

# International Relations Studies

Editor  
Mehmet Erkan KILLIOĞLU

## **BIDGE Publications**

International Relations Studies

**Editor:** Doç. Dr. Mehmet Erkan KILLIOĞLU

ISBN: 978-625-372-482-5

Page Layout: Gözde YÜCEL

1st Edition:

Publication Date: 25.12.2024

BIDGE Publications,

All rights of this work are reserved. It cannot be reproduced in any way without the written permission of the publisher and editor, except for short excerpts to be made for promotion by citing the source.

Certificate No: 71374

Copyright © BIDGE Publications

[www.bidgeyayinlari.com.tr](http://www.bidgeyayinlari.com.tr) - [bidgeyayinlari@gmail.com](mailto:bidgeyayinlari@gmail.com)

Krc Bilişim Ticaret ve Organizasyon Ltd. Şti.

Güzeltepe Mahallesi Abidin Daver Sokak Sefer Apartmanı No: 7/9 Çankaya /  
Ankara



## Content

The Development and Evolution of Globalization Studies .....	4
Duygu DERSAN ORHAN .....	4
History And Secret Activities Of The Kgb: The Soviet Intelligence Organization Leading The World .....	26
Hakan ÇORA .....	26
Elnur Hasan MİKAİL .....	26
The Strategic Interests of Israel, The US and The UK in The Middle East .....	65
Aziz ARMUTLU .....	65
The "Development Road Project" is a new strategic initiative by Türkiye and Iraq aimed at connecting Asia, and the EU .....	85
Emrah YILDIRIMCAKAR .....	85
Understanding International Relations Theories through the Lord of the Rings (the Middle Earth) Universe .....	113
Murat CİNGÖZ .....	113

# CHAPTER I

## The Development and Evolution of Globalization Studies

**Duygu DERSAN ORHAN<sup>1</sup>**

### Introduction

Although there is substantial disagreement over the theoretical concept of globalization, researchers with widely divergent theoretical stances agree that it is one of the major topics of the twentieth century. Even the twentieth century is labeled as “an age of globalization” (Clark, 1997:1). This study will explain how the idea of globalization came to be, how the literature has developed around it, how theoretical methods have addressed the problem, and how the concept of globalization has changed over time. Both the ways that globalization influences and is influenced by changes in the international system will be discussed in relation to the topic of "change." While the concept of globalization initially emerged as an economic phenomenon, over time it has evolved into an economic,

---

<sup>1</sup> Doç. Dr., Atılım Üniversitesi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü, Ankara/Türkiye, [duygu.dersan@atilim.edu.tr](mailto:duygu.dersan@atilim.edu.tr), ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0618-1530

cultural, social, political and military phenomenon. Technological advances, political developments and social changes have continuously reshaped the form and scope of globalization. The term "digitalization of globalization" describes how digital technologies are incorporated into global operations, changing the way economies, cultures, and corporations interact globally. This change has made the world more interconnected and has sped up cross-border movement of people, information, goods, and services. On the other hand, globalization has also changed the international system through redefining the main concepts such as territoriality and sovereignty.

## **Definitions**

Despite being a 1990s notion, the term "globalization" first appeared in Merriam Webster's Third New International Dictionary in 1961. Globalization is "both a popular idea and a concept lacking specificity" due to its widespread use (Jenson & Santos, 2000:9). There is no universally accepted understanding of what globalization is. Globalization has been characterized as a "condition" by some theorists, a "phenomenon" by others, a "stage" or "phase," a "discourse," or a "ideology" by still others (Kumar, 2003:92).

Scholte (2005) distinguishes between five different ideas of globalization. Globalization has been conceptualized in terms of inter-nationalization in the first idea. This viewpoint emphasizes international ties between nations. Globalization has been seen as liberalization by the second usage. In this context, globalization is seen as a process of lifting limits on international travel imposed by governments. Globalization and universalization have been equated in a third idea. Globalization means "worldwide" in this context.

Globalization has been defined as modernization or westernization in a fourth concept. In this context, globalization is characterized as an instrument of American imperialism. According to a fifth perspective, globalization is re-spatialization. That perspective holds that a reconfiguration of social geography with more trans-planetary links between individuals is a result of globalization (Scholte, 2005:16).

Despite the existence of various definitions of globalization from a perspective of various fields including economics, political science, international relations, sociology, law, Mittelman (2000) argues that there are two possibilities to conceptualize the concept. The first of these suggests that the world is getting more interconnected or interdependent, that transnational flows are increasing, and that processes are intensifying to the point where the world is becoming a single location. The second category, which focuses on the compression of time and space, is more theoretical. Time has gotten shorter and conventional ideas of space have changed as a result of new technologies and lower travel and communication expenses. According to Giddens (1996), globalization is the process of fortifying international social ties that bind distant places together, allowing events in distant places to impact local events and vice versa. Mittelman provided an alternative theory to go beyond this path, according to which globalization involves a historical shift in politics, economics, society, and culture (Mittelman, 2000:6).

Although the term "globalization" appears in numerous academic fields, many studies on the topic focus solely on changes in the global political economy. The majority of theories of

globalization portray it as a feature of economic activity. It is thought to refer to the merging and integrating of national economies that occurs as a result of companies operating internationally (Arzeni, 1994:175). In contrast, other theorists focus on the evolution of a global society and political transformation within the field of globalization studies, which provides a broader perspective on globalization beyond its economic aspects. According to Bretherton (1996:8), political globalization refers to an increasing trend toward the idea that problems are global in scale and, therefore, call for global solutions, as well as the growth of international organizations and global institutions that try to solve these problems. However, a large number of sociological conceptions of globalization address the concept of culture. Robertson (1992:135) asserts that a global culture and consciousness is developed because of globalization. On the other hand, the idea of globalization of security has also started to emerge over time. Military globalization is the term used to describe the increasing integration of military forces, tactics, and capabilities between countries because of globalization trends that include aspects related to politics, the economy, technology, and security. In this process, military institutions around the world are becoming more interdependent and cooperative, and military technologies, techniques, and doctrines are being shared and disseminated. Examples of military globalization include international military alliances and cooperation, worldwide arms trade and military technology sharing, and international military interventions.

## **Sources of Globalization**

Examining globalization as a theoretical idea requires knowing when and how the pattern of globalization originates, although there are various theories regarding its beginnings. These interpretations could be listed into six:

First, there is a notion that globalization has existed since the beginning of civilization and is at least 5,000 years old. When groups of people first came into contact with one another through migration, trade, or conquest, the world began to shrink. Religion is another important aspect of that viewpoint. According to Habibul (1997), Islamic globalization is thought to have begun centuries before the modern idea of globalization was created.

The second perspective holds that Westernization, the dominant worldwide trend of the last few centuries, has influenced globalization. Bull and Watson, proponents of that perspective, contend that Europe's economic and military integration of the world created the conditions for an integrated global system (Clark, 1997:24). This method also highlights the global balance of power, but it does so in a broader sense by contending that the distribution of global power both promotes and inhibits globalization rather than it being the result of a singular historical process like Westernization.

A third strategy is to highlight a particular hegemonic balance rather than the balance of power generally. Dominant governments establish the necessary prerequisite and support for the actions that we perceive as comprising globalization through their own national power, provided that their interests are served by "open" international norms. That approach is supported by Jones (1995:171–172), who explores the historical hegemonies of the



United States and Britain by pointing out that a dominant political and economic actor frequently creates a supportive political climate.

A fourth variant focuses more on the states as a whole and less on how power is distributed globally. Milward's description of post-Cold War integration provides such a broad viewpoint. He contends that states produce integration and that the two processes reinforce one another. According to this perspective, integration is a reflection of state decisions rather than just a certain international arrangement. Globalization is comparable (Clark, 1997).

Lastly, some academics base their explanation of globalization not on interstate connections but rather on the determining power of a global economic system. That perspective maintains, albeit in a diminished and altered form, some of the autonomy of international politics in influencing globalization. The best illustration of that method is R.W. Cox (1994).

### **Characteristics of Globalization Studies**

Global issues that cannot be addressed by interactions between states, such organized crime and global warming, are the focus of studies on globalization. A long view of time and the study of space are necessary since globalization represents a structural change in the global order. There are a number of historical continuities and discontinuities associated with globalization. Put another way, the modern era is characterized by an acceleration of global processes, including the integration of financial markets, technical advancement, and cross-cultural interaction, rather than a complete break. The rise of new pressures and forces from above and below provides new ontological priorities. The global economy (transnational firms), states, interstate organizations, regionalist

processes, and civil society are all included in the ontology of globalization. In the context of globalization, states aim to adapt to changing structures. They respond differently to globalizing influences, though. This approach creates new difficulties in the global order, particularly in relation to the idea of sovereignty and the territoriality principle (Mittelman, 2004:28-29).

Numerous academic fields, such as sociology, economics, political science, anthropology, cultural studies, and geography, are incorporated into the study of globalization. A thorough grasp of globalization from a variety of angles is made possible by its interdisciplinary nature. The interchange of cultural materials across national boundaries, which results in cultural hybridization—the blending of local and global influences—is frequently linked to globalization. Traditions, languages, and customs may blend because of this process. Globalization is said to be mostly driven by technological advancements, particularly in the areas of communication and transportation. The proliferation of social media, mobile communication, and the internet has completely changed how individuals communicate, obtain information, and conduct international business. The way that local communities react to globalization is another crucial topic of research. This entails researching local adaptations, resistance movements, and how globalization affects cultures, national identities, and sovereignty (Held& McGrew, 2007).

### **Debates about Globalization**

There exist many debates about globalization regarding definition, scale, chronology, explanatory framework and its impact. The preceding parts attempted to explore various points of view

about the definition scale and chronology; this section will look at the primary arguments concerning the explanatory framework of globalization and its effects.

### **An Ascendant Paradigm or Not?**

The topic of whether globalization is a rising paradigm or not is at the center of one of the major discussions in the literature on globalization. Scholars are split into two groups when examining how the emerging paradigm of globalization studies has affected the traditional field of international studies: para-makers, who view globalization studies as a unique theoretical discussion that is quickly displacing the old paradigm, and para-keepers, who reject that globalization offers a new way of thinking about the world (Mittelman, 2004). Realists, neo-realists, social democrats, interdependence theorists, and certain world system analysts are examples of para-keepers. By restating the neorealist view that national interests still govern the interstate system, which was put forward twenty years prior, Kenneth Waltz (1999) contends that "politics, as usual, prevails over economics," which runs counter to the assertions of theorists he refers to as "globalizers." Like Waltz, Keohane and Nye (1998), who were interdependence theorists (or, as Keohane puts it, neo-liberal institutionalists), maintained that the system of state sovereignty is robust and continues to be the most powerful structure in the world. Similarly, social democrats have maintained that globalization is nothing new. Islamic globalization is considered to have started centuries before the current globalization paradigm was developed (Habibul, 1997). According to world-system theorists, globalization is nothing new, and the

fundamental struggle between a capitalist and a communist world system is the main point of contention (Wallerstein, 2000).

On the other hand, *para-makers* who are the representative of the innovatory stance. These theorists are looking for an alternative to realism, and the idea of globalization has been the front-runner for that distinction (Cerny, 1996:618) Similarly, Ian Clark (1999:24) contends that globalization opens the door to a theory of change and offers a framework for comprehending political change, if nothing else. It is also evident that Jan Aart Scholte and James Rosenau (1997) agree with those who assert that globalization represents a new paradigm shift.

### **Autonomous Force or Politically Driven?**

Another debate centers on whether globalization is a politically driven phenomenon supported by states or if it is an independent force fueled by economic organization, communications, technology, or cultural patterns. Liberal interpretations of globalization support the former viewpoint by focusing on the markets as the true engine of globalization and viewing states and governments as its passive participants. However, realists and neorealists argue that globalization is driven by governments rather than markets. Though he emphasizes technology rather than markets as the main force behind globalization, James Rosenau (1997:221) leans toward the former perspective, contending that it is a completely new set of processes and a unique type of international politics brought about by technologies that have sparked new human needs and desires. Similar to this, Cerny (1996) characterizes globalization as an independent force, but he talks more narrowly about financial globalization. However, other

academics, such as Hirst (1997) and Helleiner (2000), contend that political processes and frameworks are necessary for globalization to continue. According to Hirst (1997), maintaining a liberal global order requires the involvement of suitable institutions. In addition, Helleiner (2000) contends that states' approval and assistance were essential to the development of the modern open global financial order.

### **State is in Retreat or Not?**

The argument about globalization's level of autonomy swiftly shifts to another topic of discussion: how it affects the state's capabilities. The decline in state efficacy is considered a result of globalization if it is viewed as autonomous (Clark, 1999:45). "Anti-erosionists" are scholars who base their argument on the state's ability to continue operating, whereas "Erosionists" think that globalization threatens the state's capacity to carry out its traditional functions. The perspectives of erosionists revolve around three overlapping categories. The first is the broadest and indicates that the state is no longer able to effectively manage its own functional activities, particularly in the economic sphere. The second claim is that the state's authority has been curtailed, making it a single actor in competition with the others. The third version is the widely held belief that the loss of regulations has made the state poorer—not because of other actors, but because of the impersonal nature of the market itself (Clark, 1999:46).

Scholars who reject the autonomy of globalization, on the other hand, typically see the interaction between states and globalization as a zero-sum game. Three main versions of the argument are as follows: the state continues to be powerful in the

development of the globalization process itself; the state continues to be decisive despite the effects and limitations of globalization; and all market and economic structures reflect political frameworks and choices (Mittelman, 2004).

### **Critical Globalization Studies**

Some globalization theorists question the existing globalization theory and express a need to bring a new common sense and to re-theorize globalization literature. Their suggestions that globalization needs to be re-theorized stem from different reasons. Without going into the specifics of each author's work, the following similarities between them can be found:

- a critical understanding of globalization necessitates a critical awareness of the various changes that make up the process. Reflexivity, or an understanding of the connection between knowledge and particular material and political circumstances, is a component of this strategy.
- by adding the time dimension to globalization studies, it might be attempted to rectify the ahistorical approaches to globalization.
- in opposition to the majority of globalization studies conducted in the West, de-centralization which incorporates viewpoints on globalization from both the periphery and the epicenters might be maintained
- to comprehend the process of globalization, connections between the social sciences and related fields of study can be constructed

- to challenge the hegemonic power and present an emancipatory vision, suggest structural change to create a counter- hegemon (Mittelman, 2004: 43–44).

## **Globalization and Contending Theories**

Because of the core arguments about the nature of globalization, its impact on theorizing can be understood in several diverse ways. The interpretation of globalization in light of constructivist, realist, liberal, and Marxist ideas is studied.

### **Realist Theories and Globalization**

Realist interpretations of globalization emphasize power dynamics and conflicts. The hegemonic stability hypothesis describes globalization as a process by which the dominant state of the day—in this case, the USA—has solidified its dominance while simultaneously encouraging a climate of controlled rivalry between states (Scholte, 2005: 126). Realists might also view globalization as a tactic in the struggle for dominance among numerous powerful nations. However, the power-centrism of realist theory, which views all aspects of globalization as resulting from the acquisition, allocation, and use of power, is questioned. There are additional cultural, ecological, economic, and psychological facets of globalization that are said to be beyond political analysis.

The orthodoxy of realism has faced significant difficulties as a result of the acceleration of globalization. By reducing its power and security aspects, globalization is thought to be changing how international interactions are conducted. It undermines the legitimacy of any idea that interstate politics is a separate field of endeavor. However, realist views contend that IR is constant as long as anarchy reigns, challenging the fundamental tenets of

globalization. Realists contend that sovereign territorial governments both promote and impede globalization. Realists argue that territoriality is still important, in contrast to the prevailing globalization focus on de-territorializing (Cox, 1992).

### **Liberal Theories and Globalization**

Globalization is typically viewed as a market-driven extension of globalization in liberalist views. Globalization is primarily explained by liberalism, and liberalist theories of globalization have gained broad acceptance. Liberals contend that people's natural desire for political and economic freedom is what leads to globalization. Scholte (2005) on page 124. Technological advancements and appropriate legal and institutional processes are two prerequisites for the implementation of globalization, according to liberal theories of the phenomenon.

Because it highlights the diversity of international and transnational entities, globalization might be seen as a strengthening of the pluralist challenge. Liberal theories contend that social actors are internationally networked in the context of the globalization process. On many problems, national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are no longer exclusively national and rely on transnational NGO networks to influence and change national politics and state policies. They also assert that associations, businesses, and NGOs collaborate outside of national borders. The liberal viewpoint holds that globalization is shaped and made possible by international institutions (Keohane & Nye, 2000).

### **Marxist Theories and Globalization**

Marxism, which is the principal political economy critique of liberalism perceives globalization as a force that brings the class



relations into the fore. Marxists attribute the growth of international relations to the capitalist method of accumulation. According to Marxists, globalization developed because it increases the potential for profit-making and profit-accumulation. That perspective holds that globalization helps the bourgeois, capitalist, amassing class gain more control over the oppressed class. Neoliberal globalization has exacerbated wealth disparities both inside and between nations. The push for deregulation and privatization has led to increased corporate control, often at the expense of public services and workers' rights (Klein, 2007). By focusing on capitalism and class relations, Marxist conceptions of globalization transcend liberalism and realism. This also teaches us a lot about the mechanics of social power and how inequality is created in a globalizing economy.

### **Constructivist Theories and Globalization**

In contrast to the methodological materialism of Marxist, realist, and liberalist views, constructivism offers an ideational explanation of globalization. According to that viewpoint, the growth in transplanetary connectivity is the result of people's mental construction of the social reality through language, symbols, interpretation, and other methods. Scholte, 2005:31. Constructivism holds that globalization is simultaneously reshaping and being reshaped by national and transnational identities. Reactionary politics are said to result from the challenge to statist identities. Transnational and cosmopolitan identities are developing, and both types of global governance are being called into question. The number of connections between people throughout the world has increased as more people think they live in a global society with common values and interests. In the context of globalization,

constructivist theories study the homogenization and hybridization of politics, economy, and cultures. A strong framework for comprehending the cultural, ideational, and normative aspects of globalization is provided by constructivism. It emphasizes how the spread of ideas, conventions, and identities that influence state conduct and international relations is just as much a part of globalization as the spread of material resources. Constructivist ideas emphasize the significance of human agency in defining global processes and institutions, contending that the international system and global interactions are socially built (Wendt, 1999).

### **Globalization and Change**

Understanding the processes of globalization requires an understanding of the claim that globalization has changed or not transformed modern society. Many scholars studying on this subject believe that globalization has changed our lives as According to Anthony Giddens (1991: 225), the rise of transnational orders indicates that our world is not the same as it was in the past According to the approach used in this study, globalization is a notion that alters the international environment and does so through structural changes.

Global markets and global competition brought by globalization have fundamentally reshaped the world economy. The connection between technical revolutions and globalization, which have altered the nature and methods of production, must also be emphasized. A "third wave" of knowledge society has emerged in human history, following the "first wave" of peasant life and the "second wave" of industrial civilization, according to some academics like Toffler and Toffler (1994) who link globalization to

a complete shift in economics. Technological, cultural, and economic exchanges grew more rapidly and extensive. The "flattening" of the world was caused by the spread of digital technology, the internet, and the removal of trade barriers. Outsourcing and global supply chains have become commonplace, particularly in the industrial and service industries. Traditional trade is giving way to digital trade. People can now connect across boundaries in unprecedented ways thanks to digital platforms, virtual workspaces, and e-commerce. The pandemic hastened distant work even more, causing a worldwide shift away from physical mobility and toward virtual connectivity. A worldwide flow of ideas and cultural practices has resulted from the proliferation of media, music, movies, and other cultural items. But this has also sparked discussions about cultural imperialism and the predominance of Western ideals, especially on social media.

Another discussion of globalization and change focuses on the issue of governance. Most of the debate on this issue revolves around the "state is in retreat or not?" which has also been reviewed in the essay. While some authors maintain that globalization has nothing to do with state sovereignty, other observers have confirmed that globalization has lost states of their sovereignty. This essay, however, takes a more significant tack by emphasizing the changes in the state's attributes rather than its feasibility. In an increasingly globalized society, the state has taken on significantly varied definitions and functions. The so-called "Westphalian system," which was in place before the late 20th century, is being replaced structurally (Rosenau & Czempiel, 1992).

Change in globalization is examined from a more sociological perspective. Whether globalization makes people more similar or more distinct has been at the center of the change argument on this topic. The idea that globalization produced a unified global culture focused on mass media, consumerism, Americana, and the English language is widely acknowledged. Globalization has, however, also sparked cultural resistance and encouraged individuals to value their national and local distinctiveness, particularly in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. In the wake of 9/11, Samuel Huntington's claim that identity politics in the context of modern globalization is characterized by a clash of civilizations gained traction. Although some scholars argue that the 9/11 herald the end of the globalization, basic trends marking globalization endure. However, 9/11 marked a restructuring of the process that the political and military dimensions of globalism gained ascendancy relative to its economic forces. 9/11 events show that global terrorism and globalization is closely intertwined. Both are trans-border phenomena that challenge the territorial state sovereignty. To put it in perspective, one of the drawbacks of neo-liberal globalization was shown by the globalization of terrorism. The events of 9/11 demonstrated how non-state actors, including networks like al-Qaeda, are taking up more and more political space. Mittelman (2000) asserts that hegemonic power, transnational networks, and rogue nations are responsible for the military globalization that has defined the post-9/11 world. Falk (2003) asserts that military globalization is characterized by the collapse of the Westphalian order and interstate conflict, especially in Iraq. The disciplinary forces of markets, regionalizing processes, and civil society are putting more and more pressure on the territorial state.

## Conclusion

Over time, the idea of globalization has changed dramatically, both in terms of its meaning and its extent. Globalization has undergone significant transformation because of the digital revolution. Social media and the internet have made communication, business, and information sharing immediate and worldwide. Protectionism, anti-globalization sentiment, and economic nationalism all increased throughout the 2010s and early 2020s. The advantages of globalization were questioned by nations such as the United States under Donald Trump, the United Kingdom with Brexit, and several populist movements. There is increasing talk of "de-globalization" or "slowbalization" (the slowing down of globalization processes) as a result of the COVID-19 epidemic, supply chain interruptions, and geopolitical tensions (such as the competition between the United States and China). Additionally, reshoring and local manufacturing are receiving more attention. Geopolitical conflicts, pandemics (such COVID-19), and climate change have brought attention to the weaknesses of globalization. Some nations have embraced protectionist measures or encouraged de-globalization in response to crises, as evidenced by the growth of nationalism and populism (e.g., America First, Brexit).

Several recent proclamations of an end to globalization seem invalid, globalization still matters today. Despite talking about the end of globalization, it would be better to put emphasis on the change in the term of globalization, which is more digitalized and militarized today. In addition, claims over the impact of globalization need to be qualified. Contrary to popular assumption, globalization changed territory, the state, and the nation rather than

causing them to vanish. In terms of continuity and change, it could be said that globalization has created new dynamics in economics, politics, and identity, albeit that territoriality, nation states still carry importance in contemporary life.

## REFERENCES

Arzeni, S. (1994) The End of Globalism. Clesse, Cooper, Sakamoto (eds), in *The International System After The Collapses of the East-West Order* (p. 175-184). Dordrecht: Martinus Publishers.

Bretherton, C. & Ponton G. (eds). (1996). *Global Politics: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cerny, P. (1996). Globalization and Other Stories: The Search for a New Paradigm for International Relations. *International Journal*, 51(4), 617-637.

Clark, I. (1997). *Globalization and Fragmentation: International Relations in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Clark, I. (1999). *Globalization and International Relations Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cox, R. W. (1992). Globalization, Multilateralism, and Democracy. *International Politics: Theories and Approaches*, 7(3), 35-57.

Cox, R. W. (1994). The Crisis in World Order and the Challenge to International Organization. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 29(2), 99-113.

Falk, R. Globalization from Below: An Innovative Politics of Difference. Sandbrook, R. (eds). in *Civilizing Globalization: A Survival Guide* (p. 189-205). Albany: State University of New York.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1996). Anthony Giddens on Globalization: Excerpts from a Keynote Address at the UNRISD Conference on Globalization and Citizenship. *UNRISD News*, Vol. 15

Habibul, H.K. (1997). Globalization Theory: A Critical Appraisal. H. M. Dahlan (ed) in *ASEAN in the Global System* (p. 109-125). Bangi, Malaysia: National University of Malaysia Press.

Held, D., & McGrew, A. (2007). Globalization/Anti-Globalization. Polity Press.

Helleiner, E. (2000). Braudelian Reflections on Economic Globalization: The Historian as Pioneer. Gill and Mittelman (eds) in *Innovation and Transformation* ( p. 90-104). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hirst, P. (1997). The Global Economy-Myths and Realities. *International Affairs*, 73(3), 414-415.

Jenson, J. & Santos, B.S. (eds). (2000). *Globalizing Institutions: Case Studies in Regulation and Innovation*. London: Routledge.

Jones, R.E. (1995). Thinking Big. *Review of International Studies*, 19 (2), 201-212.

Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (2000). Globalization: What's New? What's Not? (And So What?). *Foreign Policy*, 118, 104–119.

Keohane, R.O. & Nye J.S. (1998). *Power and Interdependence in the Information Age*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Klein, N. (2007). *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. Metropolitan Books.



Kumar, V.S.A. (2003). A Critical Methodology of Globalization: Politics of the 21st Century. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 10(2), 87-111.

Mittelman, J.H. (2000). *Globalization Syndrome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mittelman, J.H. (2004). *Whither Globalization?: The Vortex of Knowledge and Ideology*. London: Routledge.

Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London: Sage.

Rosenau, J. N. & Czempiel E.O. (eds). (1992). *Goverance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenau, J.N. (1997). *Along the Domestic Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scholte, J.A. (2005). *Globalization*. New York: Palgrave.

Toffler A.&Toffler H. (1994). *Creating a New Civilization: The Politics of the Third Wave*. Atlanta: Turner.

Wallerstein, I. (2000). Globalization or the Age of Transition? A Longterm View of the Trajectory of the World System. *Asian Perspective*, 24(2), 5–26.

Waltz, K.N. (1999). Globalization and Governance. *Political Science*, 32(4), 693-700.

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## CHAPTER II

### History And Secret Activities Of The Kgb: The Soviet Intelligence Organization Leading The World

**Hakan ÇORA<sup>1</sup>**  
**Elnur Hasan MİKAIL<sup>2</sup>**

#### Introduction

The story of the KGB is filled with mystery, showing their role as both a shield for the Soviet regime and a strong adversary to perceived dangers. Founded soon after the October Revolution of 1917, the KGB changed from the early Cheka into a complex group in charge of domestic safety and foreign spying. Its history involves major events like internal purges, suppressing opposition, and many overseas actions aimed at reducing Western influence during the Cold War. This focus on secret operations and psychological tactics helped keep the Soviet state's stability and made the KGB a key

---

<sup>1</sup> Associate Professor, Istanbul Okan University, Istanbul, Türkiye, corahakan@gmail.com  
ORCID: 0000-0001-5780-549X

<sup>2</sup> Professor Doctor, Kafkas University, Kars, Türkiye, emikail@turansam.org  
ORCID: 0000-0001-9574-4704

player in global intelligence. The KGB's well-known symbols of authority and security represent the ideological basis driving its secretive actions (Kanak & Koura, 2023). In addition, the KGB's changes mirrored larger geopolitical shifts, especially in adapting to new technologies in intelligence. The organization saw big changes in structure due to international events, especially during the rise of cybersecurity in the late 20th century. Important events from this time, like the NotPetya malware attack, show the KGB's ability to adapt to the cyber world, mixing traditional spying methods with modern conflict (Kanak & Koura, 2023). As technology changed intelligence gathering and operations, the KGB's approach became more complex, blending old techniques with new digital practices. Understanding this shift is key to examining the KGB's impact on national and international security. Lastly, the KGB's legacy is still relevant today in talks about government surveillance and ethics in intelligence. As a forerunner to today's surveillance agencies, the KGB's techniques contribute to current discussions on balancing national security and individual rights. The often unclear nature of its actions serves as a warning about the risks of government overreach when it comes to perceived threats. This historical example is important as countries deal with mass surveillance and cybersecurity issues in the digital era. Studying the KGB's lasting influence provides vital insights into how power works and how state control affects societal norms and political realities (Kanak & Koura, 2023).

### **Definition and Purpose of the KGB**

After the chaos of the Russian Civil War, the KGB, or the Committee for State Security, represented the Soviet Union's aim for

political survival and ideological dominance. Created in 1954, the KGB focused on state security, performing intelligence and counterintelligence tasks, and quelling dissent within the USSR. It acted as a tool for spying, collecting key information on foreign enemies, while also ensuring loyalty and conformity among its citizens using surveillance and oppression. The agency's significant role influenced international relations during the Cold War by creating what (2024) calls hybrid threats, thus impacting how the West viewed security dangers. Moreover, some believe that the KGB's secretive industrial spying showed its wide influence, helping to close technological gaps and asserting Soviet power in the world, even though this caused tensions in international cooperation (cite2). Through its complex actions of intelligence collection and domestic control, the KGB not only shaped Soviet governance but also affected the geopolitical scene of the 20th century, leaving a lasting mark in modern history. For a visual representation of its powerful emblem, it highlights the KGB's symbolic strength in international spying and local security, representing the essence of its formidable presence.

### **Historical Context of Soviet Intelligence**

The rise and change of Soviet intelligence were closely tied to the early 20th century, influenced by the chaotic political scene after the Russian Revolution of 1917. It began as the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (Cheka), forming the basis for what would become the KGB. Throughout history, the KGB and its earlier versions had the main goal of protecting the new Bolshevik government from internal and external dangers, reflecting a state security viewpoint that valued

ideological purity and national strength (2024). Over time, its duties grew to include not just domestic spying but also foreign intelligence efforts, showing the country's shift toward becoming a global power. The growth of major cyber skills and spying methods highlighted a focus on technology to strengthen the Soviet state (Jason Healey et al., 2023). The KGB's varied functions thus provide an important perspective on how intelligence work interacted with political beliefs and practical needs during the Soviet time, setting examples for future intelligence agencies worldwide.

### **Importance of Studying the KGB**

The KGB's history shows important effects on how we see state power and spying, both in the past and now. Its many roles—as a secret police, intelligence group, and keeper of social order—affected not only Soviet rule but also global power relations. By looking at its hidden methods and ways of operation, researchers learn about how authoritarian governments use political power. The rise of aggressive social manipulation methods, similar to those used by the KGB, makes this study especially important; knowing about these past tactics can help us understand today's issues with state-backed disinformation campaigns (Michael J. Mazarr et al., 2019). Furthermore, detailed reports from Western intelligence agencies highlight Russia's ongoing focus on political influence, making the study of the KGB crucial for understanding current security dangers (Geir Hågen Karlsen, 2019). Therefore, critically examining the KGB's past helps shape our views on international relations and intelligence conflicts. The image of the KGB's emblem (Kanak & Koura, 2023) captures these ideas of power and control, acting as a strong symbol of the organization's wide-ranging impact.

## Overview of KGB's Structure and Functions

The KGB was a complex organization that had a strict hierarchy, allowing it to carry out various jobs like collecting intelligence, counterintelligence, and keeping state security in check. It was split into different directorates, each focusing on areas like foreign intelligence, domestic security, and military spying. This organized setup helped the KGB maintain tight control over its many activities while promoting the Soviet Union's global goals. Reports indicate that Russia is the foreign nation that most attempts to shape European politics and decisions, even more than China and others (Geir Hågen Karlsen, 2019), highlighting the KGB's important role in global operations. Additionally, the agency used many advanced methods for political influence, including secret cyber tactics and misinformation campaigns, showing its ability to adapt to new challenges today (Michael J. Mazarr et al., 2019). In the end, the KGB's well-organized way enabled it to fulfill its job of protecting the Soviet state, significantly affecting both local and international matters. To provide a visual reference, it captures the symbolic image of the KGB and its lasting link to state power and surveillance.

Department	Function
First Main Directorate (PGU)	Foreign Intelligence Operations
Second Main Directorate (VGU)	Counterintelligence
Third Main Directorate (TGU)	Military Counterintelligence
Fourth Main Directorate (UGU)	Economic Espionage
Fifth Main Directorate (PGU)	Ideological State Security
Sixth Main Directorate (UO)	Surveillance, Bugging, and Eavesdropping
Seventh Main Directorate (SMD)	Intelligence for the Ministry of Defence

### *KGB Structure and Functions*

## Key Figures in KGB History

The KGB's large influence can be seen through its important leaders, whose actions changed Soviet intelligence and politics. A key figure, Felix Dzerzhinsky, who started the Cheka, showed the KGB's early drive for total security and state control, setting the stage for future efforts. After him, Lavrentiy Beria, who led major purges after World War II, showed a darker, harsher aspect of the agency that created fear within the party and the people. As the KGB changed, figures like Yuri Andropov, who later became General Secretary of the Communist Party, highlighted how the agency moved from obvious force to more subtle ways of influence, affecting both domestic and foreign policies. This path of leadership shows the KGB's key role in Russia's political systems, mixing surveillance with government strategy to dominate global talks on security and power. The KGB's representation in historical items, such as [citeX], also shows its lasting influence on international relations and internal security methods.

Name	Position	Years Active	Notable Contributions
Yuri Andropov	General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	1967-1982	Oversaw KGB during Cold War; later became General Secretary.
Lavrentiy Beria	Head of the NKVD	1938-1953	Instrumental in the Great Purge; significant role in post-WWII espionage.
Felix Dzerzhinsky	Founder of the Cheka	1917-1926	Established the Soviet secret police; known for his role in the Red Terror.
Viktor Chebrikov	Chairman of KGB	1982-1988	Oversaw the KGB during the period of Perestroika.
Leonid Brezhnev	General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	1964-1982	Strengthened the KGB's role in domestic security and political repression.

### *Key Figures in KGB History*

## **Thesis Statement**

The KGB was very important for state security and political power during the Soviet time, working as both a protector of the regime and a tool for oppression. The KGB had a complicated structure that allowed it to handle intelligence in different ways, including spying, internal security, and counterintelligence, all of which supported the state's ideological aims. As mentioned in (Anderson et al., 1997), the organization's ability to insert itself into Russia's political scene helped it remain relevant, even during tough times, like the Yeltsin Administration, which had a hard time making democratic changes. Likewise, research on lustration laws in other post-communist countries, discussed in (Alavidze et al., 2022), shows that the KGB's history made it tough to remove Soviet-era officials from power. Therefore, to grasp the KGB's lasting effects, it's important to closely look at how its strategies changed and adapted, with a legacy that still influences current Russian governance.

## **Origins and Development of the KGB**

After the turbulent times of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, the KGB started from the Cheka, which was the first secret police in the Soviet Union set up in December 1917. The Cheka was formed to fight against counter-revolutionary actions and played a key role in helping the Bolsheviks hold power by harshly silencing opposition. In the 1920s, this organization changed, gaining broad intelligence and administrative responsibilities that increased its influence both inside and outside the country, leading to the creation of the GPU, which further unified the state's security efforts. By the time the KGB was officially formed in 1954, it had already taken in



several predecessors, showing a history of adjusting to the shifting political environment in the Soviet Union. This evolution was crucial for the KGB's rise as a strong body responsible for enforcing state policies, ensuring government security, and conducting international espionage operations, which were vital to Soviet tactics during the Cold War (Geir Hågen Karlsen, 2019).

### **Formation of the KGB in 1954**

In the complicated world of Soviet intelligence, the change to the KGB in 1954 was an important turning point. This change showed a clear shift in state security plans during the Cold War. By getting rid of its predecessor, the MGB, the new KGB was designed to be a diverse agency, combining military intelligence with operations for domestic safety. This helped it deal with both outside threats and internal opposition. The changes were not just administrative; they carried bigger ideological goals, with the KGB given the job of enforcing state beliefs through surveillance and suppression. Additionally, the early Cold War situation made this change even more important as the USSR aimed to strengthen its global influence, needing a stronger intelligence system to protect its geopolitical interests (Brad Williams, 2023). The KGB's expanding roles would soon connect with complicated foreign operations, highlighting how it shaped Soviet foreign policy, especially regarding pressure tactics against neighboring nations (Michał Wojnowski, 2022). Therefore, the creation of the KGB marked the start of a new era, where its diverse intelligence and security roles became essential to the Soviet state's national and international strategies. The results of this formation emphasize the KGB's lasting impact on Soviet and global intelligence methods. The KGB's

emblem, representing authority and state power, is a clear symbol of the agency's focus during this crucial time.

### **Predecessors of the KGB: Cheka and NKVD**

The creation of the Cheka in 1917 was the Soviet state's first big effort to carry out political repression and protect the regime from perceived threats. This set the stage for future intelligence agencies. The Cheka was an important tool during the early Bolshevik period, with a job to get rid of counter-revolutionaries, which hinted at the authoritarian tactics that would later be used by the NKVD and KGB. The NKVD started in the late 1930s and broadened the role of state security to involve mass surveillance and political purges, linking intelligence work to totalitarian rule. It played a key role in the Great Terror, where millions suffered due to its harsh policies, affecting the reputation of state repression in the USSR. Through these early organizations, the KGB was developed, ensuring a continuity of oppressive actions aimed at maintaining ideological purity and political power in the Soviet Union. This change is clearly reflected in the notable symbols of the KGB, which show its background and power in post-revolutionary Russia.

### **Evolution of KGB's Role in Soviet Government**

The KGB's role in the Soviet government changed a lot over time, showcasing a deeper link between state security and political authority, which shows a bigger push toward authoritarianism. Created in 1917, the KGB came from the Cheka, which was used for revolutionary justice, evolving into a strong body handling both domestic and international intelligence. Its duties grew a lot, especially during the Cold War, when it became known for state oppression and spying activities within the Soviet Union and

beyond. This change was a reaction to both outside dangers and internal movements, making the KGB an important part of shaping Soviet strategies. As David Lewis points out, the KGB's wide reach and power showed how the Soviet leaders depended on security forces to keep control and crush opposition, leading to a clear system of "illiberal democracy" that defined the nation (David G. Lewis, 2020). The KGB's symbol, once linked to widespread fear, eventually became a sign of Soviet governance, showing how power and control shifted in a changing political environment (Kanak & Koura, 2023).

### **Key Historical Events Influencing KGB Development**

The KGB changed a lot because of important historical events that showed the difficult political situation in the Soviet Union and its global relations. The Cheka was created in 1917 after the Bolshevik Revolution, starting Soviet state security. At first, it focused on stopping opposition, which set the stage for the KGB's later roles that grew to include large-scale intelligence work during the Cold War. A key part of its development was the rise in tensions with Western nations, especially during major events like the Cuban Missile Crisis, which made the need for a strong and advanced intelligence system clear. The KGB's use of disinformation and spying during this time, as described in ongoing threat models (Atif Ahmad et al., 2019), influenced its operational methods. Additionally, the KGB's engagement in political strategies, especially in Africa and Eastern Europe, showed its role in promoting Soviet goals around the world (Geir Hågen Karlsen, 2019). The KGB's emblem serves as a fitting representation,

highlighting the organization's wide authority in maintaining state security and ideology, reminding us of its significant power.

### **The KGB during the Cold War Era**

The KGB was an important tool of Soviet power in the Cold War, reflecting the goals of the Communist government. During this time, the KGB changed its role, especially as it tried to infiltrate foreign political systems and fight against Western influence using spying, false information, and oppressive methods. The agency played a key role not only in monitoring its own citizens but also in international missions, as shown by its actions against dissenters and intelligence gathering in critical global situations, including the espionage efforts mentioned in (M. V. Krotova, 2023). Additionally, the KGB reorganized, creating specialized units for counterintelligence and psychological tactics, improving its abilities during a period of fierce global competition. This complex strategy highlighted the KGB's importance in maintaining state control and extending Soviet influence internationally, making it a significant player during the Cold War period.

### **The KGB's Influence on Soviet Foreign Policy**

Soviet foreign policy was heavily influenced by the KGB, which often worked behind the scenes to support and sometimes direct diplomatic efforts. By collecting intelligence and conducting secret actions, the KGB provided crucial information about global politics, helping Soviet leaders manage complicated international relations. For example, (Geir Hågen Karlsen, 2019) shows that the KGB used different methods to promote Soviet interests overseas, including working with foreign political groups and taking advantage of social conflicts in other countries. The agency's skills

in propaganda and psychological tactics also strengthened Moscow's position in major geopolitical struggles, especially during the Cold War, as shown by its involvement in ideological conflicts in Africa and Asia. Overall, the KGB's blend of intelligence and diplomacy not only enhanced Soviet foreign policy but also reinforced Moscow's influence worldwide, making the organization a key part of Soviet strength. The KGB's symbol further represents its crucial role as an enforcer of state policy, highlighting the blend of image, power, and influence that defined its global actions.

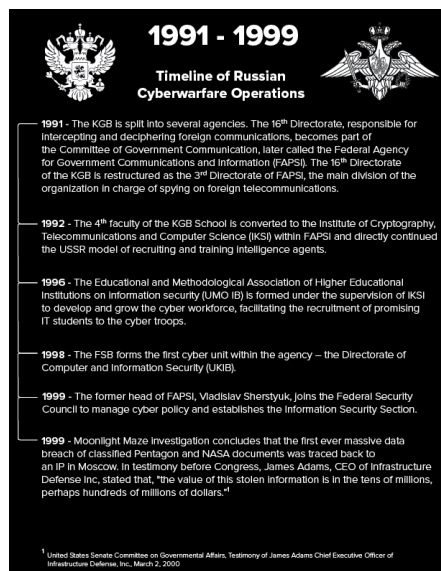
<b>Year</b>	<b>Foreign Policy Initiative</b>	<b>Global Impact</b>
1945	Support for communist movements in Eastern Europe	Establishment of communist governments in Poland, East Germany, etc.
1950	Intervention in the Korean War	Support for North Korea against South Korea and the UN forces.
1961	Construction of the Berlin Wall	Solidified division of East and West Berlin, symbolizing Cold War tensions.
1979	Invasion of Afghanistan	Heightened Cold War tensions, leading to international condemnation and mujahideen resistance.
1985	Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika	Attempted reforms led to reduced tensions with the West, eventually contributing to the end of Soviet influence.

### *KGB's Influence on Soviet Foreign Policy*

## **KGB Operations and Espionage Activities**

Throughout its time in operation, the KGB used a mix of methods to handle control at home and spying abroad, which was

key to keeping Soviet power. The agency had wide-reaching monitoring systems to keep an eye on foreign guests and catch any possible dissenters, ensuring that important information stayed hidden and not taken advantage of by enemies (Kristina Burinskaitė, 2024). This broad control reached into stories made inside and outside the Soviet Union, as the KGB ran disinformation efforts to weaken the West (Mingailė Jurkutė, 2024). Importantly, the agency's focus on spying was not just about gathering intelligence; it also included actively finding agents across political lines to strengthen Soviet interests worldwide. Thus, the KGB's activities connected domestic oppression and international espionage, showing a clear method to intelligence that aimed to influence both local views and global power plays. For a visual aid, gives context on how these actions fit into the larger field of Russian military espionage.



*Image1. Timeline of Russian Cyberwarfare Operations (1991-1999)*

Year	Operation	Description	Targets
1946	Operation Venona	Decrypting Soviet communications; key for uncovering spies in the West.	Western governments, including U.S. military.
1960	U-2 Incident	Shooting down of U.S. spy plane, escalating Cold War tensions.	U.S. intelligence operations in the USSR.
1970	Operation Gold	Tunnel dug under East Berlin to intercept Allied communications.	NATO military communications.
1980	Operation RYAN	Soviet initiative to detect an impending U.S. nuclear first strike.	U.S. military and nuclear bases.
1990	Active Measures	Disinformation campaigns to undermine foreign governments.	Political parties in the U.S. and Europe.

### *KGB Operations and Espionage Activities Data*

## **Overview of KGB Espionage Techniques**

The KGB has a long history of using many spying methods that were important for its role as a state security organization. It relied heavily on human intelligence (HUMINT) as a key approach, with agents building networks of informers who were often motivated by personal ties and ideological beliefs to gain useful information. This human aspect worked alongside advanced technical intelligence (TECHINT) tools, including wiretaps and surveillance equipment that tracked communications of targets. Additionally, the KGB ran disinformation campaigns to create confusion among enemies and influence public opinion. These various methods were shown in complex operations such as the defection of prominent political figures and breaking into enemy

coded communications, which often required manipulating intricate cryptographic systems (Alexandria Rairigh, 2016). These techniques highlighted the KGB's strategic significance during the Cold War, making it a model for intelligence operations. This context also shows the teamwork among agencies to counter KGB tactics, reflecting the agency's wide-ranging effect.

### **Notable Espionage Cases and Operations**

During the Cold War, many important spying cases showed how much influence the KGB had and how it worked. One of the most well-known cases was Robert Hanssen, an FBI agent who shared sensitive information for 20 years, greatly harming U.S. intelligence efforts (cite32). Hanssen's betrayal not only points out the weaknesses in federal agencies but also shows how good the KGB was at taking advantage of threats from insiders. Moreover, the KGB's involvement in the Gold Case, which was about secretly obtaining important military technology from Western firms through espionage, highlights the agency's goal of boosting Soviet power by taking direct actions against its enemies. These operations, known for being bold and technically advanced, show the KGB's key role in guiding the intelligence field and affecting political events during a tense time. Images that show Soviet symbols, like , illustrate the KGB's strong presence and dedication to its spying missions, further highlighting its important operational history.



<b>Case</b>	<b>Operation</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Outcome</b>
Kim Philby	Information gathering for the Soviet Union	1934-1963	Defection to the USSR, exposed Western intelligence operations
The Cambridge Five	Espionage within British intelligence	1940s-1950s	All members became Soviet spies, greatly damaging UK intelligence
Operation Trust	Counter-intelligence operation against anti-Bolshevik forces	1921-1926	Infiltration of anti-Bolshevik organizations, leading to their dismantling
Operation RYAN (Ryan)	Intelligence gathering to anticipate a NATO first strike	1981-1986	Heightened tensions and militarization during the Cold War
Illegals Program	Placement of deep-cover agents in the West	1970s-2010	Significant intelligence operations, leading to arrests in 2010
The Penkovsky Affair	Recruitment of Oleg Penkovsky as a spy	1961-1962	Valuable intelligence on Soviet missile capabilities during the Cuban Missile Crisis
Operation Assault	Intelligence operations against NATO forces	1980s	Strategic advantages in military planning for the Soviet Union

### *Notable Espionage Cases and Operations of the KGB*

## **KGB's Role in Counterintelligence**

In the complex field of Soviet state security, the KGB was very important for counterintelligence, acting as both a protector and

an attacker against supposed threats from inside and outside the country. This twofold role appeared as the agency worked hard to gather information about enemy activities while also shaping stories to fit Soviet beliefs. By using wide-ranging surveillance methods, the KGB effectively kept an eye on dissent and fought back against foreign spying efforts, creating a sense of fear among citizens and foreign spies alike. In this situation, the KGB's activities targeting Western countries, especially the United States and Canada, are highlighted in Sergei Zhuk's study of cultural diplomacy and active measures, showing how the KGB used identity politics to weaken Western influence (Sergei I. Zhuk, 2022). Moreover, the changing KGB strategies with new technologies and cyber skills demonstrate a flexible intelligence system crucial for national security, showing the agency's lasting effect on both Soviet and worldwide geopolitics (David V. Gioe et al., 2020). This varied approach to counterintelligence helped establish the KGB's image as a powerful player in global intelligence activities.

Year	Focus Area	Successful Operations	Individuals Recruited
1950	Espionage Prevention	150	40
1960	Infiltration of Western Organizations	200	60
1970	Counterintelligence Training	250	70
1980	Combating Foreign Spies	300	80
1985	Surveillance Techniques	400	100
1990	Intelligence Sharing	350	90

*KGB Counterintelligence Activities Data*

## **The Use of Technology in KGB Operations**

The KGB's skills in operations got better with new technology, which changed with the needs of intelligence during the Cold War. At first, the agency used old ways of watching people and gathering information from humans. But when new technology came, the KGB quickly adjusted. They started using electronic listening devices, codes, and later, computers in spying work. The agency's ability to listen in on communications was very important for collecting intelligence and dealing with threats they thought were present. This helped shape Soviet foreign policy during important times, especially in the 1980s when they worked harder to watch what the West was doing (Byers et al., 2010). Also, they created special teams for cyber operations, showing they realized how technology could be both useful and dangerous in modern warfare. Thus, the KGB's strategic use of new technology made their internal safety better and also made them a strong player in global intelligence.

## **KGB's Involvement in Political Assassinations**

Political assassinations by the KGB were a symbol of its strategy to keep the Soviet regime safe and stop opposition at home and abroad. These secret missions were based on a methodical approach, where getting rid of identified enemies—such as defectors and foreign leaders—was seen as necessary for national safety. The KGB carefully planned several assassination attempts, using methods like poison, guns, and even mind games. Importantly, the organization's spying operations often involved violence, as shown in the history of KGB actions during the Cold War. Such activities created fear among opposition groups, both in Eastern Europe and in

Western democracies. As Calder Walton notes, the intelligence conflict did not end with the Soviet Union's collapse; instead, it shifted, suggesting that the KGB's history of assassinations still impacts modern intelligence work in the ongoing fight for geopolitical power (D. Lomas, 2023). Additionally, records of these actions highlight the troubling legacy of state-sponsored violence, showing a consistent dependence on unlawful methods to suppress dissent, raising serious ethical concerns about government power and accountability (Petr Kaňák et al., 2023). The significant role of the KGB in political killings serves as a clear warning about the extremes to which state entities may go to protect their interests, representing an important part of Cold War history. To support this view, [extractedKnowledgeX] provides a visual of the KGB's official symbol, reflecting the organization's dedication to national security and its infamous standing in global intelligence communities.

### **Impact of KGB Operations on International Relations**

The secret actions taken by the KGB changed international relations during the Cold War, creating an atmosphere of suspicion and rivalry among major world powers. The KGB's involvement in spying, spreading false information, and interfering in politics often disrupted diplomatic standards. This is shown by how they worked to weaken governments in Eastern Europe and other places. For example, the KGB tried to change elections and government policies in different countries, leading to serious geopolitical effects that went beyond the Soviet Union's immediate reach. With cyber capabilities, seen in major attacks tied to Russian state actors, the KGB's method of using disruptive tactics can be viewed as an early

form of modern cyber warfare, which continues to be a serious threat to global stability today (Jason Healey et al., 2023). The complex connection between KGB actions and changing alliances shows how intelligence work can greatly influence power relations and foreign policy decisions among countries (Seumas Miller et al., 2021). Images like can help explain the agency's significant role in representing Soviet power, which reached into its operations worldwide, reinforcing its influence on international relations.

### **KGB's Domestic Surveillance and Repression**

The KGB's widespread domestic spying and oppression were key in helping the Soviet regime keep its power. Using a mix of informants and modern monitoring methods, the KGB created a climate of fear among anyone who might oppose the regime. This large-scale surveillance system had two main strategies: gathering information on opposition activities and creating a harsh method to eliminate dissent. According to García Márquez, the KGB also engaged in organizing military coups and controlling media stories to strengthen its political power (Kaeten Mistry, 2019). As a result, the KGB turned both public and private places into areas watched by the state, greatly limiting freedom of speech. The risks in the KGB's ties with state leaders made this oppression worse, pushing them to use forceful methods to maintain their power (Tiberiu Dragu et al., 2018). These tactics highlighted the KGB's role as both a protector of the regime and a means of controlling society. The symbolic image of the KGB showcases this dual role, emphasizing its status as a strong entity hidden under the pretense of national security.

## Mechanisms of Domestic Surveillance

In KGB work, methods for watching people closely were made carefully to allow for constant checking of those seen as dangers to state safety. This system included many methods like getting into social groups, using people to inform on others, and using wiretapping tools, all of which created fear and forced obedience among citizens. These actions were backed by laws that allowed for large amounts of information to be gathered, often hiding the moral issues linked to this spying. As mentioned, strong new tools allow for the gathering, sharing, and studying of national safety information on a level never seen before (Seumas Miller et al., 2021), highlighting the importance of spying programs. The KGB logo, which stands for both power and control, was a strong sign of the state's watching eye, telling people that their privacy could be ignored for the sake of national safety.



*Image2. Emblem of the Cheka and KGB: Symbols of Soviet State Security*

## **The Role of the KGB in Political Repression**

Key to keeping Soviet control, the KGB used its power through careful political oppression, focusing on both dissenters and those seen as risks to state security. This agency worked with a wide range of tasks that included spying, censoring information, and stopping opposition. The KGB's tactics relied on a widespread sense of fear, as shown by its thorough surveillance of both foreign visitors and local people, making sure that any opposing views were quickly silenced to maintain the government's image (Kristina Burinskaitė, 2024). Moreover, as shown through the ideas of Russian and Soviet pan-Slavism, the KGB's repression was closely linked to larger stories of national superiority, which further rationalized its actions against those seen as threats, inside and outside the country (V. Prokopenko, 2024). These methods demonstrated that the KGB was not just a security force but also a vital tool in promoting the Soviet state's main political goals. The KGB's emblem, prominently displaying its well-known symbols, highlights the agency's power and acts as a clear reminder of its significant role in suppressing dissent throughout Soviet society.

## **KGB's Influence on Soviet Society and Culture**

The KGB had a major impact on Soviet society and culture, influencing how people thought and acted through its system of spying, fear, and ideology. The agency held a lot of power in politics and social life, which allowed it to silence opposition and manage the flow of information. This created an atmosphere of fear among people, leading to self-censorship and conformity in creative work, including books, movies, and art. Artists had to ensure their work matched state ideas to avoid punishment, resulting in a cultural scene

that was rich but limited by censorship. The KGB's role in enforcing allegiance to the state contributed to a broader sense of fear in daily life, as seen in studies of the time that suggest the agency turned personal freedoms into means of state control (2024). The effects of its actions can be seen in the art of the time, which often showcased state propaganda while also hinting at the resistance sparked by the KGB's harsh methods (2022). These dynamics show that the KGB was both a means of limiting artistic freedom and a source of hidden opposition in Soviet culture.

### **Notable Cases of Political Dissidents**

Cases of political disagreement in the Soviet Union show the widespread oppression caused by groups like the KGB, which worked hard to get rid of any opposition. Important people like Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov became voices against the government's strict control. Solzhenitsyn's books, especially *The Gulag Archipelago*, revealed the harshness of Soviet labor camps and raised global awareness, which resulted in his banishment in 1974. In the same way, Sakharov, a well-known scientist and human rights supporter, suffered internal exile because he openly spoke out against nuclear policies and government wrongdoings. Each situation shows how effective the KGB's methods were, which included spying, spreading propaganda, and imprisoning people, all meant to make anyone who disagreed feel scared. The clear symbols of Soviet oppression, like those shown in the KGB's emblem, highlight the group's total control over society, helping us understand political dissent within this historical context.



## **The KGB's Relationship with the Communist Party**

The KGB was a key part of Soviet government and was not just an intelligence agency but also a critical player in the Communist Party's power system. Created in the early days of the USSR, the KGB had the tasks of ensuring state security and protecting Communist beliefs. This showed its important role in maintaining the party's power and dealing with opposition. The Cold War made this relationship stronger, as the KGB played a major role in carrying out the party's orders, using methods like spying, infiltration, and repressing dissent. This connection helped the KGB promote loyalty within the Communist Party while also preventing real or imagined threats from both inside and outside the country. The KGB's blend of interests with the party can be seen in its beginnings and actions, which underlined its importance as a tool for political control (Waheed Jan, 2021). This partnership showed that the KGB was not just about safeguarding state secrets but was also an ideological enforcer for the Communist Party, highlighting how state security was closely tied to the party's dominance (Michał Wojnowski et al., 2021).

## **Public Perception of the KGB in Soviet Times**

During the time of the Soviet Union, how people saw the KGB was complex, formed by a mix of fear, respect, and propaganda. The KGB, which was the main security agency of the state, was often seen as both a protector and an oppressor. Citizens understood that the agency played two roles: keeping the country safe from outside dangers while also causing trouble inside by watching over people and punishing dissenters. Widespread fear of government punishment, often backed by stories of political purges

and vanishings, made many people view the KGB with anxiety. However, government propaganda depicted the organization as a strong force, necessary for the USSR's international reputation, promoting a sense of national pride among its backers. This mixed attitude toward the KGB shows the complicated relationship between authority and obedience in public discussions, reflecting a larger story of mixed threats that grew during the Cold War (2024). Furthermore, the growth of cyber capabilities, especially after the fall of the Soviet Union, adds to its historic view, as many citizens adjusted to new forms of government surveillance in the digital world (Jason Healey et al., 2023). The KGB's legacy as an intelligence agency still shapes how Russian society thinks about security and governance, echoing the historical impacts of its past actions. For example, the KGB's emblem (as seen in ) has gone beyond its original purpose, often representing both a narrative of fear and a symbol of strength that reflects Soviet ideas.

### **The KGB in the Post-Soviet Era**

The change of the KGB after the Soviet Union ended shows a mix of keeping some things and changing others in Russian state security. After the Soviet Union fell apart, the KGB was eliminated, and its roles were divided into new agencies, especially the FSB. These new agencies kept some powers from the old KGB but had to adjust to a different political setting. The historical need to govern in secret, mentioned in (Harrison et al., 2013), still influenced how they operated, though there was more focus on cybersecurity and counterintelligence now. Also, while the way of overseeing regulations changed, their true goals did not, showing the KGB's mindset towards intelligence and control over the state in their

efforts to silence dissent and push national security messages (Harrison et al., 2013). These changes show not just how KGB methods have endured but also how they significantly affect current Russian politics, as highlighted by symbols of national power that reflect ongoing struggles for dominance, such as .

### **Transformation of the KGB after the USSR Collapse**

The end of the Soviet Union in 1991 caused a big change in the KGB, marking an important time in Russian intelligence history. At first, the agency had a lot of operational problems as it moved from a repressive state tool to trying to find a new purpose in a different political environment. This change led to the KGB being split into several new agencies, with the Federal Security Service (FSB) becoming the most important and powerful. Literature shows that the shifts in the agency's structure mirrored larger changes in power and social expectations in post-Soviet Russia; the FSB kept strong links to the military and political systems, securing its role as a key player in national security (Petr Kaňák et al., 2023). Moreover, the KGB's history of intelligence operations continued to shape its successor groups, evident in the persistent use of espionage and secret actions that defined not just the chaotic 1990s but also today's global situation, highlighting lasting trends in intelligence practices (D. Lomas, 2023). This shift illustrates the complicated nature of how intelligence agencies evolve during political crises, showing both consistency and changes in approaches and beliefs. To understand the FSB's new identity, one can look at the agency's symbol, which shows how the representation of state security has changed in post-Soviet society.



*Image4. Flag of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation*

### **Legacy of the KGB in Modern Russia**

The leftover effects of the KGB are clearly seen in today's Russia's politics and society, affecting both government systems and public feelings. The shift from the Soviet government to current rule has shown a slow but steady carryover of the KGB's dramatic style, with important members from this group, like Vladimir Putin, moving into powerful roles. This history is seen in the widespread culture of watching people and political control, similar to what the KGB did in the past to suppress opposition and manage public stories. Also, the KGB's methods of spreading false information and influencing other countries, particularly through its skills in cyberspace, are evident today, as Russia works to disrupt democratic systems in other nations. These trends show a change in tactics based on the KGB's techniques, as seen in the current fight against cyber dangers coming from Russian intelligence activities.

### **Continuation of KGB Practices in New Agencies**

The effects of KGB methods are clear in today's Russian security agencies, showing a continued use of monitoring and

control. The changes from the KGB's structure to modern groups like the FSB have created a situation where old KGB tactics are often used both at home and abroad. This is especially true in cyber warfare, where actions such as interfering with foreign elections are similar to espionage methods from the Cold War. The FSB's use of the double-headed eagle symbol highlights this connection, keeping a link to the KGB's powerful imagery. Additionally, the combination of intelligence and government control, as shown in recent studies of Russian cyber actions, reveals not only a shift in strategy but also the ongoing influence of KGB ideals that prioritize state safety over individual rights, ultimately influencing Russian global strategies.[citeX][extractedKnowledgeX]

### **KGB's Influence on Contemporary Russian Politics**

The KGB's legacy significantly impacts current Russian politics, creating a lasting climate of secrecy and state oversight. The shift from the KGB to the FSB shows a continuation of governance based on intelligence, leading to a political environment that values monitoring and control more than democratic participation. This ongoing influence of intelligence is clear in how today's political leaders, especially those with KGB ties, manage power; for example, President Vladimir Putin's rise was rooted in his intelligence work, highlighting the links between previous agents and government structures. Additionally, the use of security services goes beyond just spying, illustrated by the KGB's past actions to shape public opinion and political stories to maintain power (P. Jackson, 2022). These methods carry on in modern times, indicating a clear path toward a contemporary Russian state that is shaped by the secretive practices and beliefs of earlier agencies, emphasizing the need for control

rather than openness (I. A. Permyakov et al., 2020). The iconic representation of KGB activities encapsulates this effect, symbolizing the mix of state security and political leadership that characterizes current Russia.

### **The KGB's Role in Global Intelligence Networks**

During its time, the KGB was an important player in global intelligence networks that defined the Cold War. It used a complex system of spying, counterintelligence, and spreading false information, greatly influencing international relations. The KGB's skills were not limited to monitoring at home; it wanted to show Soviet strength worldwide by getting into academic, scientific, and political groups in the West, while disrupting threats with strategic lies (Kristina Burinskaitė, 2024). This tactic was especially clear during the technological arms race of the Cold War, as KGB agents tried to use intelligence to keep the Soviet Union in a strong position in different global areas (Kristina Burinskaitė, 2024). The KGB's wide-ranging global activities were crucial, building connections with friendly intelligence agencies while also being a strong enemy to its competitors. Therefore, its impact still shows the complex role of intelligence in shaping global events.

### **Analysis of KGB's Historical Impact on Global Security**

The KGB's impact goes well past the edges of Soviet lands, strongly affecting global security methods during the Cold War and later. Through various means like disinformation, spying, and political control, the KGB positioned itself as a strong player in international affairs. For example, its disinformation work in Eastern Europe fostered distrust and division, which hindered diplomatic talks (David V. Gioe et al., 2020). This legacy of fear and control not

only helped the Soviet Union keep power in its zone but also led other countries to take action to protect their independence. Additionally, the KGBs past in planning secret activities against perceived foes has led to a review of intelligence strategies around the world, impacting current cybersecurity and counterintelligence efforts (Alexander Lanoszka, 2019). So, the KGBs significant influence still echoes, affecting today's global security issues.

## **Conclusion**

Looking at the past actions and hidden roles of the KGB, we see how it greatly affected both Soviet life and international relations. The KGB was more than just an intelligence agency; it was also a tool of political power, playing a key part in supporting the Soviet government. Through secret activities, manipulation of information, and planned misinformation, the KGB aimed to boost state security while also conducting disruptive operations against their enemies, as highlighted by its deep involvement in modern political influence campaigns (David V. Gioe et al., 2020). Examining these factors during the Cold War shows the KGB's twofold function in spying and controlling its own people, leaving a mark that still affects today's intelligence work. The KGB's structure, shown in , emphasizes its complexity and wide range of operations, helping it play a crucial part in shaping global intelligence standards. Therefore, the KGB not only changed how countries ensure their safety but is still an important topic in conversations about intelligence and government in today's politics.

## **Summary of Key Findings**

The study of the KGB's history shows its strong effect on global politics during the Cold War and afterward. Created in the

Soviet time, the KGB did many things, from gathering intelligence to secret sabotage, highlighting its key role in spreading Soviet ideas and keeping the state secure. The organization was skilled at both visible and hidden influence, using methods that still matter today and shape current intelligence work. In particular, the KGB was heavily involved in disinformation efforts and spying, capable of shaping public views at home and abroad—a point that connects to the renewed use of such tactics in today’s global politics (Grøstad et al., 2017). In the end, the KGB’s legacy highlights the complex link between government power and intelligence work, acting as a key part in understanding the security issues we face now, as shown in the image of the KGB symbol, representing the agency's reach and lasting impact (Kanak & Koura, 2023).

### **Reflection on the KGB's Historical Significance**

The KGB's historical importance goes beyond just state security; it reflects the complex power dynamics and ideas of the Soviet Union. As a key tool of the Communist Party, the KGB carried out extensive spying and oppression, shaping life in the USSR. Its part in building national identity is vital, as it created a climate of fear and compliance through intelligence activities and purges. The agency's strong symbols, represented by [symbol], show how authority and ideology were linked, with imagery that supports the KGB's role in the state's story. Moreover, the intelligence environment in which the KGB functioned included the rise of mixed threats, similar to those discussed in (2024), representing a changing international security landscape that required flexible responses. Thus, the KGB's legacy, marked by its harsh tactics and



ideological zeal, is still an important topic for understanding today's national and global security issues.

### **The KGB's Enduring Legacy in Intelligence**

The KGB's effect on modern intelligence practices is significant and widespread, reaching beyond the end of the Soviet Union. It set up a system that integrated intelligence work into national policy, becoming a key part of the stories that still influence today's spying activities. The KGB's tactics, known for covert missions and psychological strategies, created a benchmark for state-level intelligence agencies worldwide, including those in Russia and Eastern Europe today. For example, the KGB's focus on combining domestic monitoring with foreign intelligence collection laid the foundation for today's Russian security framework, especially within the FSB. These changes show how certain practices have continued to be relevant in today's global politics, highlighting how the KGB's influence has not faded but has instead adapted, impacting new generations of intelligence workers facing a more complicated world. The KGB's blend of national security goals and intelligence efforts has lasting importance for international intelligence systems. Its historical background is critical for understanding today's issues; as countries deal with online security risks and rapid information flow, the insights from KGB methods encourage important discussions about the ethics of intelligence work. By applying psychological tactics and creating a setting where the state controls information, the KGB developed a model that many modern agencies still follow, even if the ideological beliefs differ. This legacy affects how intelligence is viewed, making it necessary to closely analyze its effects on democratic values and personal

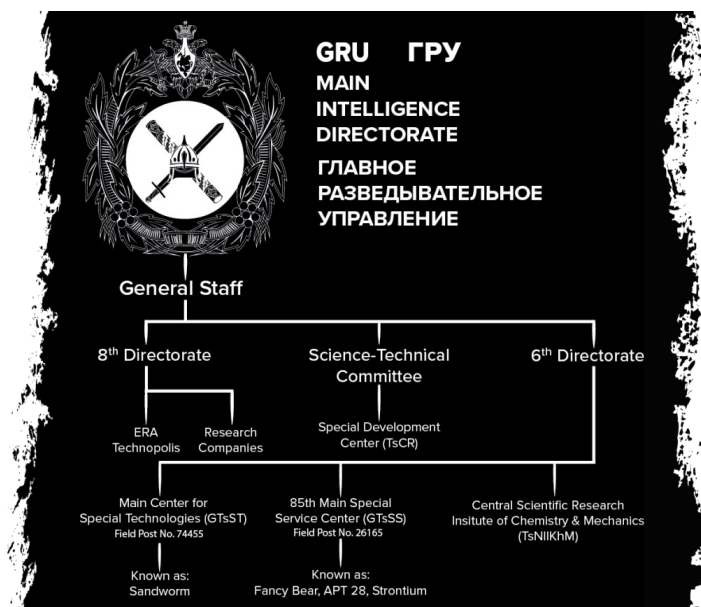
freedoms. The KGB acts as a warning about the need to balance national security with individual rights, reminding today's and tomorrow's intelligence workers about the complex moral situations they face (Michael Cox et al., 2022). As modern intelligence organizations rethink their approaches based on past lessons, the influence of the KGB is prominent in debates about efficacy versus ethical behavior in spying. The changing nature of threats—like cyber warfare or mixed conflicts—requires a reconsideration of techniques that draw from KGB practices, even in updated scenarios. Events in history, such as the emergence of cyber-espionage seen in cases like NotPetya, show a link between traditional spying and advanced digital tactics. This change, echoing KGB methods, highlights the need to adapt intelligence practices while remaining aware of lessons from past mistakes. The KGB's legacy not only guides the technical aspects of intelligence work but also reminds us of the importance of oversight, responsibility, and protecting democratic values as we pursue national security aims.



*Image5. Joint Cybersecurity Advisory on Russian 'Snake' Malware*

## Implications for Future Intelligence Studies

Future intelligence studies need to deal with the history of past organizations like the KGB to better understand current threats and methods in gathering intelligence. The KGB's detailed practices, with its many sub-agencies and secret actions, offer important lessons about how state-sponsored spying and psychological operations have changed over time. For example, the KGB's use of new technologies in the 20th century, as mentioned in discussions about Russian cyber warfare methods, shows that intelligence agencies must keep up with new technologies (Shaolong Cheng et al., 2024). Additionally, research on how society changes due to automation points to the critical role of AI in state security for future intelligence models (J. Jackson et al., 2023). These historical examples not only show the ongoing importance of spying techniques but also highlight the urgent need for modern intelligence studies to combine new technologies with traditional methods, ensuring a well-rounded strategy for today's intelligence issues. The organization and strategies of the KGB can guide future intelligence evaluations needed to manage complex global challenges. The inclusion of \*\*\*\* reinforces the changing roles of intelligence agencies, showing the complex hierarchies that influence their operations and plans in a world that is becoming more interconnected.



*Image6. Organizational Chart of the GRU: Main Intelligence Directorate Structure*

## **Final Thoughts on the KGB's Role in World History**

The KGB's effect on world history is complex, connecting the paths of spying, government actions, and ideological battles during the Cold War and after. The KGB was not just a tool for domestic control but acted as a part of Soviet foreign policy, influencing international relations through secret operations and gathering information. Its actions, especially in Warsaw Pact nations and other places, showed the extent of government control and how far a regime would go to maintain power and silence opposition. The KGB's ways, like spreading propaganda and meddling in other countries' politics, show its key role in the systems of authority that marked much of the 20th century. This historical background creates a strong story that highlights the importance of viewing the KGB as

more than merely a secret police; it was a crucial player in shaping global affairs that still matter today (Jason Healey et al., 2023)(Huw Dylan et al., 2022). The interaction between its intelligence work and state security set the stage for current discussions about spying and national independence, keeping the KGB's legacy as an important topic in political and historical discussions. In summary, the KGB represents a larger story of intelligence in global history, showing how secret missions can deeply affect international relations and beliefs. The notable image of the KGB's power is captured in [extractedKnowledge1], which points out its respected yet feared role within the Soviet system.

### **Recommendations for Further Research**

Future research should look into how the KGB operated and how it affected international diplomacy and intelligence during the Cold War. Studying Soviet intelligence history could show how the KGB shaped not just domestic policies but also global politics, especially in areas like Africa, where Soviet actions included both direct involvement and ideological backing. Examining case studies, like the KGB's activities mentioned in , related to Africa, will give us insights into the group's strategies and goals. Furthermore, looking at how the KGB's tactics have changed in cyber operations, as noted in , might help us understand how Soviet intelligence impacts modern spying and cyber warfare practices. Following these research paths will enhance our knowledge of the KGB's complex role in influencing current intelligence methods and international relations.

## References:

Ahmad, A., Webb, J., Desouza, K. C., & Boorman, J. (2019). Strategically motivated advanced persistent threat: Definition, process, tactics, and a disinformation model of counterattack. *Computers & Security*.

Alavidze, T. (2022). Lustration in Eastern Europe: The key to breaking free from Russian influence. Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School.

Anderson, J. (1997). The changing face of the KGB. *Digital Scholarship @ UNLV*.

Byers, M. E. (2010). CIA and the Cold War era. *Scholars Crossing*.

Cheng, S., Xiao, Y., Liu, L., & Sun, X. (2024). Comparative outcomes of AI-assisted ChatGPT and face-to-face consultations in infertility patients: A cross-sectional study.

Dylan, H., & Maguire, T. (2022). Secret intelligence and public diplomacy in the Ukraine war. *The RUSI Journal*.

Gioe, D. V., Goodman, M. S., & Stevens, T. (2020). Intelligence in the cyber era: Evolution or revolution? *Political Quarterly*.

Grøstad, P. F. (2017). Russiske påvirkningsoperasjoner: Er norsk krisehåndtering klar for «Active Measures 2.0»? *Forsvarets høgskole*.

Healey, J., & Jervis, R. (2023). The escalation inversion and other oddities of situational cyber stability. *Journal of Cybersecurity*.

Harrison, M. (2013). Accounting for secrets. *University of Warwick, Department of Economics*.

Harrison, M., & Zakauskienė, I. (2013). Counter-intelligence in a command economy. *University of Warwick, Department of Economics*.

Jackson, P. (2022). Christopher Andrew and the study of intelligence. *Intelligence and National Security*.

Kaňák, P., & Koura, J. (2023). In the shadow of the KGB: Legacy of Czechoslovak intelligence (1948–1989). *Intelligence and National Security*.

Karlsen, G. H. (2019). Divide and rule: Ten lessons about Russian political influence activities in Europe. *Palgrave Communications*.

Katsakioris, C. (2019). The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher education for a Soviet–Third World alliance, 1960–91. *Journal of Global History*.

Lomas, D. (2023). Spies: The epic intelligence war between East and West. *Intelligence Review*.

Mazarr, M. J., Casey, A., Demus, A., Harold, S. W., Matthews, L. J., Beauchamp-Mustafaga, N., & Sladden, J. (2019). Hostile social manipulation: Present realities and emerging trends.

Melnyczuk Morgan, L. (2010). Remember the peasantry: A study of genocide, famine, and the Stalinist Holodomor in Soviet Ukraine, 1932–33, as remembered by post-war immigrants in Western Australia. *Research Online @ ND*.

Miller, S., Regan, M., & Walsh, P. (2021). National security intelligence and ethics.

Permyakov, I. A., & Antonenko, S. G. (2020). Attempt to save friendship: What the liberator of Prague did in Czechoslovakia in May 1968.

Prokopenko, V. (2024). Didactic analysis of the panslavistic mythology in the philosophical reflections of Ivan Mirchuk.

Pruett, M. W. (2022). Postage due: A new perspective on state security/intelligence research.

Quinlan, K. (2014). The secret war between the wars: MI5 in the 1920s and 1930s.

Rairigh, A. (2016). Soviet espionage before and during the Great Patriotic War.

Roberts, G. W. (2022). Revolutionary state-making in Dar es Salaam.

Tedeev, K. V. (2024). Organization of fighter battalions and their activities during the Great Patriotic War.

Waller, J. M. (2000). Portrait of Putin's past. *Boston University Center for the Study of Conflict, Ideology, and Policy*.



## CHAPTER III

### **The Strategic Interests of Israel, The US and The UK in The Middle East**

**Aziz ARMUTLU<sup>1</sup>**

#### **Giriş**

The Middle East, with its vast geopolitical significance, has long been a focal point for the strategic interests of various global powers, including Israel, the United States (US), and the United Kingdom (UK). These countries have strived to increase their influence and secure their interests in the region, resulting in complex and multifaceted power dynamics. At the same time, the Middle East has always been of great interest to global powers due to its geopolitical location, abundant natural resources, and politically complex structure. The strategic and economic advantages the region offers to major powers have shaped foreign

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ministry of Family and Social Services, Konya/Türkiye, ORCID:0000-0003-2838-7588.  
[azizarmutlu86@gmail.com](mailto:azizarmutlu86@gmail.com)

policy preferences, with the interests and objectives of Israel, the US, and the UK often overlapping, yet occasionally diverging.

This study aims to analyze the strategic interests of Israel, the US, and the UK in the Middle East, focusing on the intersections and divergences of these interests, within the context of the region's geopolitical, economic, and historical importance. It examines Israel's security policies, the US's energy security and counterterrorism strategies, and the UK's historical ties and economic interests, comparing their approaches to the Middle East. Additionally, the study evaluates how the region's complex power dynamics influence the foreign policy preferences of these three actors, assessing the impact of shared interests on cooperation and the potential for conflict arising from divergences.

The strategic interests of Israel, the United States (US), and the United Kingdom (UK) in the Middle East reflect a complex dynamic when considering the region's geopolitical, economic, and historical context. The Middle East holds a highly strategic position in the eyes of global powers due to its intersection of Asia, Europe, and Africa and its vast reserves of oil and natural gas. These characteristics make the region a battleground not only for Middle Eastern countries but also for global actors vying for influence. This allure has driven countries like the US, the UK, and Israel to play active roles in the region, motivated by various strategic interests (Brynen, 2022; Lustick, 2021).

The strategic interests of Israel, the US, and the UK in the Middle East are deeply intertwined with regional geopolitics and historical alliances. After World War II, the UK aimed to maintain its global power by controlling Middle Eastern oil resources, with

Cyprus playing a critical role in its defense strategies (Irkıçatal, 2012). The US-Israel relationship, with Israel's security being a central element of US Middle East policy, has significantly influenced Turkey-Israel relations (Özdemir & Akbaş, 2020). Regional dynamics have shifted from the Arab-Israeli conflict to the Israeli-Palestinian issue, with Iran's nuclear ambitions and Shia-Sunni tensions overshadowing the Palestinian cause (Semin, 2023). Historically, the UK has interacted with the Kurdish population in Iraq to advance its interests, using them as a buffer and securing oil fields (Yüksel, 2021). These complex relationships continue to shape Middle Eastern politics and international interventions.

While Israel's interests in the region largely center on security, the Middle East remains critical for the US due to energy security, counterterrorism, and maintaining geopolitical balance. The UK, on the other hand, strives to preserve its influence in the Middle East by leveraging historical ties and safeguarding economic interests (Bromley, 2023). In this context, the strategic goals of Israel, the US, and the UK often converge but occasionally diverge due to differing priorities. In recent years, Iran's growing regional influence, Israel's security concerns, the US's efforts to ensure energy supply security and combat terrorism, and the UK's focus on reshaping its regional economic relations have been central to analyses in the literature (Jones & Rubin, 2023; Khalidi, 2021).

The interests of the US and the UK in the Middle East have evolved over decades, while a strategic alliance among these three countries has developed, particularly since Israel's establishment in 1948. As one of the US's closest allies in the region, Israel receives substantial support for its security and defense policies. This alliance

is also maintained through historical ties and contemporary relations with the UK (Oren, 2022; Said, 2023). This strategic cooperation intensifies around specific issues, such as perceived threats from Iran's nuclear capabilities and conflicts in Syria, enabling the US to strengthen its military presence in the region (Gerges, 2023). The strategic alliance between the US, the UK, and Israel, rooted in historical connections and security cooperation, revolves around regional crises such as Iran's nuclear threat and the Syrian conflict, bolstering the US's military presence in the Middle East.

### **Israel's Security and Defense Policies**

For Israel, the most critical goal in the Middle East is ensuring its existence and security. Since its establishment in 1948, Israel has continuously faced both internal and external threats. Wars with neighboring Arab countries, ongoing conflicts with Palestine, and regional instability have been the primary motivators of Israel's security policies. Israel's relations with other countries in the region, especially its perception of Iran and Syria as threats, lie at the core of its security strategies (Kaya, 2018).

Israel's national security concept is shaped by its geopolitical vulnerabilities and the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict (Horowitz, 1983). The country's defense strategy prioritizes deterrence and has evolved since its independence to adapt to changing threats (Cohen et al., 1998). A key element of Israel's deterrence capability is its submarine fleet, which provides strategic depth and a potential second-strike nuclear capability through modified Popeye Turbo cruise missiles deployed on Dolphin-class submarines (Özgen, 2019). Israel's security policies have increasingly become integrated with other policy areas, addressing security in a broader sense that

includes economic, social, and environmental considerations beyond traditional military and political concerns (Tangör, 2004). This expansion of security concepts and the complex nature of modern threats have led to a multi-dimensional approach to defense and security policymaking, involving multiple actors and levels of governance (Tangör, 2004). Israel's national security policy aims to move beyond traditional military and political priorities, adopting a comprehensive approach that incorporates economic, social, and environmental factors to address modern threats.

Israel has developed a strong alliance with the United States, which supports its security strategy and provides a counterbalance to other regional powers. The military and diplomatic support Israel receives from the US is utilized both to defend itself and to deter regional rivals. In this context, Israel's interests include supporting the US's military presence in the region, particularly as a means of exerting pressure on Iran's nuclear program (Gordon, 2020).

From an international relations perspective, Israel's security strategy embodies key elements of Realism. Since 1948, Israel has been engaged in a struggle for survival, facing conflicts with neighboring states while prioritizing security concerns in a surrounding environment of uncertainty. To sustain its existence and neutralize potential threats, Israel has adopted a deterrence strategy against regional actors it perceives as threats. Iran's nuclear program and the military capabilities of countries like Syria have played a critical role in shaping Israel's security policies.

The strong alliance established with the US serves not only as a support mechanism for Israel's security strategy but also as a regional balancing power. The military and diplomatic support

provided by the US has enhanced Israel's ability to protect its security interests and reinforced its regional deterrence. This alliance is crucial for Israel in achieving strategic objectives such as countering the nuclear threat posed by Iran. The US-Israel partnership is not merely a security measure but also a diplomatic tool that strengthens Israel's geopolitical position in the region. In this context, Israel's security strategy goes beyond national defense, shaping regional power balances and solidifying Israel's strategic position on the international stage.

### **The Goals and Strategies of the United States in the Middle East**

The Middle East remains a critical region for global powers such as the United States, Russia, and China due to its strategic importance and energy resources (Alkış, 2024; Aydın, 2015; İzol, 2020). The US aims to maintain its military presence and security commitments in the region while reducing its energy dependence (Alkış, 2024). Meanwhile, China's Middle East policy is shaped by three main factors: preserving its political regime, ensuring economic prosperity, and increasing its global power (Akçadağ Alagöz, 2019). Both the US and Russia, despite having significant energy resources of their own, aim to strengthen their positions in the global energy market by controlling Middle Eastern oil (İzol, 2020). The region's significance in global politics is expected to endure, driven by a complex web of zero-sum conflicts and opportunities for cooperation (Aydın, 2015). In this respect, the Middle East continues to hold its importance as a region shaped by zero-sum conflicts and opportunities for cooperation, influencing the strategic and energy-focused interests of global powers.

The US's interests in the Middle East primarily revolve around energy security, counterterrorism, and maintaining regional stability. Since the mid-20th century, the US has established alliances with various countries to secure access to the region's oil reserves. In this context, its economic and military relationships with countries like Saudi Arabia have been integral to its energy security policies (Kriter, 2024).

Another key goal of the US in the Middle East is to maintain regional balance. To this end, the US supports allies like Israel while striving to maintain balanced relations with Arab countries. However, this strategic balancing act has also created challenges for the US with certain regional actors. For example, Iran's nuclear program is perceived as a direct threat to US interests in the region, prompting the US to pursue policies of sanctions and embargoes against Iran (Pappas, 2021). The close relationships the US maintains with Israel and Saudi Arabia aim to secure its interests by forming an anti-Iran bloc in the region.

Counterterrorism occupies a significant place in US Middle East policy. Particularly after the September 11 attacks, the US increased its presence in the region, conducting large-scale military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. These operations were aimed at combating regional terrorist organizations and promoting Western values such as democracy and human rights. However, these interventions were met with resistance in many countries, damaging the US's image in the region (Smith, 2022). While the post-9/11 counterterrorism operations combined efforts to spread Western values, they resulted in public backlash and tarnished the US's regional reputation.

From an international relations perspective, the US's Middle East strategy is shaped by a series of strategic interests that reinforce its claim to global hegemonic power. Energy security lies at the center of this strategy, with the US's economic and military alliances with oil-rich countries like Saudi Arabia playing a critical role in ensuring access to energy resources and stabilizing global energy markets. In this context, the alliances the US has established with Saudi Arabia and Israel not only secure energy resources but also act as a counterbalance against rivals such as Iran.

The US's efforts to maintain regional balance have manifested in its strategic flexibility post-Cold War, balancing relationships with diverse regional actors. However, the close alliances formed with Israel and Saudi Arabia and the sanctions-driven policies against Iran have complicated the US's relations with certain Arab states. This pursuit of strategic balance has been further challenged by the US's efforts to form a bloc against Iran, deepening regional polarization and narrowing its diplomatic maneuvering space.

Counterterrorism remains another key strategic interest sustaining the US's presence in the region. Following September 11, military operations in countries like Afghanistan and Iraq were conducted under the banner of counterterrorism and regional stability. These operations were not limited to security goals but also aimed to spread Western values in the region. However, such interventions provoked backlash among local populations and damaged the US's legitimacy. These interventions created a "security-stability dilemma," where measures taken to protect US security interests undermined its legitimacy in the region.



In this context, the US's efforts to secure its interests in the Middle East necessitate a delicate balance between energy security, regional stability, and counterterrorism. The US's struggle to establish this balance highlights the conflict between its desire to maintain hegemonic power in the international system and the legitimacy challenges it faces in the region.

### **The Historical and Contemporary Strategic Interests of the United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom's policies in the Middle East have been shaped significantly by the mandates established after World War I. The UK maintained a lasting presence in countries such as Palestine, Iraq, and Jordan, directly influencing their political structures and creating dependent administrations. This historical connection has reinforced the UK's influence in the region (Thomas, 2018).

The strategic importance of the Middle East and Cyprus has been emphasized, particularly due to the region's oil resources and Cyprus's advantageous position for defense policies, which played a critical role in maintaining the UK's global influence after World War II (İrkiçatal, 2012). The UK's response to the Arab Spring revealed the political fragmentation within the European Union, with member states' reactions shaped by security interests, economic concerns, and domestic dynamics (Dinç, 2018). During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the UK's policy toward the Turkish Straits was shaped by national interests and the international context (Yurdusev, 1999). After withdrawing from the Persian Gulf in 1971, the UK's foreign policy in the region shifted, especially following the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The UK adopted a sectarian discourse as an effective tool to securitize the Gulf region, a strategy that

intensified during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) and the Gulf Wars (1990-91) (Çavuşoğlu, 2018). The UK's Middle East and Cyprus-centered strategies have been shaped by historical interests, sectarian rhetoric, and policies prioritizing regional security, becoming more pronounced in the post-Iranian Revolution period.

Today, the UK's interests in the Middle East are shaped by its strategic alliance with the United States. The UK has supported US operations in the region, thereby strengthening military and intelligence cooperation with the US. During the Iraq War, the UK aligned itself closely with the US, pursuing a policy of protecting its regional interests while maintaining its position as a US ally. Additionally, the UK continues its economic relations with Gulf countries, benefiting from arms exports to these nations, which not only bolster its economic interests but also ensure its continued presence in the region (Jones, 2019). The UK's relations with Israel are also notably strong. In this context, the UK supports Israel's security needs, providing military and technological assistance. This relationship contributes to the UK's ongoing support for Israel and its efforts to protect its own strategic interests in the region.

The UK's policies in the Middle East have been driven by a long-standing effort to establish a sphere of influence and protect its interests, from the mandate administrations after World War I to the present. Through these mandates, the UK established a significant presence in Palestine, Iraq, and Jordan, directly intervening in their political systems to create dependent administrations. Today, the UK's interests in the region are redefined in alignment with its strategic partnership with the US. In this regard, the UK strengthens transatlantic cooperation by supporting US military operations in the

region. During the Iraq War, the UK adopted a strategy of increasing its regional influence by aligning itself with the US. Furthermore, its economic relations and arms exports to Gulf countries reinforce both its economic and strategic interests. The UK's strong support for Israel is another key factor, as it provides military and technological assistance to meet Israel's security needs. This allows the UK to maintain its role as an influential actor in the region and strengthen its influence in the Middle East through a network of relationships.

### **Common Interests and Divergences Amid the Turmoil in the Middle East**

The Middle East has historically hosted numerous civilizations and is characterized by its complex social, political, and economic dynamics. According to Ekinçi (2005), marginal movements in the region, particularly Ismaili and Qarmatian groups, have contributed to the emergence of diverse interpretations within the Islamic world. Çalık Topuz (2023) highlights that inter-state military disputes in the Middle East are linked to economic interdependence and neighborhood factors, which deepen military conflicts. Kazan and Mazman (2023) examine the incompatibility between the nation-state model and traditional state structures in the Middle East, along with the legal and cultural reasons for its lack of societal acceptance. Özkan (2021) notes that developments following the Arab Spring have been evaluated within the context of sectarian and religious wars. These studies provide an important foundation for understanding the complex nature of common interests and divergences in the Middle East.

The turmoil in the Middle East presents both common interests and divergences for Israel, the United States, and the United

Kingdom. These three actors converge on goals such as ensuring energy security, combating terrorism, and limiting Iran's nuclear program, while differing in their strategic priorities in the region. Israel receives support from the US and the UK to maintain national security and regional military superiority, while the US prioritizes reducing its energy dependence and military presence in the region. The UK, leveraging its historical ties, aims to strengthen relations with Gulf countries and protect its economic interests. While there are occasional strategic differences among these three actors on issues such as Iran, Syria, and Palestine, ensuring Israel's security and supporting pro-Western forces form a common ground.

Although the interests of Israel, the US, and the UK in the Middle East generally align, differences in their regional priorities are notable. Israel's policies in the Middle East are centered on ensuring national security and maintaining its presence in a region where it continuously perceives existential threats. Long-standing conflicts with Palestine, instability in Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and, most importantly, Iran's efforts to develop nuclear capabilities are key drivers of Israel's security strategies (Kaya, 2018). On the other hand, the US defines its strategic interests in the region primarily in terms of energy security, counterterrorism, and regional stability. Access to Middle Eastern oil reserves and ensuring energy supply security have led the US to develop close partnerships with oil-rich countries like Saudi Arabia, while also focusing on limiting the influence of regional powers such as Iran (Pappas, 2021).

The UK's interests in the Middle East are focused on maintaining historical ties and sustaining economic relations. Following World War I, the UK established a significant presence in

countries such as Palestine, Iraq, and Jordan through mandate administrations, directly intervening in their political structures to create dependent governments. Today, the UK continues to pursue its historical influence through strategic relationships and military cooperation. The UK's arms trade with Gulf countries not only generates economic benefits but also enhances its strategic influence in the region (Jones, 2019).

One of the shared goals of these countries is to limit Iran's nuclear program. Iran's efforts to develop nuclear capabilities are perceived as a direct threat not only to Israel but also to the regional interests of the US and the UK. Therefore, diplomatic and economic sanctions against Iran remain on the agenda, supported by military options (Brynen, 2022). While the possibility of Iran acquiring nuclear weapons poses an existential challenge for Israel, it is viewed as a risk to regional power balances by the US and the UK. In this context, the US and the UK provide military support to Israel while striving to maintain balanced relations with other Arab countries. However, Israel's policies toward Palestine have led to strategic tensions among these allies. Criticisms from the US and the UK regarding Israel's settlement policies and human rights violations occasionally cause temporary diplomatic friction between Israel and its Western allies (Altun, 2020; Gerges, 2023). While the goal of limiting Iran's nuclear program unites Israel, the US, and the UK in their shared interests, Israel's policies toward Palestine sometimes lead to diplomatic tensions among these allies.

Recently, analyses in the literature have increasingly focused on the strategic differences in the relationships between Israel and the US-UK alliance. Lustick (2021) notes that while the US provides

strong support to Israel, its broader strategy in the Middle East is shaped by its wider interests, which do not always align with Israel's stance on Palestine. Khalidi (2021) highlights that the US and the UK do not perceive Iran as an immediate threat to the same extent as Israel does but acknowledge that Iran's acquisition of nuclear power could alter regional balances. In this context, the literature frequently discusses how the US and the UK aim to balance Israel's security concerns with their own strategic priorities (Said, 2023). These analyses reveal the complexity of the strategic cooperation between Israel and its Western allies, as well as the occasional contradictions between regional priorities.

## **Conclusion**

The Middle East holds significant strategic and economic importance for countries like Israel, the United States, and the United Kingdom. These nations pursue various policies and collaborate to increase their influence in the region and protect their interests. However, the complexity of the region prevents their interests from always aligning. In this context, the dynamics of competition and cooperation among these powers in the Middle East further complicate regional instability. This situation can be better understood by examining Israel's security policies, the US's energy security and counterterrorism strategies, and the UK's historical interests.

A detailed analysis of the Middle East policies of Israel, the US, and the UK reveals that their interests largely overlap, though certain strategic differences persist. While Israel aims to prevent Iran from gaining power and seeks dominance in its relations with the Arab world due to regional security concerns, the US and the UK's

focus on the region stems from the need to ensure energy security, protect economic interests, and maintain international balance.

Israel's security-focused policies align with the long-term strategies of the US and the UK, as both countries view cooperation with Israel as a sustainable security measure to limit Iran's influence. However, the US's efforts to balance its relationships with Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries necessitate careful diplomacy in its relations with Israel. This balancing act requires the US to support Israel's security concerns while ensuring the stability of its energy security in the region (Pappas, 2021). In this context, Israel's strategic role in the region supports both the US's access to energy resources and efforts to maintain regional balance against Iran's expansionist policies.

On the other hand, the UK demonstrates a more pragmatic approach, driven by its historical ties and economic interests. The UK's Middle East policies reflect a focus on sustaining its influence through trade and military relations. While this generally aligns with the US's strategic objectives in the region, it occasionally leads to different policies and methods of intervention (Jones, 2019).

The core dynamic of the alliance among Israel, the US, and the UK is shaped by the need to establish a shared security framework against Iran and regional terrorist threats. However, these nations also engage in implicit competition over energy resources and geopolitical influence. These strategic divergences are particularly evident when the US and the UK develop relationships with regional countries that conflict with Israel's security interests.

From the perspective of the Middle East, while Israel, the US, and the UK share similar goals of protecting their interests and

limiting the influence of rival powers, their priorities and strategies for achieving these goals occasionally conflict and display incompatibility. This makes it challenging to establish a sustainable security framework and stability in the region. Consequently, the future success of this alliance will likely depend on the extent to which regional dynamics and the short- and long-term interests of each nation align.



## References

Akçadağ Alagöz, M. (2019). Çin'in Orta Doğu Politikası: Rejim Koruma, Ekonomik Refah ve Güç Artışı. *Doğu-Batı Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 12(4), 67-82.

Alkış, S. (2024). ABD'nin Orta Doğu Politikası ve Enerji Bağımlılığını Azaltma Stratejisi. *Enerji ve Güvenlik Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 19(1), 89-105.

Altun, Y. (2020). Orta Doğu'da uluslararası ilişkiler ve güç dengesi. Ankara: Bilim Yayınları.

Aydın, H. (2015). Orta Doğu'nun Dünya Siyasetindeki Yeri ve Geleceği. *Bölgesel Çalışmalar Dergisi*, 8(2), 123-140.

Bromley, S. (2023). The strategic importance of the Middle East: Resources, power, and conflict. London: Routledge.

Brynen, R. (2022). Power and politics in the Middle East: Analyzing state interests. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, A., Eisenstadt, M., & Pollack, K. (1998). Evolution of Israel's Defense Strategy: From Independence to the Present. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 10(3), 25-43.

Çalık Topuz, G. (2023). Orta Doğu'da Devletler Arası Askeri Anlaşmazlıkların Ekonomik ve Coğrafi Faktörlerle İlişkisi. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 20(1), 89-112.

Çavuşoğlu, E. (2018). İngiltere'nin Körfez Bölgesi Politikası: 1971'den Günümüze Mezhepsel Söylem ve Güvenlikleştirme Stratejileri. *Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 14(3), 67-89.

Dinç, C. (2018). Arap Baharı ve AB'nin Siyasi Bölünmüşlüğü: İngiltere'nin Yaklaşımı. *Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 24(1), 89-110.

Ekinci, M. (2005). İslam Dünyasında Marjinal Hareketler: İsmaililik ve Karmatilik. *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 8(2), 45-67.

Gerges, F. A. (2023). The superpowers and the Middle East: US, Soviet, and regional dynamics. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gordon, M. (2020). U.S.-Israel relations and security cooperation in the Middle East. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Horowitz, D. (1983). Israel's National Security Concept: A Geopolitical Perspective. *Middle East Journal*, 37(4), 556-571.

İrkıçatal, A. (2012). İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sonrası İngiltere'nin Orta Doğu Politikaları ve Kıbrıs'ın Stratejik Önemi. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 7(3), 45-67.

İzol, M. (2020). Orta Doğu'nun Küresel Güçler İçin Stratejik Önemi. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Politika Dergisi*, 15(3), 45-67.

Jones, P. (2019). British policy in the Middle East since the end of Empire. London: Routledge.

Jones, P., & Rubin, B. (2023). Israel and the Middle East: Strategic dynamics and regional policies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kaya, S. (2018). Israel's security policy and regional threats. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Kazan, B. & Mazman, F. (2023). Orta Doğu'da Ulus-Devlet

Anlayışının Geleneksel Devlet Yapılarıyla Uyumsuzluğu. *Kültürel ve Hukuksal Çalışmalar Dergisi*, 15(3), 123-145.

Khalidi, R. (2021). *The Middle East and the US: Interests and conflicts*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies.

Kriter Dergi. (2024). *ABD-Suudi Arabistan ilişkilerinin dönüşümü ve geleceği: Krizler, tercihler ve stratejik hamleler*. <https://kriterdergi.com/dis-politika/abd-suudi-arabistan-iliskilerinin-donusumu-ve-gelecegi-krizler-tercihler-ve-stratejik-hamleler>

Lustick, I. (2021). *Paradigm lost: From two-state solution to one-state reality*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Oren, M. B. (2022). *Power, faith, and fantasy: America in the Middle East, 1776 to the present*. New York: Norton.

Özdemir, M., & Akbaş, T. (2020). ABD-İsrail İlişkilerinin Türkiye-İsrail İlişkilerine Etkisi. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 17(68), 59-80.

Özgen, M. (2019). Dolphin-Class Submarines and Israel's Strategic Depth in National Security. *Journal of Defense Studies and Strategies*, 7(2), 129-145.

Özkan, A. (2021). Arap Baharı Sonrası Orta Doğu: Din ve Mezhep Savaşlarının Yansımaları. *Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 10(4), 67-89.

Pappas, A. (2021). *Energy and security in U.S. foreign policy: An analysis of American strategy in the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Said, E. (2023). The question of Palestine and its impact on Western policies in the Middle East. New York: Pantheon.

Semin, F. (2023). İran, Şii-Sünni Çatışması ve Filistin Sorunu: Orta Doğu'da Değişen Dinamikler. *Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 14(2), 89-112.

Smith, J. (2022). War and terror: The American presence in the Middle East. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tangör, E. (2004). Broadening Security Concepts: The Interconnection of Security, Economy, and Environment in Israel. *International Security Review*, 12(1), 89-105.

Thomas, E. (2018). British mandate and influence in the modern Middle East. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yurdusev, A. N. (1999). Türk Boğazları Üzerine İngiltere'nin Politikası: 19. ve 20. Yüzyıllarda Ulusal Çıkar ve Uluslararası Bağlam. *Bölgesel Tarih ve Politika Dergisi*, 11(2), 123-142.

Yüksel, E. (2021). İngiltere'nin Orta Doğu'daki Politikaları ve Kürt Nüfusu ile İlişkileri. *Bölgesel Çalışmalar Dergisi*, 9(1), 123-140.

## CHAPTER IV

### **The "Development Road Project" is a new strategic initiative by Türkiye and Iraq aimed at connecting Asia, and the EU**

**Emrah YILDIRIMCAKAR<sup>1</sup>**

#### **Introduction**

The economic corridors, projects, and initiatives are increasingly regarded as alternative ways of boosting development, investment, and foreign trade interactions of both regional and global economies. The motivations behind these economic corridors and initiatives are majorly expected to ensure multilateral economic integration, generate an infrastructure development process for developing economies, and create multilateral economic connectivity by facilitating procedures and transportation systems primarily benefiting the participating countries. Although each

---

<sup>1</sup> Assistant Prof., Avrasya University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of International Relations.Trabzon/Türkiye, [emrahycakar@gmail.com](mailto:emrahycakar@gmail.com) Orcid ID: 0000-0001-6501-5471.

initiative state has more advantages and strategic goals in such initiatives and corridors, these economic corridors and initiatives provide opportunities to improve transportation links, create new alternatives for existing routes, and develop both global and regional connectivity.

In recent years, economic development has become a primary focus for international actors. These actors aim to strengthen their economic and socio-cultural ties with global economies and communities and to position themselves strategically in the global market (Yıldırım Keser, 2015). In this context, economic corridors have become vital for countries seeking integration with major economic powers or markets. However, the completion of such economic corridors also brings inherent risks. These risks include possible environmental challenges, exacerbation of social inequalities, and unpredictable geopolitical conflicts. Despite these risks, economic corridors play an important role in facilitating access to energy and commercial goods, connecting markets and trade centers. If initially well planned, they can significantly reduce transportation costs and delivery times as well as increase trade volumes, and contribute to multilateral economic growth. Accordingly, the success of an economic corridor depends not only on its economic and infrastructure process but also on its long-term political and strategic objectives. (Zaheer and Faiz, 2024). A well-designed corridor should aim to promote collective development and maintain uninterrupted and sustainable stability. By addressing infrastructure issues at an early stage, economic corridors can reduce political and economic risks, ensure their long-term sustainability, and increase the connectivity and prosperity of the regions they serve.

As a new regional economic and strategic project, the Development Road Project is expected to play a pivotal role in shaping the economic relations of the Middle East, particularly in trade and energy transportation among regional countries. Türkiye and Iraq are the primary stakeholders and initiators of this strategic project. It is also expected to generate significant opportunities for Gulf countries such as the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Kuwait. Furthermore, in the long term, the project holds the potential to become a key player in the trade networks of Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. Notably, it may integrate with China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which comprises numerous sea, rail, and highway routes designed to connect China with Central Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Europe to back up China's future economic growth.

The Development Road Project is planned to consist of two primary transportation dimensions such as highways and railways. The highway component is expected to be 1,131 kilometers, while the railway is projected to be slightly longer by reaching 1,201 kilometers before connecting to the Mediterranean or the EU (Rudaw, 2024). Additionally, the seaway may play a supplementary role in transferring goods from Asian markets to Iraq's Grand Faw Port and the Gulf, as well as through Turkish territory to the Mediterranean and the EU markets. The project is also strategically designed as part of an integrated transportation network between Iraq and Türkiye, linking the two countries through railways, highways, ports, and urban centers. In this context, Iraq's Grand Faw Port is envisioned as the starting point of the project, aiming to significantly reduce travel time between Asia and Europe by traversing Türkiye's territory (Coşkun, 2024). Consequently, with the completion of this project, Türkiye and Iraq are expected to have

critical roles in facilitating the transit of goods and energy between Asia, the Gulf, the Middle East, and the EU.

### **The Development Road Project and Its Underlying Motivations**

The rivalry between great powers continues unceasingly in regional and global affairs. The Middle East has consistently held a position of strategic importance for both regional and global powers in the context of expanding their power, influence, and existence (Chaziza, 2024). The United States, European powers, and emerging nations such as China and India are among these actors striving to increase their soft power, political and economic influence, and bargaining capacity in the Middle East, which is a major energy center and has a critical geographic position in regards of connecting Asia to Europe. The United States and European countries do not only support the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) to bolster India's influence as a counterbalance to China, but also, they also aim to reinforce Israel's role and influence in the Middle East (Wakim, 2023). Meanwhile, China seeks to expand its presence and active role in the region by advocating peaceful interactions and promoting win-win economic cooperation (Yıldırımçakar, 2024). While political and economic approaches of the external power to the Middle East vary from time to time, the region remains a critical area due to its abundant energy resources, strategic geopolitical position, and cultural diversity.

Unlike other external economic corridors and initiatives planned to traverse the territories of the Middle East. The Development Road Project emerges as a transformative initiative with significant implications for Iraq, Türkiye, the Middle East, and



regional and global actors. If successfully implemented, it will have the potential to diversify not only Iraq's but also many regional countries' economy, and social welfare, boost their importation and exportation, as well as catalyze their industrial and infrastructural development. (Karataş, 2023). With the participation of Qatar and the UAE, the expected participant states signed the "Development Road Project Joint Cooperation Memorandum of Understanding" with the participation of high-level representatives. This project is planned to Cover the Gulf-bordering countries of the Arabian Peninsula, providing a highly significant economic interaction (Coşkun, 2024). In this perspective, President of the Baghdad Chamber of Commerce Firas al-Hamdani stated that Türkiye is Iraq's one of the most important strategic partners not only in the construction process of the Development Road Project but also in the whole development process of Iraq. The economic volume of the Development Road Project Project is initially estimated to be \$17 to \$20 billion. The Iraqi government and local stakeholders are endorsed to handle most of the expenses to be paid for the construction and development of this economic project (Politika Akademisi, 2024). In this context, the Iraqi government will likely finance the portions of the project within Iraqi territory, while Türkiye is anticipated to manage the infrastructure expenses on its side.

If the Development Road Project can be widened with the participation of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, the project will have a significant role in the transportation of oil, natural gas, and other underground resources to be transferred via Iraq and Türkiye to the EU. This project has the potential to be an alternative to the Zangezur Corridor in the South Caucasus. This project can offer member

countries, as well as other Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf nations to transfer energy and goods to the EU. With the accomplishment of this project, trade between Türkiye and Iraq is expected to reach \$20 billion in a short period. The Development Road is a crucial route, especially as part of the transit corridor extending to China. In the changing global order, the ability of countries to carry out their defense plans depends on their multilateral trade gains. As seen in the Israel-Hamas war and the Ukraine-Russia war, enhanced multilateral infrastructure projects are important to resist multilateral global risks (Coşkun, 2024). In this context, the Development Path project with a strong infrastructure can also create win-win cooperation opportunities for other countries involved in the project

*“The "Development Road", which is regarded as an important project initiative of recent years, is being implemented by the Turkish-Iraqi governments. The most expensive section of the project lies on Iraqi territory. The government in Baghdad, which is struggling to manage this process economically, plans to solve this problem through a partnership with Türkiye, Europe and the countries of the region. In reality, Iraq, which relies on Türkiye's diplomatic power, is trying to form an alliance with this project and obtain the financial contribution of powerful countries in the region such as the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. There are many factors behind Ankara's intense diplomacy for the current project. These are the Chinese government's economic and political goals under the "Belt and Road" project. Türkiye wants to activate alternative trade routes in the future as the Chinese economy, which is undergoing strong development, cannot be ignored. The "Development Road" move is undoubtedly in this direction. The*

*dialog that Western countries have started with Beijing through the "Asian Infrastructure Development Bank" is another explanation.”* (Yıldız, 2024)

The Development Road Project is not merely a trade initiative, it is an important project that is planned to contribute to the global economic and commercial system. It is not only exclusively aimed at supporting the development and growth of a single country along its route. It will also play a critical role in the context of reducing the delivery time of goods from China to Europe by shortening the time from almost 45 days to 20 or 25 days (Coşkun, 2024). In this context, the project is likely to reap support from China, other Asian nations, and Gulf countries due to its potential to enhance trade efficiency and connectivity.

Türkiye strongly supports the Development Road Project, as it is described, with the development of this project, Türkiye aims to achieve several geopolitical goals related to security and economy. Accordingly, Türkiye aims to eliminate the PKK, ISIS, and their separatist demands originating from Northern Iraq and Syria. Through this project, Türkiye seeks to resolve its economic issues via economic integration in the context of mutual benefits (win-win outcomes) with both the Iraqi central government and the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). (Politika Akademisi, 2024). Türkiye needs to use its geopolitical advantages to achieve its long-term political and economic objectives. It is considered that Türkiye can achieve this goal by activating or enabling to effective use of its transit networks. Türkiye has the potential to connect and increase both national and international logistic connectivity (Çekerol ve Nalçakan, 2011; Açık and Baser, 2018). The Iraqi government aimed

to build the Development Road Project by expropriating people's land. Accordingly, Iraqi Prime Minister Sudani has instructed the relevant authorities to promptly resolve the allocation and ownership issues of lands along the Development Road Project. In this context, Iraqi Prime Minister Mohammed Shia al-Sudani's Advisor for Transportation, Essadi, stated, "A small portion of the lands along the Development Road Project belong to citizens, while the majority are state-owned. The compensation will be paid to citizens whose lands are included in the project." (Kurdistan24, 2024).

On May 27, 2023, a conference was held to discuss steps to be taken within the framework of the Development Road Project by including representatives from Saudi Arabia, Türkiye, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE, Oman, and Iran, as well as the World Bank and the European Union. However, when Türkiye's President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited Iraq on April 22, 2024, a quadrilateral memorandum of understanding regarding the Development Road Project was signed among Türkiye, Iraq, the UAE, and Qatar. (Kurdistan24, 2024). All related parties that participated in supporting the Development Road Project are focusing on making the Development Road Project an attractive international corridor and an effective alternative for international land transportation (Rudaw, 2024). These efforts seem will continue to expand with the support of other external participants from Asian and European countries and institutions.

The Development Road Project offers numerous advantages for Iraq. One of the most significant contributions is its potential to bolster Iraq's economy and trade sectors. Additionally, it is expected to strengthen Iraq's central government and help mitigate separatist

tendencies within the country. The project also holds strategic importance in the context of weakening or eliminating separatist organizations that are perceived as a longstanding threat both for Iraq and Türkiye (Sancak, 2024). Therefore, the Development Road should not merely be considered a project designed to increase economic or trade interactions, it also is designed to have a significant contribution to regional political and security integration.

The official visit of Türkiye's President Erdoğan to Iraq after 13 years has been described as the beginning of a new era in Türkiye-Iraq relations during this visit the two countries have signed 26 memorandum of understanding including cooperation in counterterrorism, bilateral collaboration on water issues, and the inclusion of Qatar and the United Arab Emirates in the Development Road Project. This visit could transform the evolving Türkiye-Iraq relations are expected to increase regional stability in the coming years (Duman, 2024). The Development Road Project also bears significant achievements for Iraq in the context of considering it as an alternative to the Suez Canal. This project was initially mentioned as Dry Canal. It was thought to play a highly strategic and geopolitical role in integrating Iraq into the global trade networks. Afterward, it got the name of Development Road with the support of Türkiye. On the other hand, the Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government Masrour Barzani has also expressed his support for the project. He also proposed the east of the Tigris as an alternative route to Türkiye and Iraq that may be less costly and economically more advantageous (Politika Akademisi, 2024).

Türkiye is a willing and active actor supporting the social and economic development of Iraq and Kurdistan Region. However,

Türkiye has a direct reaction against the independence of the Kurdistan Region. Iraq and Syria's territorial integrity is one of the most critical principles in Türkiye's current foreign policy. Türkiye's President emphasizes this point everywhere. Türkiye sees many geopolitical and secure risks related to an independent Kurdish State in Iraq. Thus, Türkiye has a steadfast commitment to this principle. (Politika Akademisi, 2024). On the other hand, with its role in the transportation of energy sources in the triangle of the Middle East, Caucasasia, and the EU. Türkiye aims to implement its geological superiority to be a trade and economic hub among the Middle East, Asia, and Europe. Accordingly, the Development Road Project is predicted to not only strengthen Türkiye's trade and economic hub position between Asia and Europe, but it will also strengthen the geopolitical status of Türkiye, deepen its relations with neighboring countries, increase its bilateral and multilateral trade volumes, provide Türkiye more employment opportunities and decrease its foreign trade deficiency.

The Development Road Project has multilateral strategic meaning for Türkiye's regional geopolitical policies, too. In this context, Türkiye aims to establish regional stability, and multilateral economic collaboration and reduce its energy dependency and costs. Türkiye's approach is rooted in peaceful collaboration and mutual benefit with most of the regional partners. Its strategic priority is focusing on multilateral strategic partnerships with not only the Iraqi central government and the Kurdistan Regional Government but also with other regional actors. Through these partnerships, Türkiye seeks to not only lower its energy expenses but also secure a share of transit revenues as a vital corridor for Iraqi oil and gas exports. This vision complements Türkiye's broader aspirations, such as

becoming a natural gas hub, a strategy actively supported by Russia and energy-rich nations like Azerbaijan and Iran. By promoting stability in Iraq and pursuing energy cooperation, Ankara positions itself as a key player in regional development, ensuring both economic and geopolitical advantages (Politika Akademisi, 2024). Like its Iraq policy, Türkiye aims to play a vital role in Syria, with the collapse of the Syrian Baas Regime, Türkiye aims to protect Syria's territorial integration and assist the Syrian people to establish a new and democratic government.

### **Expectations from the Development Road Project**

As one of the shortest routes planned to connect the Gulf to the Mediterranean and the EU, the Development Road Project has the potential to enhance Türkiye's strategic position as a hub for energy and trade routes linking the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East, and the EU. Moreover, the Development Road Project is considered to be a potential alternative to China's BRI. Unlike a single-route system, the BRI comprises at least six different corridors. In this context, the Development Road Project can serve as an alternative route to the corridors passing through Central and North Asia for transporting goods to the EU. The Development Road Project is also anticipated to accelerate the economic growth of Gulf countries and enhance their energy trade interactions. The Gulf countries are generally inclined to engage in multilateral cooperation through various initiatives and economic corridors, such as the BRI and the IMEC (Sean et al., 2023). In line with this trend, the Development Road Project offers the Gulf countries a valuable opportunity to access the Mediterranean and EU energy markets more efficiently.

The Development Road Project is planned to cover 1,200 kilometers of highway and railway from the Persian Gulf to Türkiye, crossing multiple cities in Iraq and Türkiye. Cities along the route will not only serve as transit hubs but are also expected to reap significant economic benefits. Even cities directly adjacent to cities along the route are expected to reap economic benefits (Pirinççi, 2024). Beyond the estimated \$17 billion investment in highways, railways, and oil pipelines, the Development Road Project is projected to generate approximately \$4 billion in annual revenue for Iraq by 2029. Consequently, its contribution to the Iraqi economy will go beyond oil exports. The project is expected to stimulate long-term economic growth, stimulate industrialization, and drive infrastructure improvements (Karataş, 2023). It also has the potential to reduce the risks of regional and national instability associated with regional and international conflicts while promoting regional and national prosperity.

In the context of advancing the Development Road Project and addressing related security concerns, Turkish President Erdoğan visited Baghdad with high-level officials, including Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan, Defense Minister Yaşar Güler, and MIT Director İbrahim Kalın. These high-level talks with the Iraqi government resulted in a new agreement or memorandum of understanding, primarily focused on combating the PKK, which is a major security concern for Türkiye. While challenges remain unsolved security issues in Syria, particularly with the PKK and other militant groups, this agreement constitutes an important step in Türkiye's ongoing efforts to combat terrorism in both Iraq and Syria (Politika Akademi, 2024). Historically, Türkiye and Iraq have faced issues such as water disputes and differences in political priorities. However, in recent



years, Türkiye has made intensive efforts to strengthen its relations with both the central government of Iraq and the Kurdistan Regional Government. This cooperation has also spread to a variety of sectors, including energy, security, industry, investment, and counterterrorism. In the context of sharing common interests in security and economic developments, Türkiye and Iraq are now more willing to deepen their cooperation through the establishment of the Development Road Project. This initiative is expected to facilitate connectivity between the Gulf countries, the Mediterranean, and the EU, as well as increase the mutual interests of Türkiye and Iraq (Soylu, 2023). With the main focus on common interests such as energy, security, and trade. The project has also the potential to strengthen political and economic ties between Türkiye and Iraq by bringing advantages to both sides and regional countries.

The Development Road Project is thought to create significant impacts on the political and economic landscape of the Middle East, too. Particularly in the context of counter-terrorism cooperation. Moreover, it provides the opportunities to increase military cooperation on regional issues, border security, and operations against terrorist groups in the region. These developments are likely to contribute to Türkiye's current active role in the region fighting against terrorism more effectively (Topsakal and Zengin, 2024; Yıldız, 2024). Türkiye aims to take a more prominent role in global political and economic affairs to increase its peaceful cooperation with regional and neighboring countries to strengthen its international position. The Development Road Project has the potential to serve as a direct and effective trade route between the Gulf and European countries, too. Supported by Türkiye and Gulf countries such as Qatar and the UAE, the Development Project can

also increase its strategic and economic importance by positioning itself as a key player in logistics, energy, and economic relations between Türkiye, Iraq, Gulf countries, and the EU. Furthermore, the Development Road Project is expected to play a more active role in strengthening the national structure of the Iraqi people. Since the post-Saddam era in 2003, Iraq has increasingly struggled to unite its different population groups with different political objectives. Thus, it is likely to create an environment for the solidarity of the Iraqi people as well (Pirinçi, 2024).

Unlike many other economic corridors and initiatives, the Development Road Project is not a regional initiative designed to serve a single country. Accordingly, the Development Road Project is designed to prioritize the development of Iraq and several neighboring countries, such as Türkiye, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia. The project wishes to enable these countries to have a common trading system, focusing on strengthening their economies and increasing their interrelation (Karataş, 2023). This initiative is considered to promote mutual benefits, developing trade, infrastructure, and economic cooperation in a wide geographic area. By focusing on the interrelation of these areas, the Development Road Project aims to promote shared prosperity and stability by offering a more inclusive model than other global initiatives focused on.

Since 1991, Türkiye's Iraq policy has primarily focused on addressing security concerns stemming from regional terrorist organizations. However, from 2007 onward, Türkiye's political and economic approach to Iraq has changed remarkably. While continuing to prioritize security issues, particularly fighting against

terrorism, Türkiye has increasingly emphasized strengthening its bilateral economic and strategic relations with Iraq (Semin, 2023). In this context, the Development Road Project holds significant potential not only in shaping Türkiye-Iraq relations but also in advancing Türkiye's ambition to become a major energy hub and its essential strategy that would bolster its role as a key actor in Eurasian geopolitics. Additionally, the project presents an opportunity to further develop the Türkiye-Basra Gulf Economic Corridor, a vital connection linking Asia, Europe, and Iraq (Bulut, 2024).

### **Challenges Ahead for the Development Road Project**

There are several critical factors that could affect the successful implementation of the Development Road Project. While some challenges stem from Iraq's internal security problems, others stem from external and regional actors such as the United States, Iran, Israel, and various organizations. Among these external factors, Iran stands out as a significant potential obstacle to the project, because of its extensive shared border with Iraq. Although Iran has not yet officially commented on the Development Road Project (Karataş, 2023), however, it has significant political influence over certain Iraqi local groups that have deep historical, cultural, religious, political, and economic ties with Iran. If Iran is excluded from this initiative, Türkiye could potentially strengthen its political and economic influence in Iraq more easily. However, this development could arouse hostile feelings in Iran toward both Türkiye and Iraq (Toğa, 2024). Consequently, it remains unclear how Iran will evaluate and respond to the project in light of its regional and national interests. If Iran adopts a negative stance against the project, it will have the capacity to create multifaceted

challenges to the project in the context of political, economic, military, and logistics.

The PKK has maintained a presence in the mountains of Iraq since the Gulf War by using the region as its central administrative base. Türkiye has long been concerned about the PKK's activities in Iraq. It has made the region to be a critical area for Türkiye's counterterrorism policies (Kayhan Pusane, 2024). Accordingly, Türkiye has developed stronger relations both with the central government of Iraq and the Kurdistan Regional Government by cooperating in sectors such as energy, security, industry, investment, and counterterrorism. The PKK, ISIS, and some other groups in Syria and Iraq are recognized as terrorist organizations by both Türkiye and Iraq. These groups have the potential to pose significant challenges to the future of the Development Road Project. They can also discourage both local and foreign investors to participate in or support this project. In addition, this project can also face opposition from major global powers such as Russia and the United States. For example, the United States could pose challenges to the Development Road Project due to its interests in Iraq. Similarly, Russia can pose challenges to the Development Road Project if Syria's political and strategic role is weakened.

The Development Road Project has the potential to become a major economic project in the world economy, as well as a competitor to major global trade corridors such as China's BRI and the IMEC. Though the IMEC, got the support of the US and EU, it also has the potential to create challenges for the Development Project. In this context, the Development Road Project can be considered an alternative to the IMEC, particularly in terms of

logistics and trade. However, both the Development Road Project and the IMEC are not clear about the uncertainties arising from geopolitical conflicts such as the Russia-Ukraine war, the Israel-Palestine conflict, and tensions between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The IMEC is planned to pass through key regions such as the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Israel. If the Development Road Project is perceived as an alternative to IMEC. Both India and Israel are key stakeholders in the IMEC. As a result, they may oppose the Development Road Project, create challenges that threaten the participating actors, and hinder the implementation of the project.

Since 2017, Turkish-Iraqi relations have deepened, and Türkiye has also developed stronger ties with the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). This improvement was because of factors such as economic interdependence, security concerns, and the need for regional peace and stability. The two countries' relations are also expected to deepen with the launch of the Development Road Project, which is expected to play a significant role in increasing Iraq's political and economic influence both in the Gulf and the Middle East (Romano, 2015; Topsakal and Zengin, 2024). However, the success of the project may face challenges due to internal divisions within the Kurdish political parties in Iraq, particularly between the two major Kurdish parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) led by the Barzani family, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by the Talabani family. These internal political conflicts and Türkiye's ongoing conflict with the PKK may negatively affect the instability of the region. (Bulut, 2024). Apart from the PKK and ISIS which are designated as terrorist organizations by both Türkiye and Iraq, Shia militias such as the

Hashd al-Shaabi, which are not under the full control of Baghdad, may also create security threats to the Development Road Project. In the context of these threats eliminating these organizations completely or partially will be crucial to ensuring the success of the project (Karataş, 2023). However, it should be noted that the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq has declared its support for the Development Road Project (Politika Akademisi, 2024). Consequently, there is almost no potential risk from the recognized regional government of Iraq.

The opportunities provided by the Development Road Project are significant. If completed as planned, it has the potential to be one of the most critical transportation projects, playing a role similar to the Suez Canal in facilitating global trade. However, the long timeline required for the project to be completed and the uncertainty surrounding its final form may affect its attractiveness to foreign investors and countries that do not prioritize it as much as the initiative countries such as Türkiye and Iraq. One of the main challenges facing the Development Road Project is providing the security and stability necessary for it to function as an effective trade corridor connecting Asia and Europe. Given the multilateral security risks a critical question to be raised: Who will ensure the security and order needed to sustain free trade along the route? The success of the project depends on its ability to address these concerns and ensure that goods can move freely and securely. As the IMEC is backed by the US and Western Europe as a rival to China's BRI, in this context, the Development Road Project could receive support from China, Russia, and Iran as an alternative or complementary economic corridor (Bulut, 2024). In particular, China could cooperate with Türkiye and Iraq to use the Development Road

Project as a faster transit route for goods to the EU by increasing the strategic importance of the corridor in the global trade network.

There are concerns about Iran's potential reaction to the Development Road Project, as its opposition could pose significant challenges to the future of the project. While Iran has not yet made an official comment on the Development Road Project, there are some speculations about Iran such as it can adopt a negative stance similar to its opposition to the Zangezur Corridor following the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War. If Iranian officials vehemently opposed the proposal due to its strategic implications it will have significant influence over the regional dynamics that may negatively affect the project. On the other hand, if successfully implemented, the Development Road Project could potentially enhance Iran's role in the region and contribute to its future energy transition. Given the increasing insecurity surrounding the Suez Canal, particularly in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its spillover effects into Lebanon and Yemen, alternative trade routes such as the Development Road Project may become increasingly vital for Iran's economy as well. Considering these factors, Iran may choose to engage more actively with the Development Road Project through direct or indirect support, using its strategic position to maintain its influence in regional and global trade flows (Togha, 2024). However, this will also depend on how well the project aligns with Iran's long-term geopolitical and economic interests.

Türkiye sees the Development Road Project as a significant project with the potential to strengthen global supply chains by connecting regions through a well-planned infrastructure initiative. Turkish officials emphasized that the project aims not only to serve

Türkiye, Iraq, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates but also to serve regional and global energy and commercial supply chains. This vision is in line with the “New Silk Road” concept, which predicts that the Development Road Project will be a win-win initiative designed to benefit multiple countries by increasing global connectivity (Duman, 2024). Accordingly, during the first Council of Ministers Meeting of the Development Road Project held in Türkiye on August 29, 2024, Turkish Minister of Transport and Infrastructure Abdulkadir Uraloğlu emphasized the importance of the project in facilitating transportation between Türkiye and Iraq and ultimately benefiting the region and global supply chains. His statement not only reflects Türkiye’s strategic interest in using its geopolitical location to become a major hub for energy, trade, and investment but also aims to solidify its role in connecting Eurasia and increasing its influence in regional and global affairs (Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure, 2024).

The Minister of Transport and Infrastructure of Türkiye Abdulkadir Uraloğlu underlined the importance of the Development Road Project and expressed his confidence in the continuous strengthening of cooperation between the participating and regional countries. He also emphasized that the project is not only about transportation but also it is a significant initiative that aims to increase prosperity and stability in the region. He added that the Development Road Project will provide uninterrupted transportation between Europe and the Middle East, and it will connect Faw Port in Iraq to the EU by railways, highways, and seaways. The project is expected to significantly reduce travel time between Asia and Europe by providing a 15-day advantage over the traditional shipping route through the Suez Canal. This efficiency will improve



global supply chains and position the Development Road Project as a major infrastructure project that promises both economic and geopolitical benefits for both the region and the globe (Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure, 2024).

There is a significant increase in the number of global logistic activities and transportation that aim to establish new economic corridors for regional and global trade. The Development Road Project, which is largely planned to be completed by 2030 is expected to have a critical position among economic corridors and initiatives in the coming years (Öztürk, 2024). The modern global system is increasingly inclined to a “polycentric” structure where various factors affect the progress of global governance (Topsakal and Zengin, 2024). In this multidimensional governance system, the role of economic corridors and initiatives designed to promote connectivity among regional and global actors are becoming more visible. The Development Road project is also one of these projects that has the potential to provide significant economic and strategic benefits to regional actors and global stakeholders.

Consequently, economic corridors such as the Development Road Project may face multilateral challenges. These challenges may stem from a variety of sources such as uncertainty, insufficient funding for infrastructure investment, regional organizations, and some other external factors (Ben, 2019). Although a significant portion of the Development Road Project will be built in Iraq, however, the Iraqi government may not be sufficient alone to come up with the financial and infrastructural challenges. Therefore, Iraq will likely need support from major participating countries such as Türkiye. In addition to Türkiye, Iraq may need to form alliances with

other regional powers such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, to ensure the resources and cooperation needed for the project. In addition, Iraq may seek financial assistance from international actors such as the European Union and China. China provides economic support to countries accepted to support the BRI through the Asian Infrastructure Bank and the Silk Road Fund (Yıldız, 2024). In parallel to its potential to be a component of the BRI in the context of delivering Chinese goods to the EU, the Development Road Project can also get financial and infrastructure support from China.

### **Conclusion**

As a newly designed to be established, The Development Road Project is planned to enhance the economic and strategic capacities of both Türkiye and Iraq. In fact, the project not only provides significant advantages to Türkiye and Iraq but also it is estimated to have great benefits for the regional countries. However, the project should also be discussed in the context of the possible challenges such as potential conflicts and security risks. In the implementation process, the political, economic, security, and diplomatic policies will play a critical role in overcoming these obstacles. The security of the Development Road Project is extremely important. Accordingly, Türkiye, Iraq, and the Kurdistan Regional Government should have high-level long-term security cooperation to ensure the stability and security of the project. A well-structured security policy will not only secure the project but will also increase the trust and support of external actors to participate in or provide investment. The Development Road Project is also important in the context of considering a part of China's BRI or an

alternative to India's IMEC. It is essential to create a cooperative atmosphere among participating, regional, and Gulf countries. Advanced diplomatic relations with neighboring countries that have the potential to challenge the success of the project are equally important. Iran's stance, for instance, on the Development Road Project will play a particularly important role. Thus, it may be important to include Iran in the project or ensure that it will not adopt a negative attitude that could undermine the progress of the project in the future. A strategic approach to the cooperation of Iran, Iraq, Türkiye, and the Gulf countries will be highly important for the success of the Development Project.

## References

Acik, A., Baser, S. O. (2018). The relationship between economic activities and rail freight transport. *Journal of Management, Marketing and Logistics*, 5(3), 182-193.

Ben, S. O. (2019). Significance of Road Infrastructure on Economic Sustainability. *American International Journal of Multidisciplinary Scientific Research*, 5(4), 1-9.  
<https://doi.org/10.46281/aijmsr.v5i4.405>

Chaziza, M. (2024). The US-China Rivalry in the Middle East: Confrontation or Competitive Coexistence. *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, 0(0).  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/23477989241240899>.

Coşkun, Aytekin (2024) Kalkınma Yolu Projesi, Yeni Asya, June 9, [https://www.yeniasya.com.tr/dr-aytekin-coskun/kalkinma-yolu-projesi\\_597782](https://www.yeniasya.com.tr/dr-aytekin-coskun/kalkinma-yolu-projesi_597782) (Erişim Tarihi, 18. 10. 2024).

Çekerol, G., Nalçakan, M. (2011). Lojistik sektörü içerisinde türkiye demiryolu yurtiçi yük taşıma talebinin ridge regresyonla analizi. *Marmara Üniversitesi İ.İ.B.F. Dergisi*, 31(2), 321-344.

Duman, Bilgay (2024) Türkiye–Irak İlişkilerinde Yeni Dönem: İkili İlişkilerden Bölgesel İş Birliğine, *Kriter*, May, Year 9, no 90, <https://kriterdergi.com/kalkinma-yolu-projesi/turkiyeirak-iliskilerinde-yeni-donem-ikili-iliskilerden-bolgesel-is-birligine> (Erişim Tarihi, 16. 11. 2024).

Duman, Bilgay (2024) Kalkınma Yolu Projesi umut veriyor, *Anadolu Ajansı*, August, 31.  
<https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/analiz/kalkinma-yolu-projesi-umut-veriyor/3317669> (Erişim Tarihi, 29. 10. 2024).

Faik Bulut (2024) Türkiye ile Irak'ın ortak projesi Kalkınma Yolu hakkında Çin'in gözlemi: Bekleneni vermeyebilir ve pek yararlı olmayabilir! Independent Türkçe, September 19, <https://www.indyturk.com/node/745950/türkiyeden-sesler/türkiye-ile-irakin-ortak-projesi-kalkınma-yolu-hakkında-çinin-gözlemi> (Erişim Tarihi, 10. 10. 2024).

Karataş, İbrahim. (2023) Irak'ın Kalkınma Yolu Projesi: Riskler ve Avantajlar, Ortadoğu ve Afrika Araştırmacıları Derneği ORDAF, December, 17. <https://ordaf.org/irakin-kalkınma-yolu-projesi-riskler-ve-avantajlar/> (Erişim Tarihi, 25. 09. 2024).

Kayhan Pusane, Ö. (2024). Turkey's Emerging Dichotomy between Erbil and Sulaimaniyah, Iraqi Development Road Project and the Fight Against the PKK. *Social Review of Technology and Change*, 2(1), 85-98.

Kurdistan24, (2024) Irak Hükümeti "Kalkınma Yolu" için arazi tahsis ediyor, Temmuz, <https://www.kurdistan24.net/tr/story/498721> (Erişim Tarihi, 02. 10. 2024).

Öztürk, Kemal (2024) Ortadoğu'nun çehresini değiştirecek proje: Kalkınma Yolu Projesi!, AlJazeera, May 8, <https://www.aljazeera.net/ebusiness/2024/5/8/-وزير-النقل-التركي-يتحدث-عن-الجزيرة-نت> (Erişim Tarihi, 17. 10. 2024).

Politika Akademisi (2024) Kalkınma Yolu Projesi, May 24, <https://politikaakademisi.org/2024/05/27/kalkınma-yolu-projesi/>

Pirinççi, Ferhat (2024) Sahadan Gözlemler: Kalkınma Yolu Irak'ta İstikrarı Sağlayacak, SETA, May 31, <https://www.setav.org/kalkınma-yolu-projesi/sahadan-gozlemler->

[kalkinma-yolu-irakta-istikrari-saglayacak-](#) (Eriřim Tarihi, 23. 09. 2024).

Romano, David (2015). “Iraqi Kurdistan and Turkey: Temporary Marriage?” *Middle East Policy*, 21 (1), 89-101.

Rudaw (2024) IRAK - Kalkınma Yolu Projesi zirvesinin mutabakat deklarasyonunu açıklandı, January 11, <https://www.rudaw.net/turkish/middleeast/iraq/01112024> (Eriřim Tarihi, 22. 10. 2024).

(Rudaw, 2024) Kalkınma Yolu projesinin arazi etüdü eylül ayına kadar tamamlanacak August 15, <https://www.rudaw.net/turkish/middleeast/iraq/15082024> (Eriřim Tarihi, 20. 09. 2024).

Sancak, Baki (2024) Kalkınma Yolu’nda bir eřik daha ařıldı! Türkiye-Irak ortak projesinde süreç hızlanıyor, September 16, <https://www.turkiyegazetesi.com.tr/dunya/kalkinma-yolunda-bir-esik-daha-asildi-turkiye-irak-ortak-projesinde-surec-hizlaniyor-1063042> (Eriřim Tarihi, 24. 10. 2024).

Sean, M., Soylu, R., and Essa A. (2023) “India-Middle East Corridor: A new Silk Route or diplomacy by PowerPoint?” September 23, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/big-story/india-middle-east-trade-corridor-region-jockeying-influence> (Eriřim Tarihi, 18. 10. 2024).

Semin, Ali (2023) Türkiye-Irak “Kalkınma Yolu Projesi”: Yeni İpek Yolu olur mu? Middle East, Eurasia and Asia-Pacific Research Center, September, 19. <https://www.odap.org/bolgeler/orta-dogu/turkiye-irak-kalkinma-yolu-projesi-yeni-ipek-yolu-olur-mu/> (Eriřim Tarihi, 29. 10. 2024).

Soylu, Ragıp (2023). “Turkey’s Foreign Minister Meet Iraq’s Shia Heavyweights to deepen Cooperation”, Middle East Eye, 24 August, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/turkey-iraq-foreign-minister-political-heavyweights-comprehensive-trip> (Accessed 23 November 2024).

T.C. Ulaştırma ve Altyapı Bakanlığı (2024) Kalkınma Yolu’nda Yeni Aşama, August, 29. <https://www.uab.gov.tr/haberler/kalkinma-yolu-nda-tarihi-bulusma> (Erişim Tarihi, 21. 11. 2024).

Toğa, Oral (2024) İran’ın Kalkınma Yolu Projesi’ne Yaklaşımı, İran Araştırmaları Merkezi (İRAM), April 29, <https://www.iramcenter.org/iranin-kalkinma-yolu-projesine-yaklasimi-2481> (Erişim Tarihi, 23. 11. 2024).

Topsakal, İlyas and Zengin, Kuşad Alperen (2024) Kalkınma Yolu Projesi: Küresel, Bölgesel ve Türkiye Açısından Tahliller, *Kriter*, june, year 9, No 91. <https://kriterdergi.com/dis-politika/kalkinma-yolu-projesi-kuresel-bolgesel-ve-turkiye-acisindan-tahliller> (Erişim Tarihi, 23. 10. 2024).

Wakim, J. (2023). The Indian–Middle Eastern–European Economic Corridor: Setting Israel as the Pole of a Middle East Order under US Hegemony. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 16(4), 383-396. <https://doi.org/10.1163/17550920-01604001>.

Yıldırımçakar, E. (2024). China's ambition to balance power within the framework of soft and normative power concepts. *Curr Res Soc Sci*, 10(2), 194-210

Yıldırım Keser, H. (2015), "Importance of Transport Corridors in Regional Development: The Case of TRACECA", *Sosyoekonomi*, 23(24), 163-182.

Yıldız, M. (2024). Turkey's Strategic "Development Road" Project: Geopolitical Impacts and Regional Opportunities. *Anasay*(29), 63-73.  
<https://doi.org/10.33404/anasay.1503772>

Zaheer, Khalid and Faiz, Asma (2024) Economic Corridors and Regional Development: Opportunities and Risks, *Kashf Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 1(2) 12-20.



## CHAPTER V

### Understanding International Relations Theories through the Lord of the Rings (the Middle Earth) Universe

**Murat CİNGÖZ<sup>1</sup>**

#### **Introduction**

This article seeks to explore an imaginative perspective on the field of international relations by reevaluating the foundational beliefs of various theories through the lens of fictional characters, events, and societal structures from Middle-earth. The primary goal of this research is to introduce a novel method of merging literature with social sciences to enhance theoretical comprehension and boost students' enthusiasm for these theories. In this light, the intention is to teach and learn the theories of international relations through the realm of Lord of the Rings in a more unforgettable and enjoyable

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Öğretim Üyesi, Adana Alparslan Türkeş Bilim ve Teknoloji Üniversitesi, Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü, Adana/Türkiye, Orcid: 0000-0001-5995-8713 mcingoz@atu.edu.tr

manner. The mythic and political frameworks of Middle-earth act as a potent metaphorical device for grasping and illustrating diverse international relations theories. This investigation utilizes the fictional realm of Middle-earth as an analytical framework to crystallize the abstract ideas of international relations theories, making them more accessible and entertaining to learn.

The Middle-earth universe is a fantastic fiction and there are many races such as elves, dragons, nazguls, trolls, giants, dwarves, humans, wizards, and Ents. The events that take place in *The Lord of the Rings* can be summarised briefly as follows. Sauron wants to dominate the Middle World by seizing the one ring that will give him great power. The one ring was actually forged by Sauron and it gives great power to its owner. Sauron's armies consist of orcs and orcs are seen as enemies by many races in Middle-earth. While Sauron was busy searching for the One Ring, he also tried to dominate humans, elves and dwarves. Saruman, who was an ally of Sauron, was a wizard on the side of the humans, but he made an agreement with Sauron and eventually started to fight against the Humans of Rohan. Saruman, who formed an army of Uruk-hais, a type of Orcs, besieged Helm's Deep, one of the most important strongholds of Rohan, but failed and was eventually defeated by the Ents (woodmen). A coalition was formed between humans, dwarves and elves against the Two Towers block representing the Sauron-Saruman alliance, and the orcs led by Sauron were defeated after a long struggle. Finally, the single ring was destroyed under the leadership of a Hobbit and the threat of Sauron was completely eliminated. (Campbell, 2023; Carter, 2011; Tolkien, 1986, 1997a, 1997b; Tolkien & Tolkien, 1992; Zimbardo & Isaacs, 2004). The

fascinating and detailed narrative of Middle-earth is home to many theoretical perspectives, from realist power struggle to liberal co-operation, from Marxist exploitation to feminist resistance. For example, while Sauron's power-based hegemony can be analysed through realism's power and interest-based approach, events such as the Council of Elrond provide a basis for explaining liberal theories' notions of institutions and cooperation. Similarly, environmental exploitation and rebellion through the Ents can be analysed from a Marxist perspective. In this context, the book concretises the abstract structures of international relations theories, providing students in particular with the opportunity to grasp the basic assumptions of these theories more effectively. The events taking place in the Middle-earth universe of The Lord of the Rings, briefly summarised above, will be read from the perspective of International Relations theories as follows. Assuming that the identified races or characters represent a theory of international relations, the 'Middle-earth' universe will be described from the perspective of that race or character (theory) and the theoretical assumptions will be applied. In this respect, firstly a brief summary of the theory will be given, and then the theory will be explained through the Middle-earth universe.

### **1. Realism and the Middle Earth**

Realism is a theory of international relations that sees international politics as a struggle for power and emphasises concepts such as power, interest, deterrence and hegemony. According to realist assumptions, due to the lack of a higher authority in the global system, that is, in a state of anarchy, each actor pursues its own interests and does not trust anyone (T. Öztürk, 2022). In this logic, where security dilemma and self-help prevail, states

increase their power with a focus on military capacity and ultimately pursue a continuous increase in power (Cingöz, Özkan, Alkan, & İzol, 2024).. Relying only on their own power and pursuing their own interests, actors assume the worst about the other side as a result of the security dilemma, and thus, instead of trust and peace in relations between states, a plane of insecurity and existential struggle emerges (Mekteplioğlu & Koltuk, 2023). Although there are alliances between different actors, these alliances are temporary and last until the interests are realised. In this context, the ultimate goal is to achieve hegemony. Although the philosophical origins of realism can be traced back to figures such as Thucydides, Machiavelli and Hobbes, political scientists of the modern period such as Carr and Morgenthau took the first concrete steps towards realism becoming a theory of international politics (T. Öztürk & Durak, 2022). This school, known as classical realism, argued that international politics would be shaped by conflict and power struggle based on the pessimistic nature of human beings. While the concept of power became prominent in classical realism, international politics was interpreted through themes such as statesmen, historical background and human psychology within the framework of power struggle. (Carr, 2016; Morgenthau, 1948) Theorists such as Waltz, Walt, Mearcheimer paved the way for realism to take a more systemic and positivist path. In this approach, which is also called neo-realism or structural realism, the regulative principle of anarchy rather than individual behaviour or human psychology comes to the fore, while states are described as concrete entities measured by their material capacity. In this respect, neorealism drew attention to the fact that anarchy is the basic phenomenon that regulates the relations

between states, that power is basically generated by brute material forces, and that rigid power struggle and balancing practices are the main outcomes of international politics. (Mearsheimer, 2007; Walt, 1998; Waltz, 2010). Neo-classical realism, as another approach within realism, recognises that the international system is effective, but also points out that the internal dynamics of states are also decisive in international politics. Behind the scenes of the emergence of neo-classical realism lies the difficulties in explaining some important events with the system-emphasising perspective of neorealism (Kiraz, 2018).

When the Middle-earth universe is concerned, Sauron and the orcs under his guidance represent neo-classical realism. In this context, the main features of realism in relation to orcs are as follows. Sauron, who tries to maximise his power by capturing the one ring, ultimately wants to achieve absolute domination in the Middle-earth universe. Here, the one ring actually represents hegemony. Sauron's nature is shaped within the framework of his ambitions to dominate and gain power. In this sense, power is the most fundamental concept for Sauron as in realism. Sauron, who was once a Maia on the good side, turned to the evil side, that is, to the side of Melkor (Morgoth) due to his desire for power and selfish desires. When Melkor was imprisoned by the other Valar, Sauron emerged as Melkor's successor. In this process, Sauron tried to dominate Middle-earth by using diplomacy from time to time and military capacity from time to time. According to Sauron, the international system is shaped on the basis of conflict and power. In this process, Sauron, who tried to maximise his power, formed a great army including orcs, humans, giant elephants and trolls, and

subsequently many wars took place for the domination of Middle-earth. Although he did not trust Saruman, another important actor in the Middle-earth universe, he formed an alliance with him in order to realise his interests, and great wars were fought against humans and elves. From the perspective of Sauron and the orcs, humans and elves are forces that must be eliminated and can never be trusted. There is a deep and insurmountable security dilemma between the two sides. For Sauron, moral principles, virtue or international institutions are of no importance. The only thing that matters is power, and if he is strong, he will be able to ensure his absolute hegemony.

## **2. Liberalism and the Middle Earth**

Another important race of Middle-earth is the elves. Elves are an ancient race and are known to be wise and just as well as having a long life. Their long life and the fact that they generally have a peaceful order among themselves have also brought along the importance of institutionalisation for the elves. In this context, the theory to be explained from the elves' perspective is liberalism, more specifically institutional liberalism. Basically, liberalism, which has an optimistic approach towards the nature of individuals, is based on the idea that international politics can be handled with a similar optimism. The liberal approach to international relations argues that cooperation and co-operation among states is possible. In this framework, the view that non-state actors, international regimes and institutions as well as international trade will contribute to peace and stability by creating interdependence and common needs comes to the fore ((İşgören, 2022). Although liberalism has different branches, for the purposes of this study it is more commonly referred

to as nolibearalism or liberal institutionalism. Thinkers such as Nye and Keohane have played a major role in the development of this theoretical approach. Neoliberal theorists, while combining many ideas of liberalism in a systematic framework, have also accepted the basic assumptions of neorealism such as anarchy and state-centrism. However, they argued that despite the anarchy, conflicts can be reduced and cooperation can be established through international institutions and mechanisms of interdependence. (Keohane, 2005; Keohane & Nye, 1973; Keohane & Nye, Jr., 1972). Neoliberals have emphasised the role of international regimes and organisations in preventing inter-state conflicts and contributing to peace through concepts such as complex interdependence and transnational interaction. In this respect, liberal institutionalists accept anarchy, but argue that within this anarchic structure, there can be a cooperative international system in which common interests and values are at the forefront (Bayram, 2019, p. 65). In this context, international organisations, regimes and institutions play an important role in overcoming the lack of trust in relations between states (Bayram, 2021, p. 47).

It can be said that the perspective and approach of the elves in the Middle-earth universe are compatible with the liberal approach. Firstly elves have an optimistic view of international politics. For this reason, the elves want to open a path to lasting peace by cooperating with humans and dwarves. The elves, who think that conflict is not inevitable in the international system and can be overcome, believe that the path to cooperation can be provided through diplomacy, international institutions and common values. In this respect, the traces of liberal institutionalism are clearly seen in

Lord Elrond's court in Rivendell. In addition to the elves, many different races of Middle-earth such as Gandalf, Aragorn, Boromir, Legolas, Gimli and Frodo Baggins were present at the council of Elrond, which was organised to determine the future of the One Ring. At the Rivendell meeting, Lord Elrond stated that the danger of Sauron belonged to the whole of Middle-earth, and that it should be decided together how to deal with it. Elrond's words such as 'You are gathered against the threat of Mordor, you will either unite or perish' are an indication that the Rivendell meeting took steps towards establishing a co-operation mechanism based on common interests. Although humans, dwarves and elves do not have the same identities, the fact that they are bound by similar values and rules has enabled the formation of a common institutional structure among them over the years. In the Council, it was emphasised that the threat of Sauron was a matter of concern for all and that cooperation would be beneficial for all, and interdependence was underlined. Although there were various discussions and disagreements in the Court, the Fellowship of the Ring, which included almost all the races in the free world, was finally established. The main purpose of the Fellowship of the Ring is to destroy the single ring, which represents hegemony and power, and to establish a system based on a common security mechanism. The Court of Elrond and the Fellowship of the Ring established within it stood out as an important institutional structure.

### **3. English School and the Middle Earth**

The dwarfs will be considered within the framework of the English school. The English School, which can be seen as a middle ground between realism and liberalism, comprises three traditions:



Machiavellian or Hobbesian Realism, Grotiousian Rationalism and Kantian Revolutionism. These structures in fact correspond to the international system, international society and world society respectively. According to the thinkers of the English School, these three international structures can exist simultaneously, as well as the change, transformation and interaction between these structures. The idea of international society accepts an anarchic structure, but states that an order can be established in this anarchic structure through common interests, values and norms. In this sense, according to the British School, the main factor that distinguishes the international community from the system of states is the consciousness of common interests and common values. In this respect, norms and values such as reducing violence, maintaining diplomatic traditions and respecting each other's sovereignty are adopted among actors who are members of the same international society (Buzan, 2009; Cingöz, 2022; Dunne, 1998; Jones, 1981; Linklater, 2005).

When we look at the dwarves in general, it is seen that the existence of an anarchic international structure is accepted, but the idea that a certain order can be established in this anarchic structure can also be adopted by the dwarves. As a matter of fact, Gimli, who attended the Court of Elrond in the Rivendell, used expressions showing his distrust towards the elves and other races there, but decided to work together with other actors to establish an order based on common interests and values. In the following process, the relationship between Gimli and the other races progressed towards a structure that could be considered an international society. Although Gimli seems to be a stubborn and maverick actor, he ultimately stands out as an actor who adopts common values and norms with

other races, respects their existence and cares about the maintenance of certain diplomatic traditions. So much so that Gimli's friendship with Legolas overcomes the traditional Elf-Dwarf scepticism and distrust and reaches a level that will lay the foundations of the Kantian world society. On the other hand, the relations of Gimli and the dwarves with the orcs and Sauron are quite unfavourable and there is a state of war and conflict.

#### **4. Social Constructivism and the Middle Earth**

When it comes to the people in Middle-earth, the theory to be discussed will be social constructionism. In particular, Alexander Wendt's anarchic structures will be utilised to reveal the perceptions of the anarchic structure of the Middle World through people. Proponents of the social constructionist approach argue that rationalist theories are insufficient in explaining the structural transformations in the international system and ignore the ideational elements while attributing meaning to material phenomena. (Gözen, 2019). They also argue that these theories attempt to understand the international system without taking social relations into account and therefore fail. Although social constructionist theorists have different approaches, they agree on two basic principles.

The first principle is that the structures that both shape the international system and determine the internal dynamics of states are primarily constructed by ideational factors and material phenomena gain meaning within this ideational framework. The second principle is that the identities and interests of actors are not fixed or naturally given, but are shaped by ideas, and that the international system cannot be seen as an unchanging reality, but

rather is open to change on an ideational basis (Kaval & İzol, 2024). The clearest expression of this approach is summarised in Alexander Wendt's statement that anarchy is what states attribute to it (Wendt, 1992). This statement reveals that the order in the international system is shaped by the perceptions and meaning attributions of states., there are three different anarchic cultures in the international system: Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian cultures (İzol & Cingöz, 2022). As Wendt explains in his Social Theory of International Politics actors will act in accordance with the norms and values of the anarchic culture they are in. In this framework, while actors see each other as enemies in Hobbesian culture, they establish relations as rivals in Lockean culture and as friends in Kantian culture. Which culture's norms and values are dominant in the interaction between states is of great importance (B. N. Öztürk, 2024) as the nature of cooperation or conflict is shaped by the anarchic structure in which the actors are located. The Hobbesian culture, based on a zero-sum game approach, is characterised by insecurity, suspicion and security dilemma. This structure, which can be seen as a 'war of all against all', is based on the assumption that states have a constant distrust towards each other and that the other side will do its worst. In such a culture, other actors are generally perceived as threats and the ultimate aim of states is to eliminate or destroy others. Although there are alliances from time to time, these alliances are shaped solely by interests and are not permanent. Lockean culture, on the other hand, represents a structure where competition is at the forefront instead of hostility. In this culture, although the struggle between states continues, the sovereignty of the other side is considered legitimate and the understanding of 'live and let live' is

adopted. In this system of competition, although violence is used from time to time, this is usually done not to completely destroy the other state, but to increase its own power and influence. Therefore, threats in Lockean culture are not existential in nature. At the same time, this culture provides a basis for states to move towards co-operation. Kantian culture, on the other hand, is a structure in which violence is eliminated and team-playing norms prevail. In this culture, relations between states are based on friendship and co-operation. The Kantian structure represents a level where peace and solidarity predominate in the international system and in this context, it can be seen as a progressive stage of Lockean culture (Wendt, 1999).

When the adventure of the Fellowship of the Ring begins, human's view of Middle-earth is generally close to the Hobbesian anarchic structure. As perhaps the most important race in Middle-earth, humans' view of the international system is generally based on distrust. In the eyes of many races, humans are seen as selfish, power-hungry and not to be trusted. Humans not only have problems with other races, but even among themselves there are great disagreements and struggles. For example, at the beginning of the book, mistrust and indifference prevail between the most important human states, Rohan and Gondor, and the perceptions of both states towards other races are mutually negative. Moreover, the fact that the Haradrim and Corsairs, which express a community among humans, join Sauron's army shows that the fragmentation between humans can reach enmity. In addition, the Ring-species (Nazguls), who are the servants of Sauron, were actually formed by the corruption of human kings by Sauron by giving them the Ring. In

the Council of Lord Elrond, Elrond's statement that humans alone are insecure and weak is related to all these narratives. Although the Fellowship of the Ring was established in the council of Lord Elrond, this fellowship is far from expressing the majority of people. As a matter of fact, Boromir is not fully subordinated to the Fellowship of the Ring. Denethor, the Steward of the Kingdom of Gondor, which can be considered the largest human kingdom, points out that neither the elves nor the people of Rohan can be trusted. Boromir, Denethor's son, similarly stated in his statements at the Court of Elrond that the other races were indifferent while they were fighting, that it was foolish to try to destroy the One Ring, and that they should use the One Ring, that is, power and hegemony, themselves. In this respect, Boromir is in favour of capturing the one ring and using it against Sauron. On the other hand, Theoden, the King of Rohan, gradually distanced himself from the people of the free world when he was under the influence of Saruman. In this process, while Theoden turns his back on the people of the free world, he is in disagreement even with the prominent warrior leaders in his own family. Even when Theoden is freed from Saruman's influence with the help of Gandalf, he has enough trust neither in elves nor in other human communities. As a matter of fact, when he is told in the film that he should ask for help from the Kingdom of Gondor, he responds by saying 'Where was Gondor when the West Reach fell'. On the other hand, according to the film, the Steward of Gondor also refrained from asking for help from the Rohans in the battle of Minas Trith due to his distrust of Rohan. Moreover, as seen in Haradrim and Korsairs, many human communities fought against Rohan and Gondor. When evaluated up to this point, it can be said

that the human race's perspective on the anarchic structure in Middle-earth is on a Hobbesian plane and on the basis of distrust. Although the magnitude of the threat of Sauron prevented their struggle with each other to some extent and even pushed them to form an alliance, the distrust and indifference of the human race towards their own race along with other races made it difficult for a more coordinated co-operation between them. However, as constructionism emphasises, anarchic structures consist of perceptions and these perceptions may well change. Especially with the efforts of Aragorn, Legolas, Gimli and Gandalf, people's perceptions of the anarchic structure of Middle-earth started to change. In this change, events such as the elves helping the people, Aragorn, who is known as the expected king of Gondor, helping Rohan, Gandalf's support in the battle of Helm's Deep, and the participation of Rohanites in the battle of Minas Trith to support Gondor have changed people's perceptions of the anarchic structure. Thus, the 'live and let live' mentality became dominant among the people against the threat of Sauron, while alliances and diplomacy brought about a more optimistic anarchic structure. Finally, after the destruction of the One Ring, with Aragorn becoming the king of Gondor, the anarchic structure of Middle-earth in the eyes of the human race began to evolve from a Lockean anarchic structure to a Kantian structure. Because while Aragorn established good relations with many human communities, especially Rohan, elves, dwarves and hobbits established lasting friendships. For example, hobbits were honoured, Eowyn married Faramir and a permanent friendship was built between Gondor and Rohan. Thus, the anarchic structure

understanding of the human race at the beginning of the adventure evolved into a very different plane in time.

### **5. Marxism and the Middle Earth**

Marxism is a theory with social, political and economic aspects based on the ideas and works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. According to Marxism, world history proceeds in the form of the struggle of social classes and there is a permanent exploitation order (Marx & Engels, 1998). This is explained by the concept of historical materialism. Marxism states that ultimately this order of exploitation will come to an end and the next stage after capitalism will result in communism. In Marx's terms, when the proletariat realises that they have nothing to lose but their chains, they will revolt and make a revolution that will collapse the capitalist system (Marx & Engels, 2019). Marxism in international relations is also based on the views of Marx and Engels. According to Marxism in international relations, international politics based on the capitalist system is a hierarchical structure in which political, social and economic inequalities prevail. In this hierarchical structure, some states are located in the centre, some in the periphery and some in the semi-periphery. Centre states maintain their power by exploiting peripheral states. This exploitation is sustained not only economically but also through political and military interventions. (I. Wallerstein, 2020; I. M. Wallerstein, 1974).

Ents, one of the most interesting races of Middle-earth, will be discussed within the framework of Marxism. Ents are a race that has always been exploited by the centre and semi-centre (Campbell, 2023). Saruman's use of the Ents as a commodity to be slaughtered

and easily expendable, both in industrial development and in the construction of dams, shows that the Ents are positioned as environmental actors. Especially the Ents in the forests of Fangorn were adversely affected by Saruman's industrial activities, which he emphasised to increase his power. In this process, first the forests in Isengard were destroyed and then the trees in Fangorn forest started to be exploited. In this process, the Ents, who remained silent up to a certain point, finally revolted against Saruman when they had nothing left to lose in accordance with Marx's statement. The Ents, who seemed silent, weak and passive on their own, became an unstoppable force when they came together and organised. Afterwards, the Ents destroyed Saruman's industrial complex and made a revolution that ended their position as peripheral actors.

## **6. Feminism and the Middle Earth**

Finally, feminism will be discussed. Feminism in its international relations dimension emphasises the concept of social gender. Feminism argues that power relations in the international system and society are based on unequal and male-dominated norms. In this respect, it is based on the idea that traditional patriarchal structures and norms based on male domination must be overthrown. According to feminism, women are invisible in areas such as war, economy and diplomacy and these need to change. Good traits are attributed to men, while traits of weakness are attributed to women. The ultimate goal of feminism is to achieve a world order in which gender norms are more egalitarian and just, and a more inclusive production of knowledge (Tickner, 2006; Tickner & Sjoborg, 2013). Eowyn has a character that challenges the traditional roles assigned to women. She stated that she wanted nothing but freedom, heroism



and glorious battles and that the current female role in Rohan was a bondage. Her courage, her defiance of the norms imposed by society and her sacrifice make her one of the most influential characters in *The Lord of the Rings*. Eowyn, who wanted to participate in the Battle of Pelennor Meadows in front of Minas Tirith, was not allowed to participate because of the roles drawn for women in social values. Eowyn, who participated in the battle secretly, showed solidarity with Merry, a hobbit who was marginalised like her, and took him with her. Eowyn's killing the Nazgûl King in the Battle of Pelennor Meadows and being with King Theoden at his last breath shows the importance of Eowyn. Eowyn ultimately contributed to the friendship between Rohan and Gondor by marrying Faramir, who came from the family of Gondor's Stewards. When all these are taken into consideration, it is seen that Eowyn challenged traditional gender roles in Middle-earth and achieved important gains.

### **Conclusion**

By analysing J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* universe in the context of international relations theories, this study aims to contribute to a more concrete and comprehensible translation of abstract theoretical concepts. The detailed and layered structure of Middle-earth offers both depth as a work of literature and a unique context for the explanation of international relations theories. In this context, different theories of international relations are reinterpreted through the events, characters and social structures of Middle-earth.

Realism is discussed through Sauron and his army. Sauron's desire to gain power and establish hegemony, his conflict-oriented perspective on Middle-earth, his not trusting anyone and relying only

on his own power, establishing various alliances from time to time to realise his interests, and his ultimate goal of providing power and security reflect the assumptions of realism. It is possible to see the traces of liberalism and liberal institutionalism in the Elves and especially in Elrond's court. Although the elves recognise the existence of anarchy, they have an optimistic view of international politics. In this respect, they seek ways to cooperate with humans and dwarves. Elrond's council can be considered as an organisation or institution based on common values and cooperation among many races. The main purpose of the Fellowship of the Ring is to destroy the single ring, which represents hegemony and power, and to establish a system based on a common security mechanism. From the dwarfs' point of view, the English school approach is included. The dwarves, and more specifically Gimli, recognise that there is anarchy and conflict in the global structure, but they also believe that order can be established in this anarchic structure. As a matter of fact, in the developing process, Gimli has become a part of the same international society through relations based on common interests and values with humans and elves, and they have even evolved towards a world society. The theory from the perspective of people is social constructivism based on Wendt's explanations. According to Wendt, anarchy is a structure constructed by states and shaped according to their perceptions. In this respect, there are three types of anarchic structures: Hobbesian, Lockean and Kantian. It is possible to see these three types of anarchic structures in people's perceptions. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of the book and the film, the Hobbesian anarchic structure dominates the perspective of leaders such as Theoden, Eomer, Boromir and Denethor, and

people's perceptions are shaped within the framework of mistrust, conflict, conflict and selfish interests. However, with the influence of actors such as Gandalf Elrond Aragorn Legolas and Gimli, this perception of the people began to change and a transition towards a Lockean anarchic structure was experienced. In this context, Theoden even went to help Gondor. After the destruction of the ring, while Aragorn became King, human's perceptions reached the level of friendship and co-operation, close to the Kantian anarchic structure. The race associated with Marxism is the Ents. The Ents, who were used as a means of exploitation in Saruman's military and technological investments, were seen as a passive and ineffective actor in a completely peripheral position. While Saruman was trying to increase his economic and military power by exploiting the Ents, he was trying to become a central actor. However, after many losses, the Ents finally rebelled against Saruman and ended this centre-periphery relationship. Finally, Feminism will be discussed through Eowyn. Eowyn challenged the male-dominated structure of Middle-earth in matters such as war, diplomacy and politics and tried to change this gender-based structure. Eowyn challenged the traditional roles assigned to women and stated that the current female role in Middle-earth is a bondage and and endeavoured to associate themes such as freedom, courage and heroism with women.

## References

Bayram, M. H. (2019). Avrupa Birliği'nin Dış Sınırlarının Yönetimi: Frontex. Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık. Retrieved from <https://www.seckin.com.tr/kitap/796152542#>

Bayram, M. H. (2021). Avrupa Birliği Hukuku Dersleri (6th ed.). Seçkin.

Buzan, B. (2009). The Middle East through English School Theory. In B. Buzan & A. Gonzalez-Pelaez (Eds.), *International Society and the Middle East* (pp. 24–44). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. doi: 10.1057/9780230234352\_2

Campbell, J. R. (2023). Hobbits, Elves, Dwarves, and Men/Women: The Politics and IR of Lord of the Rings. In J. R. Campbell, *The Politics and International Relations of Fantasy Films and Television* (pp. 21–67). Cham: Springer International Publishing. doi: 10.1007/978-3-031-24239-7\_2

Carter, L. (2011). *Tolkien: A Look Behind The Lord of the Rings*. Hachette UK. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=8RxCnvBttQAC&oi=fnd&pg=PT7&dq=tolkien+lord+of+the+rings&ots=CfoTgk22tU&sig=PbioiFj297mFvav9xSVh6yqSvx4>

Cingöz, M. (2022). Osmanlı Devleti ve uluslararası toplum. *Diplomasi ve Strateji Dergisi*, 3(2), 88–119.

Cingöz, M., Özkan, F., Alkan, Y. S., & İzol, R. (2024). Iran's axis of resistance through the lens of ontological security. *Third World Quarterly*, 0(0), 1–18. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2024.2398613

Dunne, T. (1998). *Inventing International Society: A History of the English School*. Springer.

Gözen, R. (2019). Uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri. İletişim Yayınları. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=BpeaDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT47&dq=ramazan+g%C3%B6zen+k%C3%BC%C3%A7%C3%BCk+sosyal+in%C5%9Fac%C4%B1%C4%B1k&ots=ESFFY9M0fP&sig=IDsdHUOLuB1uWbYpT0rADFBbNpK>

İşgören, P. (2022). GEÇMİŞTEN GÜNÜMÜZE LİBERALİZM TEORİSİ. ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLERDE TEORİLER ve YAKLAŞIMLAR, 47.

İzol, R., & Cingöz, M. (2022). Iran-Saudi Arabia Rivalry and the Yemen Crisis. *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, 16(31), 345–360.

Jones, R. E. (1981). The English school of international relations: A case for closure. *Review of International Studies*, 7(1), 1–13.

Kaval, F., & İzol, R. (2024). İRAN'DAKİ TOPLUMSAL HAREKETLERDE DEVLET KİMLİĞİNİN ROLÜ. *Akademik Hassasiyetler*, 12(25), 449–482.

Keohane, R. O. (2005). *After hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the world political economy*. Princeton university press.

Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (1973). Power and interdependence. *Survival*, 15(4), 158–165. doi: 10.1080/00396337308441409

Keohane, R. O., & Nye, Jr., J. S. (Eds.). (1972). *Transnational Relations and World Politics*: Harvard University Press. doi: 10.4159/harvard.9780674593152

Kiraz, S. (2018). Dış Politika Analizi Modeli Olarak Neoklasik Realizm: İkinci Dünya Savaşı Sırasındaki Türk Dış Politikasının Analizi. *Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 20(2), 417–440.

Linklater, A. (2005). From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(1), 196–197.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1998). *Marx & Engels Collected Works Vol 37: Karl Marx Capital: Volume 3*. Lawrence & Wishart. Retrieved from <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/33204/>

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (2019). The communist manifesto. In *Ideals and ideologies* (pp. 243–255). Routledge. Retrieved from <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780429286827-43/communist-manifesto-karl-marx-friedrich-engels>

Mearsheimer, J. J. (2007). Structural realism. *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 83, 77–94.

Mekteplioğlu, M., & Koltuk, D. A. (2023). Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Şekillenen Yeni Dünya Düzeninde, Rusya-ABD İlişkilerinin Realist Teori Kapsamında Çatışma Örnekleriyle Değerlendirilmesi. *İzlek Akademik Dergi*, 6(2), 61–73.

Öztürk, B. N. (2024). Reasons for Muslim and Christian white meat consumption: Examples of England and Turkey. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 15(5), 1203–1231.

Öztürk, T. (2022). TAMİL KAPLANLARI: MAĞLUBİYETİN JEOPOLİTİK ANALİZİ. Akademik Hassasiyetler, 9(20), 309–335.

Öztürk, T., & Durak, İ. N. (2022). Çin Enerji Politikası: ABD ile Rekabetin Tehdit Dengesi Kuramı Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi. Diplomasi ve Strateji Dergisi, 3(1), 1–40.

Tickner, J. A. (2006). Feminism meets international relations: Some methodological issues. *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, 41. Retrieved from <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=c09edba5de0a9e50346441a4cdc5b7c372829006#page=35>

Tickner, J. A., & Sjoberg, L. (2013). *Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the past, present and future*. Routledge. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=3XOsAgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR2&dq=feminism+and+international+relations&ots=3ZAE-vJI4q&sig=XJMZhyW7rwC7EridP7ryRe5E-XU>

Tolkien, J. R. R. (1986). *The Two Towers: The Lord of the Rings: Part Two: 02*. New York.

Tolkien, J. R. R. (1997a). *The Fellowship of the Ring: The Classic Bestselling Fantasy Novel*. London: HarperCollins Publishers.

Tolkien, J. R. R. (1997b). *The Lord of the Rings Part 3: The Return of the King: Book 3*. London.

Tolkien, J. R. R., & Tolkien, C. (1992). *The Silmarillion*.

Wallerstein, I. (2020). *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Duke University Press. doi: 10.1515/9780822399018

Wallerstein, I. M. (1974). *Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century*. (No Title). Retrieved from <https://cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1130000794485417600>

Walt, S. M. (1998). *International relations: One world, many theories*. *Foreign Policy*, 29–46.

Waltz, K. N. (2010). *Theory of International Politics* (1st edition). Long Grove, Ill: Waveland Press.

Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391–425.

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social theory of international politics* (Vol. 67). Cambridge university press. Retrieved from [https://books.google.com/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=s2xjEd0ww2sC&oi=fnd&pg=PR13&dq=wendt+social+theory+of+ir&ots=UGnCEbGeJs&sig=YwjTVb\\_EqFb7yo08DPL4PDltGaU](https://books.google.com/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=s2xjEd0ww2sC&oi=fnd&pg=PR13&dq=wendt+social+theory+of+ir&ots=UGnCEbGeJs&sig=YwjTVb_EqFb7yo08DPL4PDltGaU)

Zimbardo, R. A., & Isaacs, N. D. (2004). *Understanding The lord of the rings: The best of Tolkien criticism*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. Retrieved from [https://books.google.com/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=GEWXQbASXZUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=tolkien+lord+of+the+rings&ots=ET6z2TVve\\_&sig=U-YpjmOOpsED6pTddxO98tMz94c](https://books.google.com/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=GEWXQbASXZUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=tolkien+lord+of+the+rings&ots=ET6z2TVve_&sig=U-YpjmOOpsED6pTddxO98tMz94c)



