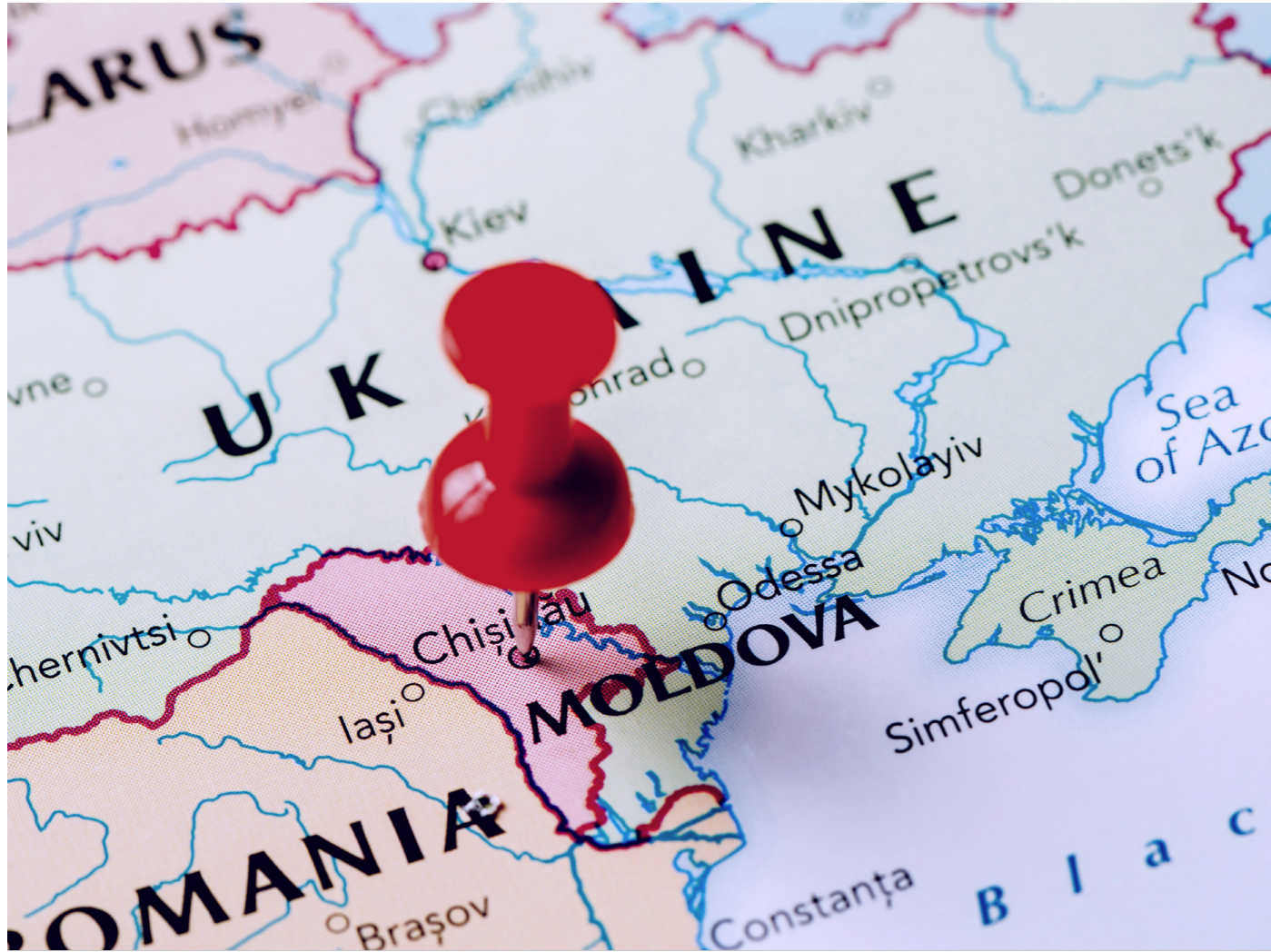
[6] Patrick Wintour, "Germany agrees gas deal with Qatar to help end dependency on Russia", The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/20/germany-gas-deal-qatar-end-energy-dependency-on-russia>, (Date of Accession: 07.06.2022).

[7] "EU unveils €300 billion plan to reduce its energy dependency on Russia", DW News, May 19, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AkcTN9E33eI>, (Date of Accession: 07.06.2022).

[8] "A 10-Point Plan to Reduce the European Union's Reliance on Russian Natural Gas", International Energy Agency, <https://www.iea.org/reports/a-10-point-plan-to-reduce-the-european-unions-reliance-on-russian-natural-gas>, (Date of Accession: 07.06.2022).

[9] IEA Report on 3 March 2022.

[10] "Wind energy in Europe 2021 Statistics and the outlook for 2022-2026", s. 7, Wind Europe <https://windeurope.org/intelligence-platform/product/wind-energy-in-europe-2021-statistics-and-the-outlook-for-2022-2026/>, (Date of Accession: 07.06.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Security Concerns of Moldova

On June 6, 2022, Romanian President Klaus Iohannis have declared that he is intended to "provide additional resources for state security and Moldova's territorial integration." A day after that declaration Moldova Defence Minister Anatoly Nosaty has went to Romania for two-days official visit.

Nosaty has met with Romanian President Klaus Iohannis, Prime Minister Nicolae Ciuaba and Romanian Counterpart Vasile Dincu during his visit. Main theme of the negotiations was Bucharest to provide additional resources to Chisinau for modernization of Moldovan Army. Nosaty has visited many NATO training ground in Romania,[1] and on 3 June, 2022, he said that



Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU
ANKASAM Eurasia
Expert

Moldova do not possess tanks and they will evaluate purchasing anti-tank missiles with their partners.[2]

The demand of Moldova to be armed for defense is brought on the agenda when Russia has started an operation to open a corridor to Transnistria from land in the second phase of Russia's invasion yo Ukraine on April 22, 2022. Later, Chief Advisor to Ukrainian President Mihail Podolyak has advised Moldova to be prepared for every situation. Besides, he expressed that it is a must that she should develop the relations with the European counterparts, modernize the army, and prepare required equipments for possible attacks. In addition, he expressed his doubtfulness that Russian-Ukrainian War could spread to Moldova.

While the US has declared that they are ready for providing aids to Moldova, British Defense Minister has highlighted that the country must be armed. British Foreign Minister Liz Truss has said that Moldova is a "country" and therefore she should be armed in accordance with NATO standards. Besides, if the ally countries agree, Chisinau will be receiving new weapons and Moldovan soldiers can be trained to use those weapons.

The first country that wants armament of Moldova is Britain. London, who is pleased with Moscow's pressure on some of the countries of the region, has got the chance for building strategic relations over that threat with Eastern European countries, especially with Moldova. Britain has expressed that Moldova needs to have NATO-standards of weapons and saying that Russian threat over Moldova is continuing.

Both Moldova and other states, which are interested in the security of that country has increased their concerns. Moldova Defense Minister Nosaty has explained the situation before Romania visit, with his Professional soldier identity, expressed that Ukrainian War is a greate tragedy, yet until now there is not a sign that Russia is not intended to attack to Moldova.

Nosaty has evaluated latest development in Russian-Ukrainian War, has clarified that clashes in the Eastern Ukraine will not spread towards Moldova until the War did not expand towards Nicolaev and Odessa. In addition, if the war expands towards Nicolaev-Odessa line, this would affect Moldova's territory, and in order to respond it, she should be more active. Finally, she stated that in the event of an attack on Moldova, the Army will use its full potential to defend its country, but still accepts that the Army is small and inadequately equipped.[3]

It is known that the Moldovan Army will not be able to resist any attack of Russia. Moldovan Armed Forces has 6.5 thousand soldiers. This situation increases Chisinau's concerns about possible attacks. As it is known, the effort of the Moldovan Army to gain control over the Transnistria region in the 1990s failed. After the ceasefire between the parties, Moldova's main task was not to control the region by using force, but to keep the balance of power against the Transnistrian Army. Against this, Transnistria, which declared its independence from Moldova, has 5 thousand regular soldiers, four thousand police and three thousand national guard forces in the Army forces. The sum of these amounts to twice the Moldovan Army. In this context, it can be said that Moldova's goal of taking back the Transnistria region by using force is not on the agenda.

Besides, in the Transnistria region there are nearly 2 thousand Russian military has starting to work as a peace force. Transnistrian forces, trained by the Russian Army and provided with weapons, are an important obstacle for Moldova to gain control over the region. This is an issue that may pose a threat to its own security. One of the main concerns of Moldova at the moment is the question of "defense of its territory."

In this context, Romania considers that the threat emanating from Russia has reached its borders. For this reason, it plans to establish a new more comprehensive military cooperation with Moldova and seeks ways to ensure the security of Moldova. The question of how any military cooperation between Moldova and Romania will be met by Russia is curious. Igor Dodon, who served as the President of Moldova between 2016-2020, made statements on the developments regarding the possibility of purchasing weapons from Romania; he said that "the Moldovan government aims to unite the country with Romania militarily and politically, so they are advancing the country on the way to Ukraine".[4] In the periods that Dodon serves, it was called as "absolute balance policy", and "protector of outside-bloc status." He defends to be close with Moscow to decrease Russian threat and protect Moldova's territorial unity.

Known for his opposition, Dodon said that arming Moldova would make the country a target. Similar considerations exist in the government and in Moldova's neighbor, Romania.

The Speaker of the Romanian House of Representatives, Marcel Ciolacu, said that Moldova needed border security, not military support. Moldovan Parliament Speaker Igor Grosu stated that Moldova is a neutral state, but this neutrality should be preserved.[5]

On the other hand, Moldova is trying not to attract the attention of Russia by protecting "off-block" status defined in the Constitution. On the other hand, by trusting this status, she was concerned about being country vulnerable. Moldova, for a long time, was known as to be cooperating with NATO and NATO member countries. But Chisinau is worried about this situation to move forwards.

Due to its historical ties and neighborly relations with Moldova, Romania has undertaken a protective mission to ensure the security of this country. On the other hand, it is reluctant to push the Moldovan government further in this regard. It is thought that, in the event of arming Moldova, it may show a similar reaction of Russia towards Ukraine. While the Minister of Defense of Moldova declares that there is no security concern for the country, on the other hand, he is holding talks against the possibility of such a risk. It also tries to get support from Romania, its most important and implicit ally.

In the Romania visit, it was clearly arrived in a consensus to supply Moldova arms. However, according to Nosaty, the important one was the question of in what degree NATO-member countries and Romania defend Moldova's security. Chisinau knows that it cannot resist as much as Ukraine due to its inadequacy of military capability, and in this case, it believes that weapon aid to Ukraine will not be sufficient to ensure Moldova's security.

Moldova has two options. The first one is that having some weapons in addition to protect the "off-block" status, in order not to be the target of Russia. The second one is that, to wait for NATO to give "real security guarantee", and especially Romania, in the situation of Moldova's security under threat.

[1] "В Румынию с официальным визитом прибыл министр обороны Молдавии", Regnum, <https://regnum.ru/news/3612688.html>, (Date of Accession: 08.06.2022).

[2] "Молдавия хочет обсудить с партнерами закупку противотанковых ракет, Ria Novosti, <https://ria.ru/20220603/moldaviya-1792980695.html>, (Date of Accession: 08.06.2022).

[3] Светлана Гамова, "Молдавская армия воевать не хочет", https://www.ng.ru/cis/2022-06-06/1_8454_moldova.html, (Date of Accession: 08.06.2022).

[4] "Додон заявил о подготовке военного присоединения Молдавии к Румынии", Komsomolskaya Pravda, <https://www.kp.ru/online/news/4780434/>, (Date of Accession: 08.06.2022).

[5] "Председатель парламента Румынии: «Молдова не нуждается в военной помощи»", Nokta, <https://nokta.md/predsdatel-parlamenta-rumynii-moldova-ne-nuzhdaetsya-v-voennoj-pomoshhi/>, (Date of Accession: 08.06.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Changing Roles of Japan and India in QUAD

The Russia-Ukraine War not only changed the balance of power in the world, but also increased the interest in Asia-Pacific. Some powers from both Europe and the Pacific have had the chance to take advantage of this global power balance that Russia has disrupted. It can be said that Japan and India have started to follow an active foreign policy in the Pacific, although it is seen that especially England and Germany come to the fore in Europe. In addition, the link between Europe and the Pacific

is getting stronger. The reason for this can be seen as the "othering" of Russia and China in world politics. Because the powers in both Europe and the Pacific tend to cooperate against Russia and China.

Despite everything, actors like India, who try to maintain their neutrality in this new Cold War, play the role of "balancing actor" in the world system. In this context, at the Quadruple Security Dialogue (QUAD) Summit held in Tokyo, the



Dr. Cenk TAMER
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific
Expert

capital of Japan, on May 22, 2022, it was seen that India was put under pressure. The United States of America (USA) and its allies tried to channel India more strongly to QUAD at the summit, and also focused on removing it from the Russia-China axis. It can be said that Japan has undertaken the main mission in this regard. The QUAD platform is considered to be the basis for creating an "anti-China" alliance in the Pacific, similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). However, it will not be easy to convince India of this. Therefore, the USA may try to use actors such as the UK and Japan as mediators to achieve this.

We can say that Japan has taken more initiatives within QUAD and has made a special effort to strongly integrate India into this platform. In fact, it can be argued that the mission of strengthening the anti-Chinese axis in the Pacific was given to Japan by the USA. Because the active policy of Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida in foreign policy in recent months has caused interest to focus on Tokyo both in the Pacific and in Europe. In recent months, Kishida has visited New Delhi to persuade India to take a tougher stance against Russia. Because India is the only state among the QUAD countries that does not criticize Russia and does not impose sanctions on it. So to speak, India refers to the "crack" in the QUAD. Japan, on the other hand, seems to have undertaken the task of closing this crack. Another mission given to Japan here is to lay the foundations of a collective defense organization responsible for the security of the Pacific, if possible within the scope of QUAD or any other framework. In this context, Japan is trying to deepen its military cooperation with countries such as India, Australia, England, Germany, Italy, Indonesia and Thailand, taking into account the possible danger of war with China in the Pacific. Japan signs reciprocal access agreements with its interlocutors that allow soldiers to be stationed at each other's bases in time of war, and conducts joint naval exercises.

The claims that the USA has laid the foundations of a secret NATO formation in the region through Japan have started to gain intensity recently. But Washington primarily desires the expansion of QUAD. In the long term, South Korea is planned to participate in QUAD as an observer. It is noteworthy in this sense that US President Joe Biden visited South Korea before moving on to Tokyo. However, the historical disagreements between South Korea and Japan make it difficult for these two countries to come together in QUAD. Some differences of opinion in the Pacific prevent the establishment of "NATO 2.0". For example, Japan wants to join the "Five Eyes", the intelligence network of the Anglo-Saxon powers in the Pacific. However, the UK opposes this. It cites some cultural-communicative difficulties as the reason for this. Similarly, it is claimed that Japan wants to join AUKUS led by the USA and the UK. [1] However, the parties have not yet made any statement that they have plans to establish "JAUkus".

Another pillar of the disagreements in question is New Zealand. The recent signing of a security agreement by Japan and New Zealand has led to comments that Tokyo is approaching the Anglo-Saxon alliance. New Zealand, on the other hand, may intend to join the QUAD. Because in the past, along with South Korea and Vietnam, New Zealand participated in QUAD Plus, which was organized within the scope of Covid-19 aid. Therefore, these countries are also candidates to become permanent members of QUAD. On the other hand, the Wellington administration wants a nuclear-free Pacific. Therefore, it should not be expected to join an alliance like AUKUS or JAUkus.

Britain is the biggest part of the differences of opinion in the Pacific. Because, interestingly, it is seen that England is not included in the QUAD mechanism. This indicates that London has a separate agenda from Washington in the Pacific. Also, the UK may think that the US-led QUAD is insufficient or unsuccessful. British officials even stated that NATO should deal with threats in the Pacific. In addition to this, London said it would not be possible to further strengthen QUAD and transform it into a collective defense organisation;

because it thinks that India cannot be persuaded for this purpose. In other words, while the biggest defenders of QUAD are the USA and Japan; the UK appears to be looking for alternative solutions in the Pacific. At this point, it is necessary to mention the India factor, which England emphasized.

The USA is trying to get India to be at odds with both Russia and China. That's why the Washington administration, which keeps China's border conflicts with India constantly on the agenda, is considered to open a second front against China from Kashmir in case of a possible war in Taiwan. But India does not want any more hostilities with China. It even does not want to get involved in Taiwan-related matters. In this regard, India seems to favor QUAD to remain a peaceful platform. The USA, on the other hand, wants India to give more support to QUAD. In line with this purpose, the approach that the USA is in an effort to confront India with China gains weight.

While there is a possibility of conflict between India and China over the border issue; it has no reason to quarrel with Russia. On the contrary, there are many reasons for the cooperation of the two countries. So QUAD could be India's biggest foreign policy impasse. Because this situation harms its relations with Russia. Because New Delhi is trying to explain to its counterparts in Moscow that this alliance "is not a NATO-like structure and is certainly not on the side of the West". This situation of insecurity limits India-Russia relations. However, India sees no harm in discussing the "Chinese threat" within the framework of QUAD.

On the other hand, Russia asks India not to "join an anti-Chinese alliance". If India contributes to the expansion of QUAD and its transformation into a defense alliance, it can be predicted that Russia and China will react harshly to this situation. Perhaps China can launch a new attack on the Indian border. Both sides have trump cards. While China uses border problems as leverage; India considers QUAD and the USA as a pressure factor against China.

As a result, the roles of Japan and India in QUAD are changing. Tokyo is taking more initiative; while New Delhi wants to stay in the background. It should not be forgotten that; India insistently refuses to take a stand against Russia and wants to have leverage against the West. It is also possible to interpret this as a part of India's "bluffing policy" against the West. Japan, on the other hand, seeks to increase its position in global politics by trying to establish a connection between the Pacific and Europe. However, it should not be forgotten that the main stabilizing actor in the global system is India. New Delhi's choice can shape the future of both Europe and the Pacific.

[1] "Washington and Tokyo Deny Japan Invited to Join AUKUS Security Pact", Japan Times, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2022/04/14/national/japan-ukus-join-denial/>, (Date of Accession: 11.05.2022).

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18 June 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's speech on "Kazakhstan President Tokayev's New Kazakhstan Model in Changing Global Geopolitics" at the roundtable meeting titled "Kazakhstan in the Renewal Process: Renewal and Modernization Path" organized by the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Ankara was published in Kazakhstan based DKN World News.

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