

## **The Mediterranean-Balkans-Middle East Complex and the Western Strategy in the Greek-Turkish Conflict (elements of Power and Law)**

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### **Abstract**

In the current paper we give a persistent effort to emphasize on the clear present threat posed by Turkey’s Neo-Ottoman Islamic and revisionist role for the Geopolitical Complex of (Middle-East / Balkans / Caucasus). Furthermore, we try and make it abundantly clear that any abandonment of the Greece-Cyprus dipole of Hellenism, which is staunchly protecting Western interests over and across three continents and with such interests firmly grounded on the principles of the civil, pluralistic, European Democracy and Civilization, will deliver the most significant blow to these very Western Interests. A blow, which in fact is using as its “stabbing knife” Islamist Turkey, which has submitted and succumbed to the Organization of the “Muslim Brotherhood”, as well as to the fascist Turkish group of the “Grey Wolves”, two groups which they are both off-springs of International Fascism, work in perfect harmony together.

**Key-words:** Geopolitics, MED-MENA Balkans, Muslim Brotherhood, Turkish Islamism, Panturanism, Antisemitism, Turkish proxy jihadists, Greece-Cyprus-Turkey antagonism

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### **A. Description of rivalries in the Mediterranean - Balkans - Middle East geopolitical Complex**

In the Mediterranean-Balkans-Middle East geopolitical Complex (Med-MENA-Bal.), one may observe the continuous (in the context of time) actions of the following Hyper-systemic Power Centers, over the below described Sub-systemic actors (*see below Table 1*):

**Table 1:** Influence of the Hyper-systemic Centers in the Med-MENA-Balkans Complex:

Hyper-systemic POWER Centers	Sub-systemic National or International actors (quality of influence of Hyper-Systemic Centers, over each of the following actors)							
	NATO	Turkish Republic	Hellenic Republic	Republic of Cyprus	Balkan States	State of Israel	Republic of Egypt	Libya
USA	A	≈↓	A↑↑	A↑↑	A↑↑	A↑↑	≈↔	≈↔
Russia	∅	A↑↑	∅	≈↓	≈↓	≈↔	A↑↑	A↑↑
China	∅	A↑↑	≈↑↑	≈↑	≈↑	A↑	A↑	A↑
U.K.	A	A↑	A↓	A↓	≈	A↑	A	A↓
Germany/EU (Sorry, but...)	A↑	A↑↑	A↑↑	A	A↑	A↑	A↑↑	A↑↑
France	A↓	≈↓↓	A↑↑	A↑↑	≈↓	A	A↑	A↑↑

*Legend: ∅ =None, ≈ =Mild, ≈↓ =Mild, decreasing, ≈↓↓ =Mild, heavily decreasing, ≈↑ =Mild, improving, ≈↔ =Mild, stable, A =High, A↑ =High, increasing, A↑↑ =High, heavily increasing, A↓ =High, decreasing".*  
 (Source: Table developed by Prof. I. Th. Mazis).

**Table 1** above demonstrates the following:

- 1) Rapid rise of **German influence** in the Mediterranean and Balkan Complex as well as in NATO,
  - 2) Corresponding reduction of **US influence** in the same Complex but also in NATO, due to negative policies pursued by President Trump's administration over the past 4 years, towards the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the US projection of power in Syria, Iraq and the Kurds.
  - 3) Discreet (fluctuating overall) high **British influence** in the Complex, but in a declining trend in Greece and Cyprus, due to the deliberately held neutral positions of Britain on the Greek-Turkish, Greek-Skopje and Cypriot-Turkish issues, during the particularly highlighted period of 2018-2020. The same trend of reducing its high influence, may also be seen in the case of Libya, due to the increasing influence of Russia, China and Turkey in the Libyan formation, which was fueled by British political introversion resulting from the Brexit issue, which has been up until now, still tormenting domestic British politics.
  - 4) As for Greece, we observe a sharp increase of **American-German and French influences** to the detriment of the British. This result has been essentially produced by the highly active policies pursued by the US diplomatic mission in Athens in-order to secure multiple concessions for Washington, such granted by both the present, as well as the last Greek government, on the issue of military and energy-related arrangements. On the other hand, the emergence of France at the forefront of the Greek armaments sector, has increased French influence in the domestic political apparatus and in the Greek public sphere and has -above all- increased France's prestige within the Greek public opinion at an unprecedented previously level, which however, (and as it appears), did not match the moves made so far by the Greek government (being largely pro-German and pro-US). Britain, due to its aforementioned introversion, has been comprehensively and resoundingly absent from this public as well as political debate.
  - 5) For Cyprus, distrust towards this **British factor** is a well-established tradition in the country's public opinion, due also to past British public and private diplomacy expressed in favor of the earlier Annan Plan. Nevertheless, prevailing Cypriot "realism", does not lead Cypriot society to any extreme dismissal of British influence. In any case, any related debate regarding the legitimacy and moral presence of the "guarantees" and "British bases" issues, both perceived as remnants of colonialism, still holds well on the Island but also among centers of Athens-based "state diplomacy".
  - 6) It is also extremely interesting the fact that **Russia**, by utilizing Turkey as a military host within NATO, has significantly increased its influence -and has established itself as a mediating power- over the territories of Libya, Syria, Egypt (defense systems) and of Turkey itself (Akuyu and S-400 missile systems) and, certainly, of Azerbaijan (return of the Russian military presence), which was not included in the relevant table. This method by Moscow, has significantly restored and promoted the Russian projection of power in the Mediterranean: e.g. Russian military naval and air bases in the ports of Laodicea, Tarsus, and Khmeimim air base in Syria and the consolidation of Russian involvement in diplomatic and energy-related matters in Libya, especially in Benghazi.
  - 7) Equally, the rise of **Chinese influence** in the field of energy (Turkey, Iran, Libya, Egypt), transport (Balkans, Greece, Turkey, Iran) and military investments (Turkey, Egypt), is proving to be of extreme interest. Beijing's very low-profile as well as highly aggressive policy within the above-mentioned Complex, goes hand in hand with the {Russia-Turkey-Iran-Pakistan-Indonesia} "axis policies", being implemented in the field of Land-rail transport, along the second OBOR branch through Turkey into Europe. The port of Thessaloniki in combination with the river route of {Axios - Morava - Danube (via Skopje)}, will deliver a serious financial blow to the maritime Anglo-Saxon and Greek trade powers, in favor of Beijing and Berlin and the main transport terminal will be that of Turkey, which will be controlling such transport flows and thus be able to hold to ransom at will the entire E.U. I also have the feeling that Germany's role (Germany viewed as a Land power) in cooperation with Russia, China and Turkey, has not been properly assessed during the Trump administration's 4-year term, by both London and Washington.
  - 8) It has been sufficiently evidenced above that **the common link** between the aggressive economic, energy, transport and military policies pursued, at the expense of the traditional influence of the Naval Powers (Britain, Greece, USA) and to the benefit of the rivaling Land ones (Germany, Russia, China), is none other than: the supposedly NATO-belonging Turkey!
- Table 2 below, presents the picture of the Turkish project being "under-construction", for the creation of a Sub-system of Mediterranean and Middle Eastern Turkish points of influence, which are all characterized -except for Nagorno-Karabakh- by Illegal Military Interventions.

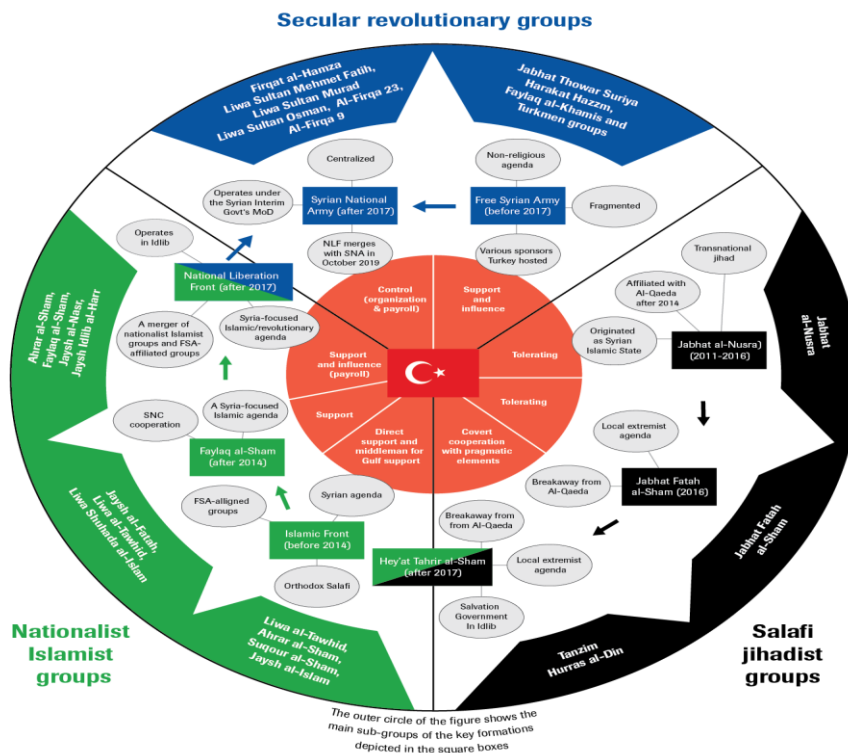
**Table 2:** Turkish Subsystem of illegal military influence

Turkish Subsystem of illegal military influence			
Libya	Northern Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan)	Republic of Syria	Republic of Cyprus
≈↓ (Mild, decreasing)	≈↔ (Mild, stable)	≈↓↓ (Mild, heavily decreasing)	A↑↑ (High, heavily increasing)
i) West Libya (Al Watiya, etc.) ii) Turkish - Libyan illegal MOU on EEZ iii) illegal “Mavi Vatan Plan”	i) Kurdish and non-Sunni Muslim persecutions and Christian persecutions in collaboration with jihadist organizations. (ramifications of Al Qaeda and ISIS \ Daesh)	i) N/W Syria (Afrin, Idlib) ii) Northern Syria (Russian-Turkish patrolled “Security Zone” only 100km long and 5km large) iii) illegal “Mavi Vatan Plan”	i) Northern part of the island, illegally and army-occupied (38% of the total of the Island surface) ii) Famagusta (Varosha) iii) illegal “Mavi Vatan Plan” (for (i), (ii) and (iii) See many UN, UN/SC and E.U. resolutions such as: 541/1983 UN/SC, 550/1984 UN/SC and Ankara Protocol of 09/21/2005 etc.)

(Source: Table developed by Prof. I. Th. Mazis).

Similar military interventions by Turkey in Syria and Libya are listed in Tables 3 and 4 below, carried out by proxy, through jihadist organizations, which should be of particular concern to the West (EU and NATO). Regarding the Strategies of Turkish proxy warfare in Northern Syria we must see the Tables 3 and 4, below:

**Table 3:** Strategies of Turkish proxy warfare in Northern Syria



Source: Engin Yüksel, [Associate Fellow at the Clingendael Institute]. “Strategies of Turkish proxy warfare in northern Syria”. November 2019, *The Clingendael Institute*, P.O. Box 93080, 2509 AB The Hague, The Netherlands

**Table 4:** Turkey's proxy Islamist Paramilitary groups in Libya

<p>i) <b>The Muslim Brotherhood</b></p> <p>ii) <b>The Libyan Shield Militia</b> affiliated with Misrata and close to the Brotherhood. Although it says its forces are linked to the Defense Ministry, its leaders do not belong to the official military establishment. It is present in Misrata, Benghazi, Khoms and Tripoli.</p> <p>iii) <b>The Libya Revolutionaries Operations Room</b> considered a strong supporter of the Brotherhood, which it has helped in its political disputes with its rivals. An example is the abduction of former premier Ali Zeidan in 2013.</p> <p>iv) <b>The Tripoli Brigade</b>, close to Abdul Hakim Belhaj, head of Al-Watan party. It is mainly active in Tripoli and western Libya. It is led by Ali al Sallabi, an influential Salafist cleric.</p>
<p><b>The Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries</b> was formed June 20, 2014. It includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>● <b>The February 17 Battalion</b>, the biggest brigade affiliated with the Brotherhood. Based in Benghazi, it receives financial support from official parties.</li><li>● <b>The Rafallah Sahati Brigade</b> based in Benghazi. Although it had announced that it would join the Libyan army, it has kept its arms and camps.</li><li>● <b>Ansar al-Sharia</b>, the biggest armed jihadist group in Libya. It includes Libyans and thousands of foreign fighters from Tunisia, Algeria, and other African countries. It is blacklisted by the United States as a terrorist group.</li><li>● <b>Libya Shield 1</b>, a militia close to <b>the Brotherhood</b>, based in Benghazi and recently allied with Ansar al-Sharia.</li><li>● Opposing forces</li><li>● <b>The Sawaq Brigade</b> led by Imad Mustafa al-Tarabulsi is considered one of the strongest factions in Libya.</li><li>● <b>The Qaaqaa Brigade</b> formed by rebels in Zintan in 2011 following battles with Qaddafi's forces before he was toppled. It is commanded by Othman Milaiqtah.</li><li>● <b>Forces of Operation Dignity</b> led by Haftar. It recently led airstrikes against posts occupied by Fajr Libya forces and their allies in Tripoli.</li><li>● The Rishvana Brigade affiliated with the Rishvana tribe in support of Qaddafi's regime. It is centered near Tripoli, and its aim is to protect the tribe from armed militias.</li><li>● The Tabu Brigade, present in the cities of Murzuk and Kufra.</li></ul>

Source: Al Arabiyya Institute for Studies, "Libyan Dawn: Map of allies and enemies", 25 August 2014.

### **B. The interpretation of the above rivalries and the role of neo-Ottoman Turkey according to Ahmet Davutoğlu's geopolitical model.**

The theory of the "Strategic Depth of Turkey"<sup>1</sup> of Ahmet Davutoglu, is the quintessence of Mr. Erdogan's overall strategy which is being applied by the current Erdogan-led Islamic-fascist Turkey and despite Ahmet Davutoglu's removal from AKP and his formation of a new party. This is made clear in my analysis which I shall cite, and which I had presciently published (in English) in 2013<sup>2</sup>.

Davutoğlu estimates that Mahan's views and Spykman's geopolitical paradigm retain their importance in spite of the current geopolitical and geostrategic juncture of rapid development of air-force weaponry and geostrategic exploitation of the airspace and outer space, but also of claims by A.P. de Seversky on geopolitical criticality of the North Polar "decision zone". Additionally, given that by mixing the two paradigms (de Seversky and Spykman), "Central Earth" or the "Zone of the Axis" approaches the "decision zone", and, given

1 Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul 2001/2004 (18th edition)

2Ioannis Th. Mazis., "Theoretical Perception of Geopolitics in Davutoğlu's Work: A Critical Presentation", *Civitas Gentium* 3:1 (2013) 9-50, [http://scholar.uoa.gr/sites/default/files/yianmazis/files/xlvi\_theoretical\_perception\_of\_geopolitics\_in\_davutoglu\_work\_a\_critical\_presentation.pdf ]

Turkey's crucial role in the Axis Zone, it will continue doing so in the new context. He also regards Rimland<sup>3</sup>, as having been crucial during the *Cold War era* and during the rapid development of Nuclear Power, by focusing on the importance of *low-intensity conflicts* and pointing out that: "during the period from World War II until the end of the Cold War, of the 50 in total *low-intensity conflicts* in which the US intervened directly or indirectly, 30 took place in the Rimland<sup>4</sup>".

Davutoğlu remarks also on the geopolitical restructuring and the dynamics this creates on the legal borders imposed by the Cold War, following the geopolitical void created by its ending, with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and foresees in this stage the new role for neo-Ottoman Turkey. The new spaces related to the Turkish power projections, are those of: Central Asia, the Greater Middle East, the Balkans, Caucasus and the SE Mediterranean. In the methodological stage of the same effort, Davutoğlu focuses in particular on the geographical specification of the limits of critical sub-systemic geographical complexes comprised of nation-states protagonists sharing the above mentioned "Islamic Civilization".

As pertains to Turkey's foreign policy in Central Asia, Davutoğlu posits that it should take into consideration the powers of the international system and their balances on different levels: International, Continental, (i.e. European and Asian), and Regional. It is in this context that he writes:

"Turkey should, on a global level, push forward and project the utmost significance of its geopolitical and geo-economic role in the region, for NATO and the US, as well as its significance for the current and the future balance of the US-EU-Russia global axis. Similarly, it should also project its geopolitical and geo-economic significance for the EU and, simultaneously, enhance the balances in Asia, which depend to a great extent on Russia, China and Iran.<sup>5</sup> In the Asian continent, Turkey should develop bilateral relations and strategies on the East-West geographical axis, and primarily with Russia, China and Japan"<sup>6</sup>

Should we apply a more discerning eye, it can be observed that today Mr. Erdogan, and with Germany's full support, is gradually realizing these aims with Russia, China and Iran! The author defines these complexes by describing them as the "geopolitical axes" of neo-Ottoman Turkey's geostrategic perspective: The three geopolitical axes affecting the Close Terrestrial Basin of Turkey (he means the Balkans, the Caucasian zone and the Middle East) are:

"(i) *the Mesopotamia-Basra axis, affecting Caucasus and the Middle East;*"

At this point, it is today clear that Mr. Erdogan is fully proceeding as planned with his operations and effort of establishing a permanent basis, both in Syria (Afrin and Idlib) and Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan).

"(ii) *the Aegean Sea-Eastern Mediterranean axis<sup>7</sup>, affecting the Balkans and the Middle East;*"<sup>8</sup>

Once again, we see Mr. Erdogan deploying the "Blue Homeland" narrative, in order to implement the neo-Ottoman and Islamic-fascist strategy outlined by A. Davutoğlu.

"(iii) *the Danube-Dardanelles-Black Sea axis, affecting the Balkans and Caucasus. Consequently, the space (N.B.: the Rim) defined by the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, Eastern Mediterranean, Basra and Mesopotamia is the one affecting all of the three sub-systems, i.e. the Middle East, the Balkan peninsula and Caucasus. For this reason, all our policies towards these zones should be evaluated [by Ankara] within the same general strategic context. These data, therefore, define the entirety of our bilateral relations, by exercising specific influences. Therefore, with regard to our cross-regional interactions, the relations between Turkey and Iraq, on the one hand, and Turkey and Syria, on the other, are defined dually within this strategic environment and are based correspondingly on two distinct foundations: the first corresponds to the Mesopotamia-Basra axis and the second to the axis of Eastern Mediterranean"*<sup>9</sup>

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3Regrettably, the Greek translator has rendered the notion of Rimland as "Perimeter". The question is: "Perimeter" of what? My proposed rendition corresponds to the English term 'scaffolding', since this is the function perceived by Spykman. See: N. J. Spykman. *The Geography of the Peace*. Edited by I. Th. Mazis (Athens, 2004, 15ff).

4A. Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik*, ibid., p. 179.

5N.B. The reference to the geostrategic interest of Turkey in Russia, China and Iran is clearly a Haushoferian reference of Nazi Germany's geostrategic approaches.

6 Op. cit., 492-3.

7The prospect of Turkey assuming control of the "Axis of the Aegean – Eastern Mediterranean", as proposed by A. Davutoğlu, Mr. Erdoğan's Advisor (in this period), leaves no space for misunderstandings by Greece... Besides, his recent allegations on a "Kastellorizo of the Mediterranean" (11 –12 March, 2013, Athens) are proof to this remark! Once more, we see that Mr. Erdogan –supported by Germany again- tries to materialize Mr. Davutoğlu's geostrategic dictates!

8N.B.: Therefore, according to Mr. Davutoğlu, the Aegean-Cyprus zone is an integral component of Turkey's foreign policy and as such it should be controlled. No further evidence required!

9 A. Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik*. Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu, 398.

The same observations apply here, for the implementation by Mr. Erdogan of Mr. Davutoglu's strategic aims, as indicated by:

- 1) The construction, with works in progress, of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Hellespont Channel, running parallel to the Dardanelles.
- 2) The theory of the "Blue Homeland" narrative, in relation to the Aegean Sea and parts of the Eastern Mediterranean.
- 3) Incursions and target strikes by the Turkish Army in Syria and Iraq, with the tacit consent or open assistance of Russia.
- 4) Turkey's attempt at building up a military naval presence in Avlona of Albania and a military air force base in the same country, and:
- 5) (a). Turkey's plan to exert control in Kosovo, Bosnia, and Skopje by means of offering military assistance, defense and cultural cooperation (via TİKA/Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) to these countries.  
(b). The Network consisting in the aggregate of the centers of influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Balkans, as well as Turkish influence on the Sufi Orders (Mevlevi) in Tirana, Albania. All the above are strong evidence of the central assertion, that Mr. Erdogan is consistently adhering and in the process of implementing Mr. Davutoglu's strategic aims. Moreover, Mr. Erdogan, ardently wishes to establish Turkey as a successor to "naval Anglo-Saxon powers" currently dominating regional maritime trade.

This fact is made further abundantly clear by the fact that Mr. Erdogan is trying to strengthen his military presence in the Arab-Persian Gulf, the Maghreb, the Horn of Africa (Qatar, Sudan, Somalia, Libya) as well as in the Eastern Mediterranean Area (e.g. Occupied northern part of Cyprus etc.). Having been influenced significantly by Alfred Thayer Mahan, the father of the American geopolitical concept of "Naval Powers", Davutoğlu's places emphasis on the geographical and geopolitical importance of the so-called "choke points"<sup>10</sup>. He stresses that: *the current geographical location functions as a significant advantage for Islamic world [NB: the Ummah<sup>11</sup>], making it capable of controlling the "choke points" delineating the warm seas of the planet, while also involving the intense risk of igniting an endo-systemic antagonism*".<sup>12</sup>

The importance that Mr. Davutoglu ascribes to these international maritime "choke points", renders totally obvious this specific intention of Turkey's to control international maritime trade, through Islam's international presence on these very "choke points". Davutoğlu further stresses the fact that: "Eight (8) out of the sixteen (16) strategically most important "choke points", {i.e. the Suez Canal, Bab el – Mandeb (the exit from the Red Sea), the Strait of Hormuz, the Strait of Malacca, the Sunda Strait (between the islands of Sumatra and Java), the Lombok Strait (between Bali and Mataram) and Bosphorus and the Dardanelles (exits from the Black Sea)}, are fully controlled by Muslim countries, while one of them (the Gibraltar Straits) separates a Muslim state (Morocco) from a European one (Spain)".

However, after describing the said reality in a manner that might be considered as threatening by any reader and driven by the need to eliminate the stigma of such threat from Islam (which the author himself has described with regard to the "choke points")..., he goes on to reject Huntington's view that the Islamic World is a challenge for the core Western Countries, by saying:

*"[...]it is difficult to claim that the Islamic World can develop a global independent strategy as an anti-systemic power enjoying some kind of selective capacity in its involvement in the International System"*<sup>13</sup>

### **C. Turkish Islamist neo-Ottoman geostrategic planning as a threat to the EU, Greece, Cyprus and international security<sup>14</sup>**

Independently of who or what Party is in power, Turkey has consistently elected since 1973 to strike blows against a number of Greek and Cypriot strategic targets, in order to geopolitically degrade and achieve Greece's and Cyprus's "Finlandisation" status; i.e. to turn them into quasi-neo-Ottoman *sandjaks*, so that they become key terminals of the extended Turkish grid of "vital space/Lebensraum", fully conforming to the perceptions of Wartime Germany (A. Hitler) and A. Davutoglu.

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10 Op. cit. See also Mahan's view in: A. Westcott. 1948. Mahan On Naval Warfare, Boston: Little, Brown, 77.

11Cmp. L. Massignon. 1959. L'Ummah et ses synonymes: notion de communauté sociale en Islam. REI (1941–1946), 151ff.

12A. Davutoğlu, "The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World (Dis)Order", *Perceptions Journal of International Affairs*, Dec. 1997-Feb. 1998, vol. 2, no.4, p. 1. See also W. Thomson, *On Global War: Historical-Structural Approaches to World Politics*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. σ. 8.

13See. A. Davutoğlu, "The Clash of Interests", *ibid*.

14See. I. Th. Mazis, "Turkish threat against Greece and international security", <https://www.newsbreak.gr/politiki/143100/i-mazis-toyrkiki-apeili-se-varos-tis-elladas-kai-tis-diethnoys-asfaleias/>

Mr. Erdogan called the first zone of this “vital space”, that is the sea, “Mavi Vatan (Blue Homeland)” and tries to consolidate it in the Western collective unconscious, with a set of strategically prioritized provocations on the Aegean’s Air and Sea regions (*Turkish Air and Naval Force violations and breaches of sovereignty and sovereign rights of Greek Airspace and Maritime area in the Aegean Sea*) and in the Eastern Mediterranean, (*illegal seismic surveys in the Aegean and the Dodecanese continental shelf in the Eastern Aegean, as well as the Eastern Aegean / Tripolitis-Libya MOU*), of the EEZ of the Republic of Cyprus (*illegal seismic surveys and drilling*) but also illegal acts on areas of the Republic of Cyprus (*occupation of the Varosha area in the enclosed area of city of Famagusta - such enclosure being in accordance with two UN SC Resolutions, 550/1983 and 789/1984*).

We shall therefore list as follows, the fundamental strategic goals of Ankara aiming to implement the Islamist neo-Ottoman Davutoglu Doctrine, deemed to be the “*Achilles’ heel*” of the Greek and Cypriot national sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as important “*control points*” of the Western “nervous security system”. In other words, such goals aiming against the crucial “neural synapses” that promote neo-Ottoman control over the “European brain” of Euro-Atlantic security. In this presentation, I will briefly adopt the approach of the former President of the Hellenic Republic, fellow Honorary Professor of Constitutional Law at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Mr. Prokopios Pavlopoulos (<sup>15</sup>), further enhanced by my own additions.

1) Rollback of defense shield of Greek Aegean Islands by means of on-going violations of Turkey in the Greek Airspace and Maritime area.

2) The (legally non-existent) Turkish / Tripolitis (Libya) MOU.

3) The ensuing Turkish involvement in delimiting a European EEZ.

4) The Turkish effort for nationalist and separatist “instrumentalization” of the Muslim minority of Greek Thrace, by means of encouraging and promoting ethnic and religious awareness thereof, which, however, according to the Treaty of Lausanne is recognized as a “religious” - and not an “ethnic” - minority.

5) Diminishing and stripping of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople’s worldwide prestige and moral standing and cultural desecration of the Holy World Monument of the Church of the «Holy Wisdom of God» (Hagia Sophia).

6) The attempt to force division of the Republic of Cyprus into two confederate states, with the aim of: controlling the entire island of Cyprus and the possibility for Turkey to indirectly intervene and exert influence or short-circuit the European Decision-making System, by using this “artificial state”, located on that part of the island already occupied by Turkish troops since 1974.

7) The attempt to erase nine (9) war crimes and crimes against humanity, committed by Turkish armed forces that invaded and occupied Cyprus («Operations “Attila I and II”», 1974) and also by successive Turkish governments using their “political puppets” in (Northern occupied by Turkey) Cyprus as proxies.

8) Avoidance of a fair resolution of the Cyprus Question, on the basis of International and European Law.

It is very significant to note and given all the above evidence of Turkish unlawfulness, (shown below in table 5), French President Macron’s quote according to which Turkey “*would only consider and respect actions and not words*”.

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15 See. Prokopios Pavlopoulos, *Studies on National Affairs and the Cyprus Issue*, ed. Eurasia, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., Athens 2020.

**Table 5: Hellenic National Defense General Staff, Aggregated data 2020**

	Air Space <sup>1</sup>						Violations of National Territorial Waters <sup>2</sup> (g)	Statements - Decisions-Facts of the month in question
	Infringements of Air Traffic Regulations (ICAO) (a)	Violations of National Air Space (b)	Armed Formations (c)	Aircraft engagements (d)	Overflying National Territory (e)	Total of aircrafts (f)		
January	189	597	55	69	62	261	254	1. NON INVITATION of Greece (by the organising country Germany) to the Berlin Conference on Libya. 2. Condemnation of the Turkish-Libyan pact by Greece-Cyprus-Egypt-France. 3. Mission of aircraft carrier Charles De Gaulle to the Eastern Mediterranean (to escort the "Spetsai" frigate).
February <i>Following actions (2) and (3), we observe a drop in Turkish Delinquency (TD) in February.</i>	131↓	541↓	41↓	67↓	54↓	172↓	229↓	4. Greek Government Spokesman Mr. Petsas: "Oruç Reis got carried away by the wind and thus found on the Greek continental shelf". 5. Minister of Defense Mr. Panagiotopoulos, goes public with details following that crisis management: "Mr. Prime Minister, it is at that point. We are watching it from a distance", Prime Minister Mr. Mitsotakis: "Okay, Mr. Minister, remain calm". 6. Weak EU arms embargo monitoring mechanism in Libya.
March <i>Following statements</i>	181↑	425↓	36↓	30↓	58↑	190↑	193↓	7. <i>Following statements (4) and (5) we have the attempt of Turkish invasion in Evros, and then follows this government</i>
<i>(4) and (5), we observe an increase in substantial TD (a) and (e).</i>								<i>statement: "Greece is the shield of Europe in Evros".</i>
April <i>After successfully halting the Evros invasion (7), an overall drop of TD is observed.</i>	132↓	507↑	38↓	46↑	81↑	160↓	182↓	8. NATO Foreign Minister's meeting and Dendias report "on the developments in Evros and on the instrumentalization of people, which undermines the values of the Alliance".
May <i>Following Dendia's intervention in NATO, there has been some reduction in TD overall.</i>	93↓	420↓	27↓	36↓	47↓	120↓	144↓	9. Cancellation of "Kataigis '20" military exercise. 10. Greek démarche towards Turkey for presenting part of Greek territory, at the "Melissokomeio" location", as Turkish. 11. Dendias: "We are talking about a few dozen meters".
June <i>Following (11) Dendia's statement, an increase in substantial TD [EEX violations</i>	120↑	459↑	20↓	25↓	36↓	149↑	115↓	12. Greek-Italian agreement on the demarcation of Maritime Zones recognizing fishing rights to Italian fishermen within 6-12 nm of the Greek Continental Shelf.



(b)] is observed.								
July After action (12) comes a substantial rise in TD [EEX violations (b), dogfights (d) and (g)].	125↓	558↑	23↑	28↑	20↓	142↓	366↑	13. EU Foreign Affairs Council, Dendias satisfied by "European Solidarity". 14. Announcement of Turkish surveys in part of the Greek continental shelf and representation by Greece.
August After statement (13) and action (14), a sharp rise of substantial TD [dogfights (d) and violations of National Territorial Waters (g)] is observed.	281↑	457↓	37↑	51↑↑	6↓	285↑	625↑↑	15. Greek-Egyptian EEZ delimitation agreement. 16. Mini-collision of "Limnos" frigate on the Turkish "Kemal Reis". Kemal Reis was turned useless. 17. Pentsas: "Sanctions against Turkey shall bite".
September After action (16), an overall steep drop of substantial	145↓	193↓	21↓	35↓	0↓	180↓	297↓	18. Ajaccio Summit and Greek failure to mobilize the countries of the European South. Simple acknowledgment of the "violation of sovereignty and sovereign rights of Greece in the Aegean by Turkey".
TD is observed! (Macron: The Turks consider and respect only the deeds)								
October After action (18), an increase of substantial naval TD in the Aegean is observed! (Macron: The Turks consider and respect only the deeds)	167↑	115↓	9↓	9↓↓	4↑	166↓	332↑	19. EU Summit - Enforcement of sanction on Turkey was avoided. 20. Mitsotakis on Turkey: We will not enter into discussions under these circumstances.
November After action (19), a sharp rise in substantial TD [EEX violations (b), dogfights (d) and (e)] is observed.	127↓	151↑	13↑	16↑	5↑	127↓	288↓	21. NATO Summit, Panagiotopoulos: «"[Turkey] may not call for dialogue while trying to create faits accomplis". 22. Biden election in the USA
December After event (22), zero	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23. EU Summit - Failure of Greek Diplomacy, Mitsotakis: "Sanctions against Turkey are not an end in itself".
TD is observed in the Aegean and the Cypriot EEZ except Famagusta / Varosha								Also, "The threat of sanctions is our best tool" 24. Final Greek-French agreement for the purchase of 18 Rafale fighter jets. Poor handling of the "Rafale" acquisition case before the Court of Auditors in Greece. Probably due to Greece's misconception of "lowering the tones" in view of the start of Greek-Turkish exploratory contacts in January. Conclusion: The Greek strategy is completely wrong both in ideological terms and theoretically.
Total	1,691	4,423	320	412	373	1,952	3,025	-

#### D. A danger for International Peace: The Turkish-Islamist (Türk İslam Sentezi) Revisionist Behavior, with Greece and Cyprus as its starting point only

1. The third decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century began with some further significant positive technology achievements in relation to the 20<sup>th</sup> century's post-war international order, but also the passing-on of the legacy of some rather serious international high stakes or challenges that are still to be resolved or settled. The most important of these, is the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean, as this area remains either historically, or as

based on modern fundamental geopolitical considerations, the keystone of **Eurasia's Rimland** (according to N.J. Spykman). This being the very region which sees the resurgence of the neo-Cold War climate, with Russia gradually and progressively regaining its position as a major traditional threat to the Atlantic-centered West, whilst China is already asserting itself as the power which is claiming primacy from the US on a significant number of critical sectors, and by way of securing the biggest percentage of aggregate nominal national Power on a fully global scale.

2. Furthermore, in the new volatile and unstable post-Cold War International System, such as aggravated by the pandemic and the associated exacerbation of all the attributes of the current international financial crisis, a number of new, revisionist, chauvinistic and authoritarian ethnocentric regional actors are emerging, wishing to reposition themselves advantageously in such a reshaped international environment.

3. Those same nation-state actors, resort to a dangerous and anachronistic revival of imperial perceptions, at the full expense of all kinds of contributors to the democratic and legal political culture among their adjacent countries, and against the very "*maintenance of international peace and security*" in general.

4. The said active-entities, are on the offensive against the Universal Treaty, which constitutes the fundamental achievement of post-war world era, and which was sealed with the blood and sacrifice of millions of victims, primarily from the two World Wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and which such Treaty was reflected in the preamble of the United Nations Charter as a fundamental objective of this World Organization, as well as the corresponding self-evident obligation of its member-states. A Treaty that has been, and still continues to be, a central, universal moral commitment, for all the people in the world, seeking a peaceful and secure future that will ensure prosperity and continuation of existence for all future generations.

5. Turkey, due to its geographical and geo-economic parameters but also due to its population, represents an important state-presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. Also due to its religious and social characteristics it further represents, and alongside Greece, the most important connecting mechanism, to the main centers of variable power of this notional Perimeter, one that starts from Asia (China, Japan, India, Pakistan, Indonesia) and reaches all the way to the Euro-Atlantic West. Moreover, it is crystal clear that NATO's Southeastern wing, as comprising of the Greek-Turkish two-power center, introduces into the Western Rimland the most geo-strategically important intermediate centers of the Middle East - Arab-Muslim world, those of Israel and of the MENA-SAHEL region countries, and balances-out the power between, the "Slavic" center as expressed mainly by Russia and that of its neighboring network of states, (either controlled, or influenced by it) in the Caucasus and the Balkans.

6. During the last twenty years, the appearance of revival of radical Islam, either in the form of paramilitary armed organizations (ISIS/Daesh, Al Sabaab, Al Qaeda, etc.), or in the form of featuring a politically subversive, anti-Semitic and insurgent ideology and practice, such as being organized and promoted internationally by the Mother Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, have facilitated the Erdogan regime and using it as a NATO-shell vehicle, turned it into an instrument for the purposes of pursuing their own internationalist Islamist anti-Semitic and anti-western aspirations.

7. The Erdogan regime has used, (as it would like to hold, but erroneously so), the Muslim Brotherhood organization, especially after the 2016 coup, in order to permanently shed whatever (even rhetorical) pro-West/European aspirations it ever held and embrace an extremely strict Turkish-Islamist geo-strategical planning. Based on this planning, as founded on neo-Ottoman and Islamist-Panturanic nationalistic visions, it weaved a unique (and unseen since the times of the Ottoman period) revisionist chauvinistic three-fold structure of Islamist-Panturanic/Turkish/Neo-Ottoman interventionist extroversion, that sets geostrategic targets for Turkey well out of the reach of those that would have characterize a local or regional hegemonic Power. In this dangerous course of the Turkish-Islamist expansionism, Turkey faces Hellenism (that is the Hellenic Republic and the Republic of Cyprus) and Israel, as its most substantial obstacle in the Eastern Mediterranean region, and the respective control these two countries yield – consistent to the present and applicable International Law – each on their respective areas of sovereignty and / or sovereign rights (see: national territory/islands - illegally Turkish-occupied areas of Cyprus, mainland and/or island maritime zones of sovereignty or sovereign rights, such as territorial sea or continental shelf/ EEZ respectively, treaty-breaching and successional minority-related claims in Thrace etc.).

8. For these reasons and since 1974, Turkey has implemented a strategy-in-action of continuously claiming and disputing Greece's and Cyprus' sovereignty and or their sovereign rights. A strategy which includes the unlawful use of force, or the continuous, equally unlawful, threat of such use of force (*casus belli*), which complements or supports its strategy of applying relentless pressure until achieving none other than the very extinction of Hellenism; such strategy was manifested, from the very aftermath of the signing-off of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), both within Turkish territory (merciless and decimating persecuting of Greek minority population to virtual extinction), or outside its borders. In applying this tactic, Turkey uses the method of inciting minority and community issues (minority groups or communities) within the communities of Muslim populations in Greece and Cyprus. These long-term and ever-intensifying methods of Turkey, especially since

they are manifested with the use, or the continuous threat of use, of force against national sovereignty and political independence of a nation-state, constitute an explicit and even repeated violation of fundamental Rules of preemptory international law (*Jus Cogens*), since they breach fundamental principles of the UN Charter; and therefore, they may arguably be considered as an act of aggression against a third party State, in accordance with the provisions and criteria, as set out in the UN General Assembly Resolution 3314 / XXIX (1977) on the definition of Aggression in transnational relations. In this sense, affected state or states, are legally entitled to strongly protest and react dynamically, including even the use of force, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the UN Charter, on the inherent and indisputable Right of Self-defense. The continuing and actually intensifying manifestation of such acts against UN member states, would go to meet the evaluation criteria as set by Article 39 of the UN Charter, on "assessing" (by the UN Security Council) any anti-international state behavior as being in contrast with the "spirit and letter" of the provisions of the UN Charter, since they violate the UN Charter's fundamental principles for a peaceful settlement of international disputes and explicit prohibition of the use of force as clearly set out in para. 3 and 4 of Article 2 of the UN Charter, but also further and later confirmed and codified in the relevant universally accepted provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law on "Friendly Relations and Cooperation between States", as adopted by the UN General Assembly 2625 (XXV), 24 Oct. 1970); they therefore ultimately constitute and unquestionably so, a major threat to regional and consequently, also to International Peace and Security.

9. Turkey's aggression against Greece, is an attack to the entire Western World. The concept of the "Blue Homeland" that Turkey tries to propagate and enforce, legitimizes the arbitrary claims as made by China and Russia, which consider their nearby maritime areas surrounding them, as "blue homeland", i.e. as an extension of their own land area. In addition to that, Turkey treats the Greek islands as non-existent from a legal point of view, as if there was only open sea between Turkey and mainland Greece. This means that, were Turkey to succeed in imposing its unlawful claims, then it would be de facto promoting a revisionist reading of Maritime Law, according to which continental shores are clearly superior to islands. It is obvious that such a view would undermine the rights of, not only the Greek Aegean islands, but also the rights of (and in a wider sense) other islands of third countries, such as Sicily or Sardinia, or "former colonial" islands of European countries, such as France's Guadeloupe, etc. It would of course also undermine the legal status of island-countries such as e.g. major and minor island-formations of the United Kingdom (UK), or of Malta etc. All the more, for Cyprus.

10. In the context of a wider geopolitical framework, Turkey's such claims, directly or indirectly promote the long-term strategy of the Greater Eurasian Land-Forces, with China leading the pack, imposing the unlawful concept that individual islands and archipelago structures surrounding such islands, should belong to their own (China's) sphere of influence by way of an "inherent right". In this current, contemporary episode of the historical rivalry between the great Maritime and Land Powers, Turkey is promoting the strategic interests of today's Land Powers, namely those of Russia and China, and in their complete knowledge and consent, by fostering the view that the "adjacent seas" surrounding these Eurasian countries, constitute their own "blue homeland", whilst the island complexes which are near their shores, "do not exist from a legal point of view" and should therefore be integrated into "this blue homeland" of theirs. Therefore, in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean seas, a similar episode is currently being played out, one of extremely critical significance, of the new "Big Game" between the Eurasian Land Powers (China, Russia, Iran) and the Euro-Atlantic West; and with Turkey operating as the "spearhead" of this Eurasian Complex of (China - Russia - Iran). If Turkey succeeds in this and based on the tolerance and inertia of the West, (such tolerance being in full display, whether knowingly or not), to impose its irrational, fully unreasonable and illegal claims against Greece and Cyprus in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean Sea respectively, this will be the opening of the back-door floodgates, which shall allow the Eurasian Complex to impose its global hegemony and indefinite rule.

11. In other words, the West must understand and urgently so, and to hasten to make it absolutely crystal clear and in every possible way there is to Turkey, that, there is no "open sea" off its own shores, which it can infinitely claim for itself as its own "blue homeland"; but that there exist two other nation-states, which are members of EU and UN: the Hellenic Republic and the Republic of Cyprus. And for Turkey to fully "comprehend" that, (and in accordance with the applied international law) there lies in the Aegean and in the South Eastern Mediterranean and right opposite Turkey, a single sea-land structure with its own Islands and its own Mainland, constituting a single and undivided geopolitical entity, one called Greece. The extension of its maritime zone of the Territorial Sea, and of the Continental Shelf, which is defined and measured starting from the mainland and island -where applicable- Turkish coastline, does not extend indefinitely or arbitrarily so, but goes only up to the point where the opposite coastline of the Greek Aegean islands group ends. The same applies respectively in the case of the eastern Mediterranean and the Republic of Cyprus which is situated in this area. Therefore, the defending of the Greek-held positions, does not constitute only a defense of baseline principles as well as general ones, but also defense of more specific rules of international law, and as applicable in the case of the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean. It is not only a defense of Logic pitted against nationalistic Paranoia; it is not only a defense of National sovereignty and territorial Integrity of one state, (but

also of a second European state), against a demonstrably insatiable Neo-Ottoman, Islamist and imperialist neighbor. It is also a defense of fundamental geopolitical interests of the Euro-Atlantic West, which is now pitted against the deliberate attempt of the collectively entrenched Eurasian powers, in their effort to try and change, in their favor, the global map and such effort as was explicitly laid-out by the former Prime Minister of Turkey in the AKP Government, Ahmet Davutoglu (PhD) in his book "The strategic depth of Turkey".

12. In addition to all the above, should Turkey succeed and dominate the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean region, then it would control the "inner courtyard-area" of the Eurasia-Africa complex, offering a huge geopolitical advantage to the Land Eurasian Powers (Russia-China-Iran), leading them to dominate the whole new "Big Game" over the Euro-Atlantic West.

13. Consequently, the Greek government must understand and in the fastest manner possible, the magnitude of the challenge their country faces, as well as the historical responsibility it shall be called to bear. The Greek Government needs to comprehend and really fast, that Turkey has launched a total attack on all fronts, commencing from the geostrategic double-center of Hellenism, (that of Greece-Cyprus), seeking to geopolitically break it to pieces and mutilate it, and thereafter to transform these two centers of Hellenism and European Law and Political Culture, into its very own protectorate and use and turn them into siege-battering-rams in order to hold the West to ransom and submit it to its rule. And since it would have neutralized the only "obstacle" in the region (being Hellenism, that is Greece and Cyprus) standing in the way of those Turkish plans, it would then proceed with its main plan, which is its entry by then as an "equal" Power in the "high-ministry" of the great Eurasian Powers (China, Russia, Iran), which all aim simply at nothing short of global domination. Turkey wants to be that "Fourth State", alongside Russia, China and Iran, all aspiring to become the new world order and dominate over the Euro-Atlantic West.

14. Consequently, Greece is obliged, whether it wants to or not, to be the protagonist in this new "Great Game", that will determine the fate of the planet in the coming decades or even centuries. It therefore, needs to develop now, new tools for interpreting geopolitical developments as well as for its own influence on international actions in progress, and to comprehend the threat being posed by Turkey now, in all its magnitude. Of crucial importance for this purpose, is the urgent creation of a real National Security Council, as well as the strengthening of Greek strategic alliances with key Western countries, such as Israel, the Arab Countries and India.

15. The reaffirmation and strengthening of existing approaches, as well as the negotiation and implementation of new strategic insights, with existing but also with new allies and any others States who would be willing to cooperate, within the adjacent or further out geopolitical space, such as the proposed strategic agreement, including "military assistance clause", proposed by France in the context of Greece's armaments program for Belhara-type naval platforms, could be both an essential and necessary first step in strengthening or consolidating its strategic footholds, so as to enable Greece to operate as required in this new "Big Game" order. At a time when NATO is going through a "transitional mission-searching" period and the EU has still not found its footing to free itself from the extremely narrowly-defined ethnocentric dictums of Berlin, it is necessary to consider (and fast) the feasibility of expanding and further upgrading Greece's geostrategic potential, by way of undertaking complementary and concurrently bilateral or even multilateral, strategic initiatives within the framework of the Western world, which shall secure (not just those of Greece, but) the very West's vital interests against the extremely aggressive geostrategic planning of the Eurasian Land Forces, with Turkey in pole position, and whose aim is to achieve absolute international control and domination. Thus, an opportunity is being given to the Euro-Atlantic center, for a multifaceted ability to choose from a set of options, to balance out against the future antagonistic relationship with third countries pursuing a hegemonic role in the 21st century (which are *par excellence* China, Russia, etc.) and which operate with Turkey positioned as their spearhead. The solution to this geostrategic equation of curbing the above Eurasian nations' hegemonic ambitions, can be offered by the Euro-Atlantic protection and the cooperation with the double-center of Hellenism, that is, that of Greece and Cyprus. This will highlight the essentially key role of Greece and Cyprus to the democratic West, whilst balancing out subversive efforts of Turkish Eurasian revisionism in the Eastern Asia-Middle East-Arab World and Russia complex.

16. In the Aegean as well as in the South-Eastern Mediterranean, peaceful coexistence of the region's countries, is not the only issue currently at stake, but what also hangs on the balance is literally the world's destiny of International Peace and Security. The West must not allow neo-Ottoman Turkish aspirations, reinforced by the Islamist ideological core, to undermine national integrity and sovereign rights of Greece and Cyprus, but must seek to fortify them; similarly, Greece and Cyprus must seek and protect their very own existence, alongside their trans-historical and timeless role of a humanistic and modernizing frontier of Western Democracy and in the face of any revival of anachronistic remnants of Oriental despotism. And the opportunity for the West to do so, is offered anew (and up until now, at least), by the cradle of Europe's youngest democratic tradition, France, which seems to be the only European country that so far, not only seems to fully appreciate, but in the current historical conjuncture, to also identify with this enormous Euro-Western geopolitical stake.

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