

**REVIEW OF RUSSIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONVENTION ON  
THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE CASPIAN SEA ON ENERGY RESOURCE  
MANAGEMENT**



**THESIS**

*Submitted as one of the requirements to obtain a bachelor's degree in the  
Department of International Relations*

Written by:

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**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES  
HASANUDDIN UNIVERSITY  
MAKASSAR**

**2023**

**TITLE SHEET**

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JUDUL : REVIEW OF RUSSIA'S INVOLMENT IN THE CONVENTION  
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RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

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That it is indeed my scientific work and free from plagiarism (duplication). Thus, this statement letter is made, if in the future there is evidence of the unauthenticity of this scientific work, I am willing to take responsibility by the applicable laws and regulations.

Makassar, 15<sup>th</sup> August 2023



Iqlha Diliasta Tampubolon

## PREFACE

Praise be to the presence of God Almighty who has bestowed His grace and mercy so that the author can complete the thesis entitled “**Review of Russia's Involvement in the Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea on Energy Resource Management**”. This thesis is structured as one of the requirements for obtaining a bachelor's degree in International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University. In the preparation of this thesis, it is undeniable that there are some errors in its preparation so with all humility, the writer hopes that the errors can be input for future researches.

The author realizes that many parties have provided assistance, direction, advice, and support in completing this research, which has greatly helped the author. Therefore, allow the author to express his sincere gratitude to:

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Finally, the author hopes that this thesis will be valuable to all of us and that it will serve as input material for the world of educational developers

Makassar, 22<sup>th</sup> June 2023

Author

## ABSTRACT

**Iqlha Diliasta Tampubolon, (E061191096), “Review of Russia's Involvement in the Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea on Energy Resource Management”,** under the supervisor of **Prof. Drs. H Darwis, MA., Ph.D.** as a supervisor I, and **Aswin Baharuddin, S.IP, MA.** as supervisor II, at the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University.

This research aims to review Russia's involvement in the Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea on energy resource management, to know Russia's policy on the energy resources sector in the Caspian Sea, as well as determine the supporting and inhibiting factors in achieving Russia's interests in the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea on energy resource management. This research uses a descriptive method. Data collection techniques use library research using secondary data obtained through books, journals, both local and international, documents, reports, articles, and daily newspapers, obtained from various online media such as official websites containing or supporting all the information needed in this research.

The results of this study indicate that Russia's interest in the Convention on the Legal Status of the Caspian Sea contains interests; preventing international law from regulating the Caspian Sea and the construction of the Trans-Caspian Pipeline, as well as restricting external actors from the Caspian Sea by using Its geostrategy in the Caspian Sea area regarding energy resource management. Russia in the Caspian Sea carried out its geostrategy by focusing its foreign policy on the Caspian Sea and its surrounding area. Russia's domination in the field of energy and a strong navy in the Caspian Sea, Russia's historical ties with the Caspian Sea littoral states, and the existence of the Tehran Convention are the supporting factors for Russian interests. Meanwhile, the desire of other Caspian Sea coasters to maximize their access and control over energy resources in the Caspian Sea and the desire of strategic interests held by external actors in the Caspian Sea to minimize dependence on Russia for energy resources are factors inhibiting Russian interests.

*Keywords: Russia, Caspian Sea, Energy Resources, National Interest*

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AMF	ASEAN Maritime Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
USCENTCOM	United States Central Command
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CPC	Caspian Pipeline Consortium
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EIA	Energy Information Administration's
EU	European Union
IUU	Illegal Unregulated Unreported
KCTS	Kazakhstan Caspian Transportation System
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
TCGP	Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline
TCP	Trans-Caspian Pipeline
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
USA	United States of America
USGS	United States Geological Survey
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Energy is a crucial component of life, and while there is a growing demand for energy resources in the modern world, it has been essential to the advancement of civilizations. Energy sources can be divided into at least two categories: primary and secondary (Zohori & McDaniel, 2021). Primary energy sources that fall into two categories: Oil (petroleum), natural gas, coal, and uranium are examples of nonrenewable energy sources because they have finite supplies and cannot be produced or replenished quickly. The energy that comes from a source that is constantly replenished, like the sun and wind, can be naturally replenished in a short amount of time and is known as a renewable energy source. Solar, wind, biomass, and hydropower are some examples. On the other hand, the energy that has been transformed from primary sources is referred to as a secondary source of energy. The energy that can be used right away is delivered, transported, and stored using secondary sources of energy. Hydrogen and electricity are two examples.

The two most significant and prevalent resources of the current energy system are oil and natural gas also known as Fossil fuels (Seljom & Rosenberg, 2011). Oil and natural gas, the two primary fuel sources in the world, are important participants in the energy industry and have an effect on the international economy. Processes and systems used in the production and delivery



of oil and gas are extremely complicated, capital-intensive, and reliant on cutting-edge technology (Burclaff, 2005). But, regarding the amount of oil and natural gas resources, there is also a great deal of uncertainty. Finite supplies of natural gas and oil as energy resources create a new global dilemma where energy needs are rising and no renewable energy can fully replace oil and gas because they generate a lot of energy per unit of weight or volume (density) and are portable, fossil fuels are more beneficial to other energy sources. Oil is considered the best energy source for operating the majority of human machinery (Holechek et al., 2022). Energy depletion will affect a country's economic, political, and security issues. The U.S. Energy Information Administration's (EIA) International Energy Outlook 2017 projects that world energy consumption might possibly grow by 28% between 2015 and 2040. Fossil fuels continue to make up more than three-quarters of the world's energy consumption through 2040, accounting for more than 60% of the increase in global energy consumption from 2015 to that year. The fastest-growing fossil fuel in the outlook is natural gas, which grows at a rate of 1.4% annually and has a lower carbon quantity than coal and petroleum. The abundance of natural gas resources and rising output are to blame for the comparatively rapid rate of natural gas consumption increase (EIA, 2017).

Since a long time ago oil and natural gas are a highly political commodity and has more than once taken center stage in international affairs. For example, in 1919 according to the Geological Survey, the United States oil reserves will run out in ten years, causing the first oil security concerns in the nation. The Mineral Leasing Act of 1920, passed by Congress, for the first time, mandates the leasing

of federal lands for energy prospecting. The law includes a clause that prohibits access to U.S. mineral rights by any foreign corporations whose governments deny equivalent access to U.S. companies (Mineral Leasing Act, 1920). This is in response to British and French attempts to bar U.S. oil companies from operating in their Middle East protectorates. Additionally, American oil companies started looking for concessions throughout Latin America. The U.S. government launched aggressive oil diplomacy after British and French attempts to bar American oil corporations from Middle Eastern territories they controlled. They insist on an "open door" policy that would allow all companies to compete for overseas concessions regardless of national origin. But the doctrine doesn't catch on. Instead, seven oil corporations formed a consortium and got financial stakes in the Iraq Petroleum Company in exchange for their commitment to refrain from independently exploring for oil in a region that extends from Turkey through Iraq and Saudi Arabia but does not include Egypt, Iran, or Kuwait. By the beginning of the 1930s, seven companies—five of them American—could control the majority of Mideast oil output thanks to the 1928 Red Line Agreement's "self-denial clause"(Council on Foreign Relations, 2023).

The issue of energy sources Oil and natural gas are of great importance in international competition and their impact on international relations is now to the fore, in conversations at multilateral global and international regional forums. In terms of economics, society, and politics, the energy industry is a major one for many nations. Cooperation in the energy industry significantly increased around the turn of the century, especially following the crises (2008 year, particularly)

that caused serious shocks in the global economy (Mara et al., 2022). The desire to address these issues has resulted in a notable escalation of global and regional energy policy. The industry of energy is becoming more worldwide and global, and most nations' reliance on one another for energy is growing (Dźwigol et al., 2019). This has made all countries and policymakers concentrate on improving their energy resource management, especially oil and natural gas by making domestic and foreign policies. One country that is very concerned about its energy resources is Russia.

Russia is a large country that spans much of Eastern Europe and northern Asia located northwest of the Caspian Sea. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991, Russia, which had previously been the leading republic of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R., also known as the Soviet Union), gained independence (McCauley et al., 2023). In the international energy resources markets, Russia has an important role. This is because the main sector of the Russian economy and the world's energy supply is the gas industry. Russian gas supplies account for approximately 21% of global output and around 25% of all global supplies, placing it on top of the world in terms of reserves, production, and resources (ICGL, 2022). On the other hand, Russia one of the world's top three crude producers, vying for the top spot with Saudi Arabia and the United States. Oil and gas profits, which in 2021 accounted for 45% of Russia's state budget, are a major source of income for that country (IEA, 2022). Judging from that, this makes Russia one of the countries whose income is highly dependent on energy resources.

One of the places that attract the attention of Russia and the international eyes in the oil and gas sectors is the Caspian Sea (Effimoff, 2000). With an extent of around 371,000 km<sup>2</sup>, the Caspian Sea is the biggest inland body of water on Earth and is located in an endorheic basin between Europe and Asia (Chen et al., 2023). According to scientific research, it was connected to the global ocean via the Sea of Azov, the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea until relatively recent geologic ages, or around 11 million years ago (Owen, 2021). Due to its size and salinity, it has historically been referred to as a sea, yet it shares many qualities with lakes. Seas are frequently identified by their proximity to the ocean or another sea, which the Caspian Sea does not possess. According to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, seas are typically merely surrounded by land, while the Caspian Sea is entirely surrounded by it (US Department of Commerce, 2023). Politics and economics are affected by the debate over whether it is a lake or a sea. Given its energy resources, this is extremely crucial. The Caspian Sea is becoming a political issue of access and ownership because of the petroleum resources that surround and beneath it (Zimnitskaya & von Geldern, 2011).

Known as one of the oldest oil-producing regions in the world, the Caspian Sea region is a major contributor to the world's energy supply. EIA estimates that in the proven and possible reserves within the basins that comprise the Caspian Sea and the surrounding region in 2012, there were 48 billion barrels of oil along with 292 trillion cubic feet (Tcf) of natural gas. Additionally, according to the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), technically recoverable resources might consist

of an additional 20 billion barrels of oil and 243 Tcf of natural gas that have not yet been found. The Caspian Sea region produced roughly 2.6 million barrels of crude oil and lent condensate per day in 2012, or about 3.4% of the total worldwide supply according to the EIA (U.S EIA, 2013).

For Russia itself, income energy resources from the Caspian Sea come from several oil and gas fields operated by some of the biggest Russian oil and gas firms, including Lukoil and Gazprom. Lukoil, the largest Russian private company, states that its activities in the Caspian Sea include three main fields, namely Yury Korchagin, Valery Grayfer, and Vladimir Filanovsky (Lukoil, 2023). The first two fields have already begun to produce; Grayfer is still under development but is estimated to reach its peak oil production of 1.2 million tonnes per year by 2022 (Lukoil, 2023). Dated in the Korchagin and Filanovsky fields, Lukoil produced more than 7 million tonnes of oil in 2020, according to a press statement from December 2020. According to Lukoil, in 2021, oil production will surpass 20 million tons (Lukoil, 2020).

When the Soviet Union was still united, the Soviet and Persian governments signed a series of agreements regulating the rights of both parties concerning their use of the Caspian. They claimed that the Caspian Sea did not contain territorial waters and, as a result, no maritime delimitations, except for the ten-mile fishing zone, due to its status as a shared s. Iran and the USSR both agreed to this formal stance (Thévenin, 2019). The dissolution of the USSR in 1991 caused the countries that were originally under the Soviet body one by one to begin to liberate themselves. Fifteen independent states emerged on its territory. The

Caspian Sea is now bordered by five countries. Russia is to the north, northwest of the Caspian. Kazakhstan borders it from the north to the mid-east. Turkmenistan is mid-east of the Caspian, with Iran (Persian) on its southern border (Wallis, 2022). To be self-sufficient during the post-independence period, these countries were eager to take advantage of the Caspian Sea's potential energy wealth. Thus, they raised questions about the Caspian region's legal system, which quickly changed the region's strategic outlook.

From year to year, the Caspian Sea littoral states argue and negotiate how to divide their respective territories in the Caspian Sea. Due in large part to historical legacies, Russia continues to be the dominant economic and military force in the Caspian region, regardless of the emergence of new players within the basin following the fall of the USSR that challenged Russian hegemony. Moscow has made an effort to balance out the increasing involvement of other actors because it views the region as a sphere of its exclusive influence (German, 2014). When Russia claimed that in the absence of the new agreement, the condominium regime established in the Caspian between the Soviet Union and Iran was in effect. Because Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan signed the Alma-Ata Declaration, which stipulated that the parties recognize the validity of all treaties signed by the Soviet Union, Moscow insisted that the 1940 Soviet-Iranian Treaty is still in effect. Based on this, Russia argued that the littoral states shouldn't take any action without first consulting one another until a new agreement is reached (Orazgaliyev & Araral, 2019).

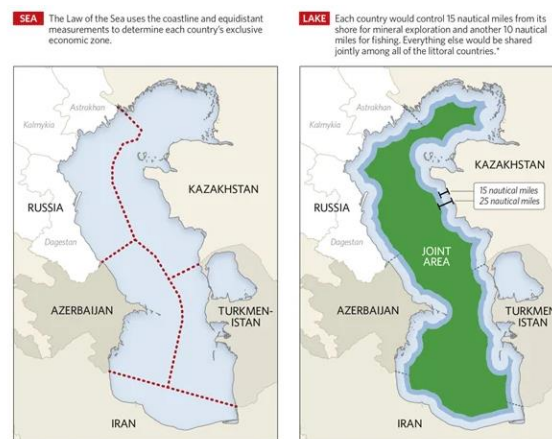
But Russia's status quo in the Caspian Sea was threatened when in 1997, the

Caspian Sea and Central Asia were designated as a region of "U.S. vital interests" and brought under the purview of the USCENTCOM. The so-called Talbott Doctrine was developed using these modifications. The United States demonstrated that it would not tolerate attempts by other great powers to seek monopolist strategic domination in the region while making it clear that it was not seeking such domination itself (Laumulin, 2007). Furthermore, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan commenced cooperating with the USA to improve their defense capabilities. These developments did not bode well with Russia. Washington's efforts to penetrate the Caspian through cooperation with Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan were particularly despised by Moscow. So, starting in the early 2000s, Russia has been attempting to block the influence of extra-regional powers, particularly the USA, in the region by not only bolstering its Caspian Flotilla with new ships, weapons, and personnel but also by proposing the creation of a multilateral cooperation scheme in the Caspian (Asli Kelkitli, 2019).

This is where the idea of the convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea appears. Russia called out the Caspian states to establish A particular working group was established at the level of deputy foreign ministers in 1996 to develop a Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea. The first issue that needs to be fixed is crucial to establish the Caspian Sea's place in international law. There are two options for addressing this issue. The first option is to decide that the Caspian Sea is a sea and can be divided across a median line that splits the two states' territories evenly. Also, if the Caspian Sea is considered a sea the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) can regulate the border

between the countries that surround it and essentially provides for the extension of a maritime state's land borders of 200 miles into the sea. Boundaries are typically drawn in these situations halfway between the two coastlines. As a result, UNCLOS would establish national sectors for the division of the water and seabed roughly proportional to the length of each maritime state's coastline.

**Figure 1. Caspian Sea map if considered as a lake or considered a sea**



**Source:** Heritage Foundation research, 2015

If the Caspian Sea is recognized to be a lake the second option, then each nation would control 15 nautical miles from its coastline for mineral exploration and afterward another 10 nautical miles for fishing. The remaining territories would be split equally among all the littoral countries. Furthermore, all nations along the Caspian Sea's littoral would need to consent before making any significant decisions, like building a pipeline. (Coffey, 2015).

According to Russians, the Caspian Sea is a distinctive inland body of water and cannot be regarded as the sea from a global perspective. Because it is closed and has no natural connection to the oceans of the world, it cannot be regarded as



a sea. Here, the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982 is not applicable, because this document governs the legal regime of sea space. Since the Caspian is a reservoir and the Caspian states share ownership of its waters and subsoil, the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs has stated this repeatedly. Russia defended the idea of a "lake," arguing that all coastal states share ownership of its waters, minerals, and deposits (Pietkiewicz, 2021).

Also, throughout several Caspian summits, Russia always opposed Turkmenistan's hopes to construct a Trans-Caspian Pipeline (TCP) to export gas to Europe, with the world's fourth-largest gas reserves (The Economist, 2018). Trans-Caspian pipelines might create competition for European gas markets, which prompted Moscow to concentrate on improving agreements that block both these pipelines and the capacity of nations beyond the Caspian Sea to assist in protecting the security of such projects (Blagov, 2006a).

After a long discussion, an agreement was negotiated for more than 20 years before being signed on August 12 at a summit in Kazakhstan by the leaders of the five Caspian states. During the years of approval of the convention (1996–2018) 51 special working group meetings, more than ten foreign minister meetings, and four presidential summits were held between the parties to define the Caspian Sea's legal status and to distinguish the spheres of jurisdiction for such things as navigation, fishery, use of the seafloor, its bowels, environmental preservation, and natural energy resources. On August 12, 2018, The Fifth Caspian Summit brought together the leaders of the five Caspian littoral states, in the port city of Aktau, Kazakhstan, to sign a historic declaration that established the Caspian

Sea's legal status and sought to resolve the legal uncertainty surrounding its resource-rich waters (Brozowski, 2018). The result of the summit was the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea addresses the Caspian Sea by establishing a new "special legal status" which does not define the Caspian Sea as a sea or lake.

This convention was signed and ratified by all five countries and established common waters beyond a fishing zone of 10 nautical miles and 15 miles of sovereign territorial waters (Staikos, 2018). One key point in the Convention is it allows the coastal States the exclusive right to construct artificial islands, or to authorize their construction, on the seabed in their respective sectors. The coastal countries are also permitted to install pipelines and submarine cables as long as the routes are agreed upon alongside the contracting state or states whose sector of the seabed will be traversed, because of that the permission of all other coastal States is not necessary for the laying of pipelines on the seabed. As a result, the Convention might enable pipeline projects that had previously been put on hold because of the uncertainty surrounding the status of the Caspian Sea, and it probably will encourage the development of future projects. For instance, the Trans-Caspian Pipeline, which connects pipelines carrying oil and gas to Europe from Turkmenistan to Azerbaijan, may now proceed despite opposition by Russia and Iran which always happened in every previous summit (Müller & Betaneli, 2018).

Russia doesn't have big obstacles in terms of maintaining the status quo and its national interest in the Caspian Sea or Region where Russia already has the

biggest regional power in terms of influence, economic, and military power in the Caspian region. However, due to the influence of extra-regional powers, particularly the USA in the region, Russia was forced to make a multilateral corporation scheme in the Caspian Sea Region to obstruct outside power's influence. The multilateral corporation takes form in The Convention on The Legal Status of The Caspian Sea. Because of that, the cooperation that Russia has built with the coastal countries of the Caspian Sea raises questions about what drives Russia's national interests that it has in The Convention on The Legal Status of The Caspian Sea and what the supporting and inhibiting factors in achieving Russia's interests in this convention.

## **1.2 Boundary and Problem Formulation**

In this study, the limitation of the problem is based on time and the problem field to be analyzed. Regarding the period of research, the authors will limit Russia from the beginning when it signed The Convention on The Legal Status of The Caspian Sea in 2018 to 2023 when Russia is still signing this convention. Furthermore, for the focus of this research, the authors focus on Russia's interests in the field of energy resources in the Caspian Sea. With the limitations of these problems, the formulation of the problem to be studied is as follows:

1. What are Russia's interests in the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea on energy resource management?
2. How is Russia's policy on the energy resources sector in the Caspian Sea?

3. What are the supporting and inhibiting factors in achieving Russia's interests in the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea on energy resource management?

### **1.3 Objectives and Benefits of Research**

The objective of this research is as follows:

1. To know and explain Russia's interests in the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea on energy resource management.
2. To know and explain Russia's policy on the energy resources sector in the Caspian Sea.
3. To know and explain the supporting and inhibiting factors in achieving Russia's interests in the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea on energy resource management.

The benefits expected from the research are;

1. For the author, this research can add to knowledge about the study of Russian national interests, especially regarding case studies of energy resources in the Caspian Sea;
2. For academics, this research is expected to be a reference for International Relations students who wish to discuss Russia's national interests in the Caspian Sea in the energy resources sector.

### **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

This study uses two approaches that will clarify the relationship between the two variables studied, namely National Interest and Geostrategic. The concept of

National Interest explains the basic goals of the state and the final determining factor that leads decision-makers in a country to be able to formulate its foreign policy. The state as a rational actor by following its principles seeks to pursue, protect, and defend its national interests. The state always tries to maximize its national interests in every foreign policy. While geostrategy is a strategic type of foreign policy guided principally by geographical factors the geographic. Geostrategy clarifies the direction of a state's foreign policy by more precisely indicating the areas of focus for a state's power projection and diplomatic activity management. The following is a description and relevance of the concepts contained in this study, there are:

#### 1.4.1 National Interest

National interest has various definitions of explanation in different conditions and contexts. National interests can be explained as the basic goals of the state and the final determining factor that leads decision-makers in a country to be able to formulate its foreign policy (Jackson & Sørensen, 2012).

According to Hans J Morgenthau in his book *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, national interests are defined as the fundamental ability of a country to protect and maintain its physical, political, and cultural identity from interference by other countries (J. Morgenthau, 1948). National interest in Morgenthau's definition includes a *power* component, where the state's efforts to gain *power* are anything that can develop and maintain state control over other countries. So it can be

concluded that the national interest according to Morgenthau is always associated with a motive to become the dominant actor in a particular issue.

According to K. J. Holsti, National Interest is defined as the power that is adjusted to the ability of a country and its limitations in the international world. The state as a rational actor by following its principles seeks to pursue, protect, and defend its national interests. In every foreign policy decision, the state always seeks to maximize its national interests. Establishing diplomatic ties, releasing doctrines, forging alliances, and pursuing both long- and short-term objectives with nations or non-state players within the international community are all examples of foreign policy. It is these national interests and values shared by a country that determine the direction of a country's foreign policy in the future. A country's foreign policy strategy is influenced by external conditions, namely the international system, and internal conditions, namely domestic conditions and the needs of the economy itself. The state which acts as the main actor has goals, aspirations, needs, attitudes, choices, and foreign policy actions. One of the basic orientations of foreign policy according to Holsti is the creation of coalitions or alliances (Hera, 2011).

In accordance with the background previously described and the concept above, Russia's National Interest in the field of energy resources management can be seen by paying attention to Russia's behavior such as when Russia insists that the Caspian Sea coastal states shouldn't act without consulting one another until a new agreement is reached. Russia formed

coalitions through multilateral cooperation with the Caspian Sea littoral countries where the legal status of the Caspian Sea is still unclear as one of the steps to achieve its national interest. The Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea in 2018 is the result of this alliance in which Russia can use it to remain the dominant power and keep its status quo stable in the Caspian Sea region. Therefore, the concept of National Interest will be used to analyze Russia's national interests in the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea. After knowing Russia's interests, this research continued to examine the supporting and inhibiting factors in achieving Russia's interests in the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea on energy resource management.

#### 1.4.2 Geostrategic

In his book "Great Powers and Geopolitical Change" Jakub J. Grygiel wrote that geostrategic or geostrategy is the geographic direction of a state's foreign policy. Geostrategy more specifically indicates the areas of focus for a state's military power projection and diplomatic activity management. Geostrategy describes the foreign policy priorities of a state rather than dealing with motivations or decision-making processes. Therefore, geopolitical or geographic factors are not always the driving force behind a state's geostrategic decisions. Because of ideologies, interest groups, or simply the whim of its leader, a state may project power to a location (J. Grygiel, 2006).

Geostrategic are also relevant concepts to the context in which these

were created: the nationality of the strategist, the power of the country's resources, the reach of the state's goals, the political geography of the period, and the technological elements that affect military, political, economic, and social engagement. Comprehensive planning, allocating means to achieve national goals, or obtaining assets of military or political significance are all aspects of geostrategics (Haas et al., 2006).

Energy, according to F. J. Berenguer, is and continues to be one of the factors that are not only present but rather are more determinant of the thinking and the international strategic panorama, possibly permanently. This includes energy's security or vulnerability as well as its use as one of some countries' pillars of "soft power" (although the definition of "soft power" in this context is always debatable). This prompted F. J. Berenguer to assert that the geostrategy concept, which has historically only been associated with the military field, now has a much broader dimension, allowing for the study of important issues on a global scale, such as the military, economic, and political, rather than just the impact of geography. This is recognized not simply physically but also in its contemporary understanding. According to him, geopolitics and the geostrategic dimension of energy are closely related to one another insofar as they mutually influence and impose conditions on one another, with the lines between the two disciplines in this area becoming increasingly hazy.

Then, he explained even more by adding the factors that influence the geopolitical reality of energy determine their place in its strategic interaction



at the highest level, based on two distinct facts. The first factor, which is closely related to the idea of territory, has to do with a fact that gives energy a genuinely strategic component. This has to do with the uneven geographic distribution of energy resources or the potential for obtaining them through technological means. The second factor that is directly related to the first is the requirement for moving the energy generated or the resources that enable it from one place to another. Thus, the emphasis here is on the land- or sea-based communication channels that enable the connection of producers and consumers (Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos et al., 2014).

In line with the aforementioned concept and the writers' earlier background descriptions, geostrategy is the geographic direction of Russia's foreign policy in this case of research is the Caspian Sea. Comprehensive planning like securing assets of military or political significance are all aspects of geostrategic. But in these current ages geostrategic as a concept that is traditionally exclusively related to the military field, has a much broader and can be implemented in other dimensions, energy resources are one such example. The idea of territory has to do with a fact that gives energy a genuine strategic component that can cause the uneven geographic distribution of energy resources or the potential for obtaining it, in the case of the territorial division of the Caspian Sea that still ambiguous can be a gap for Russia using its geostrategy. Furthermore, the requirement for moving the energy from producers to consumers generated or the resources

that enable it from one place to another like when Russians oppose Turkmenistan's hopes to construct a Trans-Caspian Pipeline to export gas to Europe, with the world's fourth-largest gas. Trans-Caspian pipelines could increase competition for European gas markets. Thus, the concept of geostrategic will be used to analyze Russia's policy on the energy resources sector in the Caspian Sea.

### **1.3 Research Methods**

#### **1.5.1 Research type**

The type of research used by the author is descriptive research. Descriptive research is research conducted by describing a phenomenon under study and the behavior or attitude of an actor. In this study, the authors describe Russia's interests in the Convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea on energy resource management.

#### **1.5.2 Types and Sources**

The type of data that the writer will use in this research is secondary data. Secondary data refers to the information required that is already available in other sources such as journals, previous reports, and censuses and you extract that information for the specific purpose of study (Kumar, 2011).

#### **1.5.2 Data Collection Techniques**

The data collection technique used by the author is library research. Through library research, the author will collect data from

several sources of literature related to the topics discussed in the author's research. The literature that will be used as a source of the reading is in the form of books, journals, articles, documents, various sites on the internet, and official reports related to the topic being researched by the author (McNabb, 2010). So that researchers do not go directly to the field in conducting research. Research only seeks official data related to phenomena that come from accurate sources such as books, journals, and credible official websites.

### 1.5.3 Data Analysis Techniques

The data analysis technique used in this study is a qualitative data analysis technique. That is the analysis technique used by analyzing articles, literature, literature, and data obtained from the media.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.3 National Interest

One of the most fundamental ideas in international relations is national interest. It acts as the foundational idea for foreign policy since it offers the information upon which foreign policy is built. Each nation's interests are taken into account by statesmen while determining their foreign policies. The main goal of foreign policy is to handle international relations in the best interests of the country. The actual nature of a nation's national interest, however, is not easy to ascertain. The idea is exceedingly nebulous and difficult to explain.

According to Frankel, ambiguity is brought on by the concept's varied use in various circumstances. National interest might provide an explanation for the state's objectives. It may also be used operationally in carrying out the real plans and programs adhered to. It can be employed polemically in political debates to defend, justify, or condemn positions. These uncertainties are often the root of today's foreign policy disagreements, rather than merely contrasting perspectives on the nature of the national interest (Frankel, 1979).

Etymologically interest comes from the Latin derivation which is *interesse*, meaning (i) compensation for loss and (ii) investment with a right or share. This allows conflicts of interest to be seen as disputes that result from the very foundation of our society, specifically from property issues (Williams, 1983). The state of 'having an interest' can therefore mean holding an objective and/or subjective stake in a certain thing, but also, crucially, being affected either

positively or negatively due to that stake. Both meanings of the word "interest" apply to this analysis (Hirschman, 1986).

But as a concept in international relations, it might be argued that the great Italian political philosopher Machiavelli was the one who originally gave the idea of national interest its genuine meaning and the enormous popularity it continues to enjoy among researchers today. Machiavelli's assessments of sixteenth-century statecraft are frequently used to connect the essential ideas of *raison d'état*. Machiavelli contends in "The Prince" that the survival of the state was the most important political factor for rulers and was an aim in and of itself. The primary duty of the prince who is given particular responsibility for the state's preservation is to ward off dangers to it by all means necessary, including immoral ones. In other words, the end itself is more significant than the means to achieve it (Burchill, 2005).

The concept of national interest gained popularity in the 20th century but ambiguity hinders the process of formulating an agreed-upon definition of national interest. However, several scholars have tried to define national interest. Starting from the book *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* was written by Hans J. Morgenthau who is one of the most influential individuals in the 20th century and is well known for his contribution to understanding international politics. According to Morgenthau national interest is defined as the fundamental ability of a country to protect and maintain its physical, political, and cultural identity from interference by other countries (J. Morgenthau, 1948). National interest in Morgenthau's definition includes a *power*

component, where the state's efforts to gain *power* are anything that can develop and maintain state control over other countries. So it can be concluded that the national interest according to Morgenthau is always associated with a motive to become the dominant actor in a particular issue.

The *power* mentioned by Morgenthau above is further explained by Joseph Nye. *Power* is divided by Nye into two types: hard and soft. *Hard power* is the capacity to achieve objectives by threats or coercive measures, the so-called "carrots" and "sticks" of international politics. Hard power has historically been determined by factors including population size, territory, geography, natural resources, military might, and economic power. *Soft power* is the capacity to influence others' preferences without resorting to violence, coercion, or force, but rather by using intangible resources like a charismatic personality, a favored culture, political ideals, respected institutions, and laws that are regarded as morally righteous (Raimzhanova, 2015).

Another respectable figure in international relations scholars, K. J. Holsti explains that national interest is also defined as the *power* that is adjusted to the ability of a country and its limitations in the international world. The state as a rational actor by following its principles seeks to pursue, protect, and defend its national interests. The state always tries to maximize its national interests in every foreign policy. Foreign policy can be in the form of diplomatic relations, issuing doctrines, making alliances, and carrying out long-term and short-term goals with countries and or non-state actors in the international community. It is these national interests and values shared by a country that determine the direction of a

country's foreign policy in the future. One of the basic orientations of foreign policy according to Holtsi is the creation of coalitions or alliances.

According to Peter Shearman, although the term national interest is a bit vague, one can usefully define it as a matter of the common good of society within the bounds of a nation-state. Through a book entitled *The Foreign Policy of The Russian Federation*, Shearman continues to explain, that despite the fact that there are conflicts of interest between groups in domestic society, there exist general and common benefits to society that all members share regardless of individual or group preferences on other issues. Every state has three fundamental interests in common: guaranteeing its own survival and the survival of its citizens, preserving the state's territorial integrity, and improving its standing and position in relation to other states (Shearman, 1997).

Ko Unoki in writing his book "Competition Laws, National Interests and International Relations" thinks that the Dominant Power, its national interest is to see that the order in which it dominates, or the status quo, continues indefinitely and is stable. This means that every other state must abide by the laws of the order, which the Dominant Power almost always sets forth. To accomplish this, the Dominant Power will implement domestic policies that will guarantee its capacity to keep a high proportion of power to the extent that all other Powers will continue to acknowledge it as the head of the order (Unoki, 2020).

In pursuing national interests in the international sphere, there are two factors that have a significant influence on the achievement process, these two factors were identified by David Clinton. The country's geopolitical situation is

the first factor. This geopolitical condition includes a combination of countries, systems, and resources that influence each other in the national interest. When compared to conflict-ridden and developing nations, those with more stable conditions automatically have more opportunities to defend their interests. The opinion of a country held by another nation constitutes the second factor. What is meant is that when a country is highly regarded by a number of other nations, its interests will be supported to lessen opposition in the international community (Clinton, 1994).

As the concept of national interest is the basis that determines the direction of a country's foreign policy in the international world, Thomas W. Robinson with the perspective of Morgenthau has pointed each nation has a fundamental right and obligation to protect the goals and objectives of its national interest. Nations always try to protect their national interests, and in doing so, they use a variety of methods which are divided into three ways:

1. *Use of force.* There are several ways for countries to advance their interests, including through war and peace. However, whether a nation chooses to protect its interests by nonviolent or violent means relies on a number of other variables that are beyond its control. Every major country, especially those with nuclear weapons, must occasionally utilize the threat or use of force to safeguard its national interests. War can occasionally be avoided by the sheer passage of time, despite the fact that it commonly occurs that nations' interests are incompatible (and diplomacy has the opportunity to show that



they are).

2. *Alliances*. The goal of an alliance is to define and clarify an existing community of interests between two or more nations and to convert that community of interests into legal obligations. The benefit of pursuing national interests through alliances, of course, is in the translation of nebulous, complementary, or similar goals into common policy and in the direct application of the nation's power to issues of national interest.
3. *Diplomatic negotiations and peaceful settlement*. According to Morgenthau, conflicts of interest are a fundamental element of global society. Morgenthau defined diplomacy as the technique for accommodating such conflicts of interest. The supreme task of diplomacy is to "assess correctly the probability for peaceful settlement by determining the vital interests of the opposing nations and their relations to each other. National interest and diplomacy are closely intertwined, both by definition and in terms of the likelihood that a peaceful resolution would occur. Because only agreements that convey the shared or complementary interests of the parties involved will endure, and even then, only for as long as "their terms coincide with those interests". Although relative power is also a central factor in the outcome of negotiations, it is less important to a successful outcome than the ability to reconcile irreconcilable interests.

Depending on the kind and degree of shared interests, there are three possible outcomes from diplomatic discussions between two or more countries. These can be major and conflicting interests, in which case discussions are impossible; primary and compatible interests, in which case conversations reframe seemingly conflicting interests; and then secondary interests, in which case a compromise is established by swapping one interest for another. Finally, a misleading settlement occurs when one of the parties attempts to achieve a policy goal by appeasement and miscalculates its interests, those of its adversary, and the power dynamics. As a result, the nation can forfeit a significant stake without getting anything in return. (Robinson, 1967).

From the explanation regarding the concept of national interest above, it can be seen that national interest is one of the key concepts of international relations that encompasses the state's foreign policy from the political interests, security interests, and economic interests, to other interests of a country. A national interest most of the time essentially is always associated with a motive to gain *power* and become the dominant actor in a particular issue so the state fends off threats from the outside of the nation. The national interests reflect one's fundamental understanding of the *power* of a particular nation have, population size, territory, geography, natural resources, military might, economic power, and whether a country has a good assessment by other countries. As a crucial component of the concept of national interests to achieve their goals states use a

variety of methods *Alliances* and *Diplomatic negotiations*.

The use of Alliance and Diplomatic negotiations as a method in achieving national supported by research by (Riim, 2006). In his journal, he explained that in the early 1990s, Estonia had been transforming into a collective identity with European economic and security organizations - in this case with NATO. During the early stages of the Estonian Republic's development, the geopolitical environment and the imminent Russian threat had a significant impact on Estonia's foreign and security policy. Estonia has been aligning its security discourse with that of NATO since around 1994, which finally led to full membership in 2004. Toomas Riim stated that Estonia has considered the evolving character of social practices, identities, and role views when determining its national interest and foreign policy choices. Since Russia's recommendations in the area of security policy did not line up with Western understandings of security in a new Europe, Estonia selected NATO membership on grounds of shared understandings about security and dismissed Russia's proposals as a result.

In additional research (Rijal, 2018), he researched about how Indonesia's interest in proposing the establishment of the ASEAN Maritime Forum (AMF) is based on the AMF which can become an arena for Indonesia to achieve its national interests in safeguarding maritime sovereignty from threats, both from sea border disputes with neighbors and from threats of crime by non-state actors. The presence of the AMF, which has one of its objectives as a forum for discussion of various maritime security threats in the region, is seen to be of benefit to Indonesia. The benefits in question are related to maintaining and

securing all economic potential based on the sea for the development and welfare of the nation. When hosting the 6th AMF meeting in Manado in 2016, Indonesia raised the importance of tackling the issue of Illegal, Unregulated, Unreported (IUU Fishing). Indonesia proposes the need to develop regional arrangements for combating IUU fishing and to raise support for this issue. For Indonesia, the discussion and attention of ASEAN countries regarding IUU Fishing is important because it threatens the sustainability of the marine environment, food resources, security, and sovereignty of Indonesia. Therefore, the national interest is very important in explaining and understanding state behavior in agreeing or establishing cooperation with other countries.

Research conducted by (Riim, 2006) uses Estonia as a subject in case studies, and this research uses the National Interest to explain why Estonia entered as a member of NATO to achieve the interests of these countries. Then, the study conducted by (Rijal, 2018) explains the AMF as a means of achieving the national interests of the Indonesians which is the importance of IUU Fishing that threatens the sustainability of the marine environment, food resources, security, and sovereignty of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the use of the National Interest concept is to analyze and explain Russia's interest in forming cooperation with countries on the Caspian Sea coast in the field of energy resources in the form of a convention to achieve its national interests.

## 2.2 Geostrategic

The word geostrategy came from the word in the 18th century. Several English and American writers of political and military science attempted the adequate translation of the customary German term, *Wehrgeopolitik* "Defense-geopolitics". But one notable figure who raised about geostrategy is Frederick L. Schuman, he refers to *Wehrgeopolitik* (Defense Geopolitics) which was written by Karl Haushofer as "geo-strategy" in his recent article, "Let Us Learn Our Geopolitics". He explains geopolitics is a powerful weapon of grand strategy. Those who use it intelligently are all but certain to prevail over enemies who have no knowledge of its use. In a period of global conflict, the entire globe, in all of its physical layout, has primary significance as a battlefield where islands, waterways, land masses, and entire continents take the place once held by rivers, hills, forests, and mountains. In a world of rival sovereignties, the art of combining geography and strategy on a world scale is indispensable to the leaders of every nation that seeks to win or keep a world position (Schuman, 1942).

The trend where geostrategy is related to military topics is carried over and followed by international relations scholars. In his book "Great Powers and Geopolitical Change" Jakub J. Grygiel wrote that geostrategic or geostrategy is the geographic direction of a state's foreign policy. Geostrategy more precisely indicates the areas of focus for a state's military power projection and diplomatic activity management. Geostrategy does not deal with motivations or decision-making processes; rather, it describes the foreign policy focus of a state. Therefore, geopolitical or geographic factors are not always the driving force

behind a state's geostrategic decisions. Because of ideologies, interest groups, or simply the whim of its leader, a state may project power to a location (J. Grygiel, 2006).

According to Everett Dolman, geostrategy is a variant of geopolitics, or the strategic application of new and emerging technologies within a framework of geographic, topographic, and positional knowledge (Dolman, 1999). A dynamic relationship exists between the physical environment and the decision-making process, one that is influenced by advancements in transportation and weaponry technology. One of the most significant connections between geography, geopolitics, and strategy is this dynamic component. It illustrates the pivotal nature of the continuing exchange between theory and history. Second, geography is often referred to as the mother of strategy because it can have a dual strategic conditioning effect on a state's strategic decisions or an alliance between states, affecting both key locations for defense and the routes and geographic arrangements that favor attacking aggression, whether it be on land or at sea. Despite the fact that how commanders at various levels exploit or misuse geography can have very different results, it is crucial to highlight that geography is significant at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels of combat (Sloan & Gray, 1999).

However, a new perspective emerged regarding geostrategy where energy resources become a factor in how a country's geostrategy plans out in the international arena. Energy, according to F. J. Berenguer, is and continues to be one of the factors that are not only present but rather are more determinant of the

thinking and the international strategic panorama, possibly permanently. This includes energy's security or vulnerability as well as its use as one of some countries' pillars of "soft power" (although the definition of "soft power" in this context is always debatable). This led to F. J. Berenguer stating that the geostrategy concept, which is traditionally exclusively related to the military field, has a much broader dimension today, leading to the study of large topics – military, economic, political- on a global scale, and not just about the influence of geography. This is understood in its modern conception, not just its physical one. According to him, geopolitics and the geostrategic dimension of energy are closely related to one another insofar as they mutually influence and impose conditions on one another, with the lines between the two disciplines in this area becoming increasingly hazy.

Then, he explained even more by adding the factors that influence the geopolitical reality of energy find their place in its strategic interaction at the highest level, based on two different facts. The first factor, which is closely related to the idea of territory, has to do with a fact that gives energy a genuinely strategic component. This has to do with the uneven geographic distribution of energy resources or the potential for obtaining them through technological means. The second factor that is directly related to the requirement for moving the energy generated or the resources that enable it from one place to another. Thus, the emphasis here is on the land- or sea-based communication channels that enable the connection of producers and consumers (Instituto Español de Estudios Estratégicos et al., 2014)

Geostrategy as the geographic direction of a state's foreign policy and the areas of focus for a state's projection and diplomatic activity management can be seen in Nicholas Spykman's book entitled "America's Strategy in World Politics" which provides geostrategic insights that have long been at the core of US grand strategy and further solidified the long-term viability of the US-Japan alliance. According to Spykman, alliances are how the US can maintain the strategic balance of power in Eurasia and, consequently, its dominance as a Pacific power. The US strategy, according to Spykman, must "adopt a similar protective policy toward Japan" in order to preserve the strategic equilibrium on the eastern side of Eurasia, as it does in the west with the UK's assistance. Spykman contrasted Japan's situation in relation to Asia with that of the United Kingdom in relation to Europe. As an unbalanced China would endanger both Japan's independence and US interests in the Pacific, Japan, and the US depend on one another to counterbalance China.

According to Spykman, the US needs a partnership with Japan in order to counteract Chinese expansion and prevent Chinese control of Japan, which would otherwise allow China to rule the majority of the Rimlands and the Heartland. Since the US and Japan are natural friends with a shared interest in Japanese security and maritime freedom of access in the Asiatic Mediterranean, the US will thus always have an interest in the political independence and military significance of Japan. Similarly, for Japan, containing Chinese power and aggression aids in maintaining the openness of important sea routes in the Asiatic Mediterranean, upholding international standards against the use of force in the



settlement of territorial disputes, and strengthening the position of the liberal international order, in addition to the obvious need to protect its independence and territorial integrity. These goals are each referred to as Japan's interests. (Spykman, 1942).

If matters relating to the geostrategic dimension of energy resource management where the geographic distribution of energy resources or the potential for obtaining and the requirement for moving the energy generated or the resources that enable it from one place to another, Turkey has adopted a more assertive foreign policy in light of its expanding gas market and ambition to become a regional energy center or hub. While this is happening, Research by Emre Iseri and Ahmet Çağrı Bartan (Iseri & Bartan, 2019) reveals that the regional systemic obstacles posed to Turkish policy-makers as they try to coordinate their assertive geostrategic vision and ambitions regarding energy policy in the Eastern Mediterranean. Turkey is growing more concerned about the new trilateral alliances because it believes they endanger its ability to effectively exploit and transmit the gas discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Their research's conclusions have confirmed that gas pipelines are unlikely to provide a path to peace in the Eastern Mediterranean. In fact, unless proactive measures are taken via more inclusive collaborations accepting all riparian parties involved, they are more likely to spark political controversy. In keeping with this, they contend that the lack of a strong political foundation makes the likelihood of those proposed peace pipeline projects ever becoming a reality quite low. Without a policy alignment, there will probably be significant distribution risks even if

those pipelines start operating. This transmission option, which would involve spending 5.8 billion euros to transport gas from the Eastern Mediterranean to Italy via Crete and Greece, is neither politically nor economically viable because it would be against the interests of both Turkey and Turkish Cypriots (Iseri & Bartan, 2019).

The study conducted by (Spykman, 1942) uses geostrategy to explain the reason the US focused its geographic direction of foreign policy and the areas of focus for projecting its diplomatic activity toward Japan in order to counteract China so they won't disturb the US interests in the Pacific. Then, Research conducted by (Iseri & Bartan, 2019) used geostrategy to specifically explain the geostrategic dimension of energy resource management where the geographic distribution of energy resources or the potential for obtaining and the requirement for moving it from one place to another, they used Turkey's plan to build pipelines in the Eastern Mediterranean as their case study. Meanwhile, the use of the Geostrategy concept is to analyze and explain Russia's policy on the energy resources sector in the Caspian Sea.