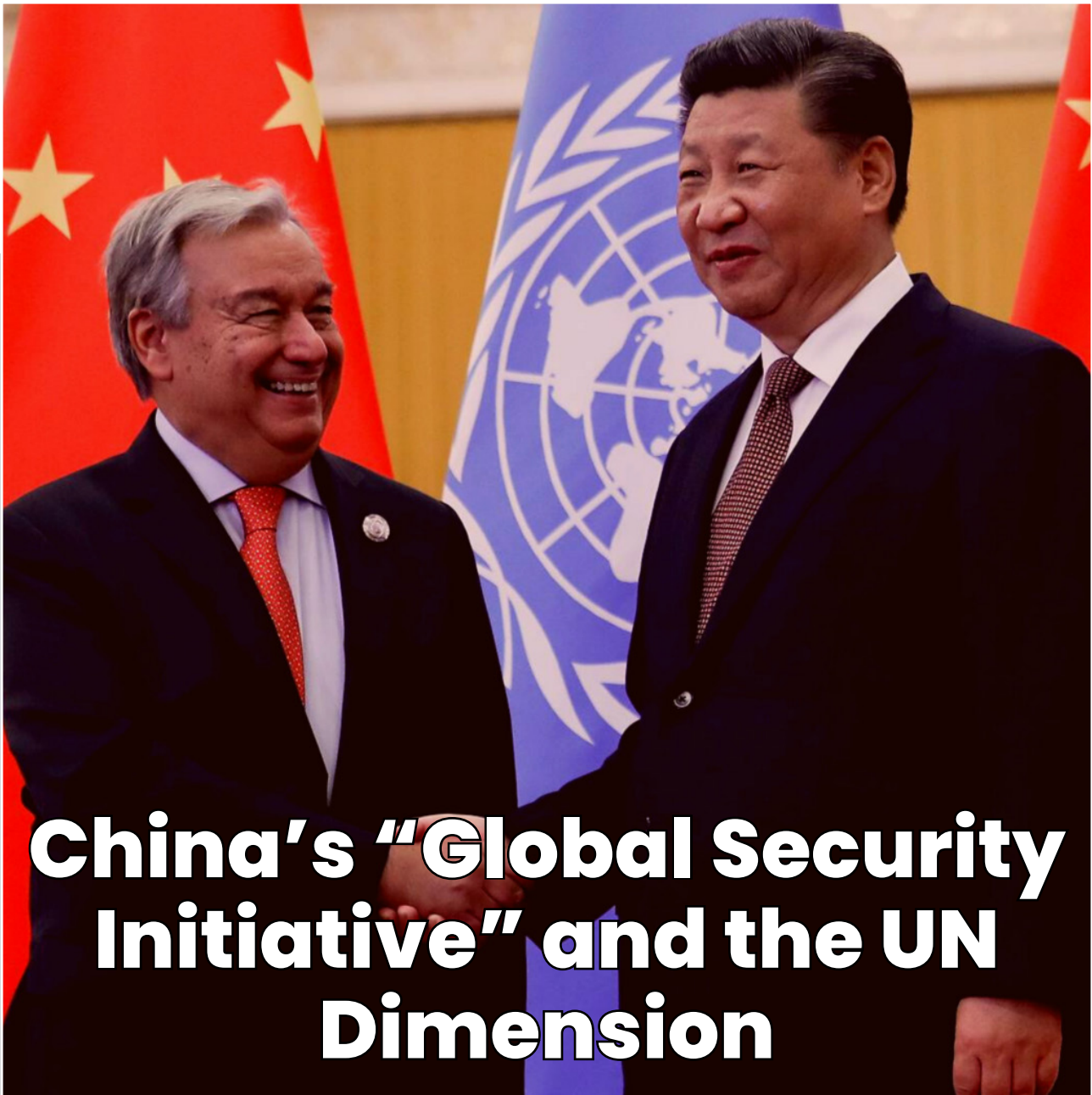




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03

Self-Determination Exam of African Countries and Russian Federation in the Context of the Ukraine Crisis

10

Behind the Scenes of the US Delegation's Visit to Taiwan

CONTENTS

ANKASAM ANALYSIS

- 03** Self-Determination Exam of African Countries and Russian Federation in the Context of the Ukraine Crisis
Dr. Ceren GÜRSELER

- 07** China's "Global Security Initiative" and the UN Dimension
Cenk TAMER

NEWS-ANALYSIS

- 10** Behind the Scenes of the US Delegation's Visit to Taiwan
Sibel MAZREK

ANKASAM IN PRESS

- 14** Media

JOURNALS

- 15** Journal of International Crisis and Political Studies

Journal of Regional Studies

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Self-Determination Exam of African Countries and Russian Federation in the Context of the Ukraine Crisis

The reaction of the countries of the African continent to the events of Ukraine, especially in the Western press and political circles. There are various reasons why the reactions and policies of African countries are under the spotlight on the international agenda. The first of these is that the Russian Federation (RF) develops relations with some African countries. So

that; These relations were interpreted as Moscow's re-existence in the continent. For example, due to the sanctions imposed on Moscow after the annexation of Crimea to the RF, Africa provided various opportunities for the Kremlin to develop relations with different regions and to overcome the negative effects of the sanctions. The second reason can be cited as the



Dr. Ceren GÜRSELER
ANKASA
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difference in the reaction of the continent to the occupation of Ukraine by the RF. In other words, African countries showed a different attitude. Third, the continent is still testing self-determination. Different examples appear in the self-determination test of the continent; There are still movements that demand self-determination, especially within the scope of separation. Next to Western Sahara, Tuaregs in Mali and Kazamans in Senegal are among the regions that demand self-determination. The reaction of African countries to the RF's policy and aggressive policies towards Ukraine since 2014, the perception of the continent's self-determination and self-determination are closely related to its attitude towards this right. In other words, with the elimination of colonialism, factors such as the acquisition of independence and the establishment of states in Africa; that is, it has a close relationship with the exercise of self-determination. Because examining some of Africa's experiences and politics regarding self-determination will be helpful in understanding the attitude of the continental countries towards the occupation of Crimea and finally Ukraine by the RF.

Situations such as the Western Sahara Problem, which is directly related to the abolition of colonialism, still cannot be resolved in the context of self-determination, South Sudan's self-determination can be operated as a separation from Sudan even though it has nothing to do with the liquidation of colonialism, and there are still self-determination demands, especially separation wishes, in the continent, It shows that Africa has been going through the test of self-determination since decolonization.

There are controversial and different examples of self-determination on the continent. Even though Africa's relationship with self-determination continues in the context of the exam and different examples are encountered in these relationships, the African Union's understanding and practices of self-determination are in line with the general acceptance of the right in international law. In short, the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity remain important for Africa.

March 2,2022-UN General Assembly Resolution and Africa

Despite the RF's criticism and heavy sanctions by the international community, the Moscow administration continues its attacks on Ukraine. In particular, the reactions to the RF, which was sanctioned by the West, were in the form of opposition to the Ukraine War.

African countries, on the other hand, give different reactions. One of the elements that best illustrates this is the United Nations (UN) General Assembly's Resolution on Ukraine dated March 2, 2022. The aforementioned resolution was adopted with 141 votes in favor, 35 abstentions and 5 negative votes. In Africa, 28 states adopted the resolution, 17 abstained and 8 did not participate in the voting. Considering that there were 35 abstentions in total, it is remarkable that Africa contributed 17 votes.

Three non-permanent African countries of the UN Security Council (UNSC), Kenya, Ghana and Gabon, condemned the aggressive policies of the RF in the process leading up to the invasion. In expressing his opinion, Kenya underlined the well-known principles of Africa, the inviolability of borders and the self-determination of each people. While reminding the world public that the current African borders are determined according to the uti possidetis principle, in other words, the borders drawn by the colonial administrations are protected; He emphasized that although Africa was not satisfied with this situation, the colonial borders were accepted.

The African country that made the most of the reaction was the Republic of South Africa (GAC); because the GAC abstained. As a justification, he showed that the resolution of the UN General Assembly did not create an environment suitable for diplomacy and diplomatic activities. It also called for dialogue to ensure the security of the parties. The traditional foreign policy of the GAC, the importance it attaches to the Non-Aligned Movement and its membership to the BRICS together with the RF can be listed as other reasons underlying its decision.

Mali and the Central African Republic (OAC), which has recently improved its relations with Moscow, also abstained. While Uganda announced its abstention vote, it will sit on the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement; therefore, he declared that he had taken the decision in question for the sake of impartiality. Morocco, Namibia, Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Guinea, Ecuadorean Guinea, Madagascar, South Sudan, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Sudan also abstained. The African Union, on the other hand, stated that the situation in Ukraine is very worrying; but he did not condemn RF.

Ethiopia and Cameroon did not participate in the voting. Ethiopia has made a statement that the situation in Europe is causing concern. Eritrea was the only country from the continent to vote against the resolution. Mauritania, Kenya, Mauritius, Lesotho, and Nigeria voted in favor of the resolution. Botswana, Capo Verde, Ghana, Malawi, Niger, Seychelles, Sierra Leone and Zambia were also among the other African countries that supported the decision.

Africa's Approach to Crimean "Self-Determination"

Crimea is a controversial example for Africa as well as for the international community. The attitude of African states on the issue of Crimea differs. In order to understand the reactions, the relevant decision of the UN General Assembly and the attitude of the continental states are important. Resolution 68/262 of the UN General Assembly is called the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine. While the UN reiterated that Crimea is a part of Ukraine, it recognized the Crimean referendum as invalid.

Benin, Cape Verde, Chad, Guinea, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Niger, Nigeria, Central African Republic, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo, Tunisia adopted the resolution. Sudan and Zimbabwe said no to the resolution. Angola, Algeria, Djibouti, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, South Africa, South Sudan, Kenya, Comoros, Lesotho, Mali, Egypt, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe Islands , Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia abstained. Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Guinea-Bisseau, Morocco, Ivory Coast, Republic of Congo did not participate in the voting.

Sudan has adopted an approach that defends Crimea. Algeria and South Sudan neither supported nor opposed self-determination. By not participating in the voting, Morocco continued its Western Sahara policy in Crimea.

There is no integrity in the attitudes of other countries that are exposed to self-determination movements towards Crimea. Zimbabwe, for example, is a country that has a self-determination movement within its borders; but he voted against the resolution and supported Crimea. Equatorial Guinea, which wanted to return to the pre-colonial era on its territory, did not participate in the voting.

Russian Federation-Africa Relations

It is possible to read the two decisions mentioned above within the scope of RF-Africa relations. Especially during Putin's second term, relations gained momentum. Among the most important factors triggering this acceleration are the support of the Soviet Union to Africa during the Cold War and the exposure of RF to international sanctions after the Crimea policy. After Crimea decided to join Russia; In other words, it has not been seen that African countries have imposed sanctions on the RF since 2014.

In RF-Africa relations, more defense and military cooperation is being made. For example, half of Africa's arms imports come from the RF. It is also necessary to mention the summit held between Africa and RF in 2019. The heads of state of 43 African countries attended the summit in Sochi. While underlining the need to develop economic relations; Putin stated that he attaches importance to the stability of Africa. The Summit will meet every 3 years.

Considering its importance in African politics, the reaction of the GAC needs to be examined. At the same time, his statement that he can be a mediator between RF and Ukraine sheds light on understanding the position of the GAC. When RF's aggressive policies towards Ukraine began, the GAC condemned Moscow's attitude and called on RF to withdraw from Ukraine. It should be remembered that the GAC has attempted to become a member of the UN Human Rights Committee for the period 2023-2025, and its reaction should be read from this framework.

The fact that Mali cut off its close military relations with France and turned to the RF also makes its reaction to the events in Ukraine important. The successive coups in the country caused both his isolation in West Africa and the straining of his relations with France.

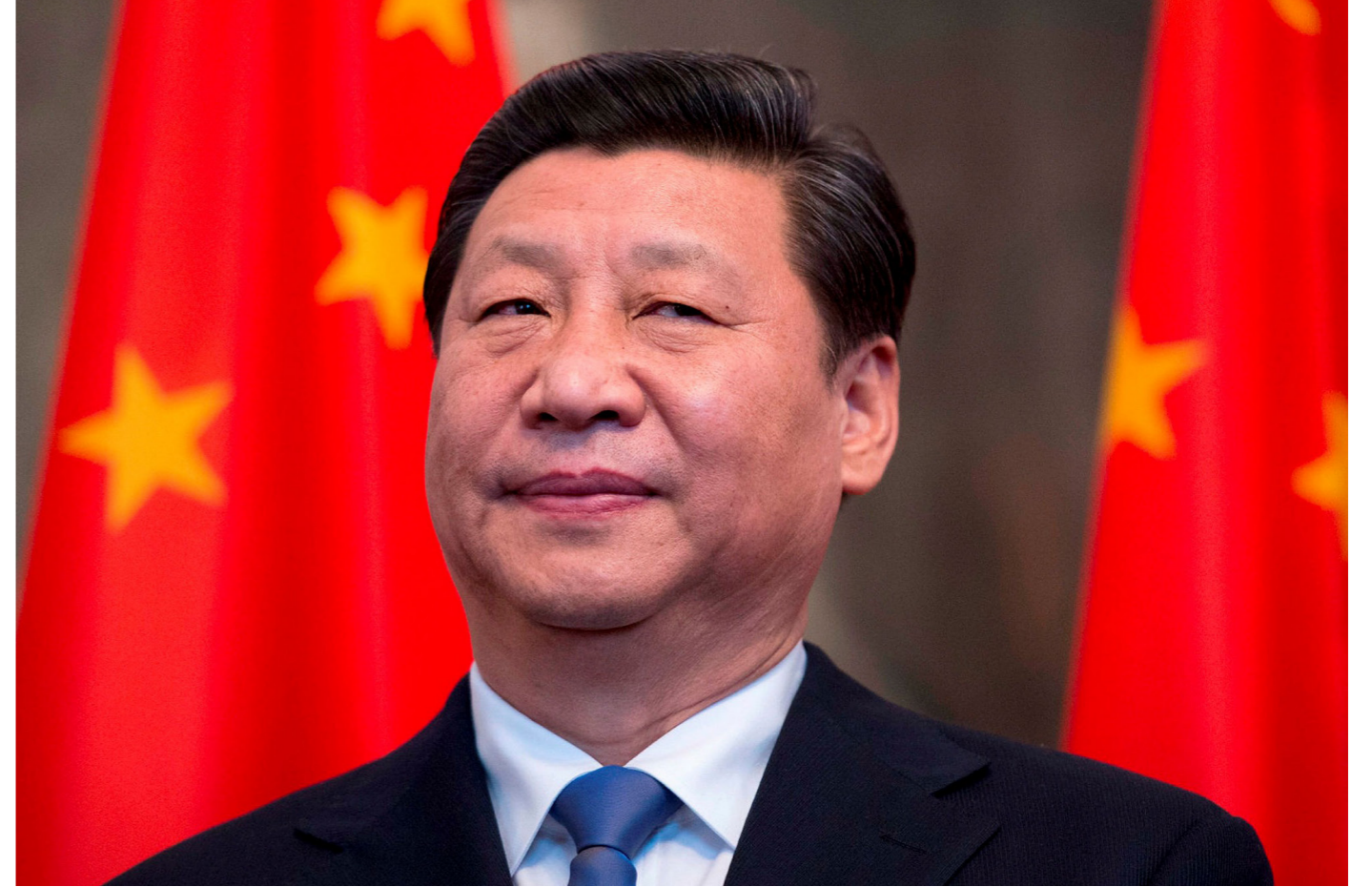


In particular, the realization of pulses in a very short time can be considered as an important factor in directing them to RF. Because, as stated above, Mali is under an attempt to isolate. In other words, the RF filled the gap and showed its support for Mali in various international environments. For example, Moscow voted against the UNSC resolution adopting the sanctions of ECOWAS, an important organization of West African countries.

Another prominent part of the Mali-RF relationship is Wagner's; that is, the claim that Russian mercenaries are operating in Mali. Wagner and his activities in Africa are frequently criticized, especially by Western actors.

The Central African Republic is an African state whose relations with the Russian Federation are developing. Again, Wagner's activities come to the fore in bilateral relations. So that; It is estimated that Wagner first operated in Africa at OAC in 2017. Later, the official military advisers of the RF came to the OAC. In addition, it is possible to talk about the development of bilateral relations. The aforementioned nature of their relations can also be understood from the RF's reaction to Ukraine's policies and aggression. The OAC supported the RF's decision to recognize Donesk and Luhansk as independent states.

As a result, Africa's relations with the RF began to develop, especially in the last period of Putin's administration. It can be said that both sides have gained from these relations. The low rate of opposing votes in the resolutions of the UN General Assembly on the territorial integrity of both Crimea and Ukraine shows that the dominant principles in Africa's self-determination attitude continue to be adopted. The principles of inviolability of borders and territorial integrity were adhered to.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

China's "Global Security Initiative" and the UN Dimension

During a video speech to the annual Boao Asia Forum on April 21, 2022, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed a "Global Security Initiative" that supports the "indivisible security principle", a concept endorsed by Russia.[1] Cinping, who did not give detailed information about the initiative, said that the world should respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and that countries should pay attention to "le-

gitimate" security problems. Cinping expressed these views on the basis of the "indivisible security principle" of Russian President Vladimir Putin. Because, with the Ukraine War, Putin once again reminded the "indivisible-holistic security principle". In other words, he argues that security should be evaluated collectively. According to this thought; If the actions of one state threaten the security of others, it is a violation



Cenk TAMER
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Asia-Pacific
Expert

of the principle of indivisible security. Therefore, no state should strengthen its own security at the expense of others.

This principle was first brought to the agenda in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. At this meeting, which laid the foundation of the OSCE, it was argued that the security of Europe should be considered as an indivisible whole. Nowadays, it is frequently mentioned by Russia. It even uses this principle as the main justification for the Ukraine War. According to Russia; NATO's enlargement has begun to threaten its own security. Again, according to this idea, NATO is endangering Russia's security at the expense of ensuring its own security. That is why Russia demands the withdrawal of NATO from Central and Eastern Europe. Since the 1990s, this principle has been Russia's main argument against NATO.

This principle advocated by Russia necessitates that world security be considered as a whole. In fact, this idea is compatible with the "Sectoral Security" and "Regional Security Complex" theories. According to these theories put forward by theorists such as Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver, security should be divided into various sectors and regions. Each region's security issues will be unique. For example, Europe's security agendas are Russia and fundamentalism-radicalism, while Afghanistan-Pakistan's security agendas are terrorism, human and drug trafficking. The war in Ukraine adversely affects the security in its immediate surroundings. The security of Europe, the Baltics, Scandinavia, the Black Sea and the Caucasus are the regions most affected by the crisis in Ukraine.

The rest of the world began to feel the economic costs of the war. In other words, security problems in one region can actually affect the security of the whole world. For example, the Ukraine Crisis has created major threats to energy and food security in the world. In other words, the Regional Security Complex theory loses its importance and validity. However, Chinese President Xi Jinping talks about the "Global Security Initiative". Because the developments in Ukraine have started to directly affect the security of China. This is most felt in China's military, commercial, energy and economic sectors. According to the aforementioned "Global Security Initiative" advocated by Russia and China, defense-security concepts such as NATO, QUAD and AUKUS, developed by the USA in accordance with the regional security understanding, endanger the security of the world. For example, NATO threatens the security of Russia. Be-

cause of this security risk, Russia attempted to invade Ukraine. QUAD and AUKUS pose a threat to China. Due to this increased security risk, Beijing's attempt to invade Taiwan has started to take place more intensely on the agenda.

The "Global Security Initiative" advocated by Russia and China is also incompatible with their own security concepts, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), respectively. Because, starting from the "indivisible security principle" advocated by Russia, the CSTO and SCO will also create a security threat in the countries in their immediate vicinity. However, none of the countries around these organizations have attempted an attack-occupation, as Russia did in Ukraine, claiming that there is an increasing security risk for them. If Russia's "principle of indivisible security" against the West were true, today Ukraine could have taken aggressive actions against its neighbor Belarus, expressing its dissatisfaction with the enlargement of the CSTO. Or Japan, similarly, could have taken military-security steps in its close vicinity by stating that it perceived a threat from the expansion of the SCO. In other words, while the security organizations established by Russia and China continue to expand, this issue has begun to be evaluated as a threat to the security of the world by other states. So, the regional security concepts of the West, NATO, QUAD and AUKUS, versus the regional security platforms of Russia and China, the CSTO and the SCO, lead to a "global security dilemma" that polarizes each other and causes a climbing race.

Chinese President Xi Jinping proposes to create a global security platform rather than the aforementioned regional security organizations. Because China is influenced by Russia's theses against the West and the narrative it has built. Beijing considers defense alliances such as AUKUS to pose a threat to its security. Based on Russia's actions, China may engage in acts of aggression in its immediate vicinity. Because Russia, while attacking Ukraine, cited the eastward expansion of NATO as the reason. In this context, China may justify the gradual expansion of formations such as QUAD and AUKUS when landing in Taiwan.

So, is the "Global Security Initiative" put forward by China applicable? How does this platform affect world security?

First of all, it is not possible to build a fair security architecture in the world as long as there is a veto system granted to the five

permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Since Russia has veto power, it is not possible to take coercive measures under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter regarding its attack in Ukraine today. In other words, although there is a war that threatens world peace and security, the UN system cannot take the necessary decision to eliminate this danger. Similarly, it will still not be possible to activate the UN system if China attempts any aggression in its region in the near future.

There is no sufficient data about "Global Security Initiative" suggested by China yet. But there should be no veto system to ensure the security of the world. Equal voting rights must be granted to each member. All member states should have equal responsibility to protect the world's security. For example, the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the member states can be accepted to take condemnation, sanctions or coercive measures regarding Russia's attack on Ukraine. In other words, the responsibility of maintaining world peace and security should not be left to the Security Council, which consists of 15 members, 5 of which have veto power, as in the UN system. The newly developed "Global Security Initiative" should be submitted for signature by all states, just as it is done in the UN system, and the agreement should be binding for all member states. In order for this system to be successful, there should not be any "hegemon actor" on the platform in question, who has veto power and undertakes the duty of "big brother" in this sense.

For the last 20 years, China and Russia have been challenging the global system by claiming that the West no longer rules the world. In order to overthrow this system of Western hegemony, the UN system must first be revised or completely terminated. China's "Global Security Initiative" proposal can be an alternative to the UN system. However, Western powers think that China and Russia are trying to build an "Eastern hegemony" in the world. Because the UN system creates a ground that will allow the Westerners to become the supreme-hegemonic power in the world. It can be said that Russia and China took action to change this order. In this sense, Beijing's proposal, the "Global Security Initiative", may become a much more discussed topic in the coming days.

[1] "China's Xi Proposes 'Global Security Initiative', Without Giving Details", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/chinas-xi-says-unilateral-sanctions-will-not-work-2022-04-21/>, (Date of Accession: 22.04.2022).



NEWS ANALYSIS

Behind the Scenes of the US Delegation's Visit to Taiwan

While the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has continued, a step came from the United States of America (USA) to increase the tension between China and Taiwan. Including the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of American Congress Bob Menendez and Republican Senator Lindsey Graham, the six people delegations consisting of senators have visited Taipei aiming to support Taiwan. China's reaction to this visit has not been delayed. During the visit, China's Foreign Ministry declared that it opposes any official-formal contact between the United States and Taiwan. In addition, the ministry reminded the "One China" principle and the 3 joint declara-

tions signed between the two countries should be implemented and demanded the United States cease official relations with Taiwan. Overmore, China held military exercises around the island during the US delegation's visit.

United States Army general and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Mark Milley has also indicated that if China decided to invade Taiwan, "the United States can support Taiwan, just as it did to Ukraine." Evaluating the background of the US delegation's visit to the disputed region to the Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM), experts have underlined that the visit was a warning against China.



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator



Cenk TAMER
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific Expert

"The United States is trying to provoke China over Taiwan's independence."

Stating that the USA supports Taiwan's participation in international organizations and the independence of the country, ANKASAM Asia Pacific Expert Cenk Tamer said: "The USA did not wish to draw the reaction of the Beijing administration for Taiwan's independence for a long time. Washington has endeavoured to pursue a grey-strategy. Stated in other words, while accepting China's 'one China' principle, the USA has carried out its support of Taiwan. In this sense, they declared that they would abide by the 1979 Taiwan Law. More importantly, the United States has also encouraged European countries to establish relations with Taiwan."

The United States is trying to provoke China over Taiwan's independence, Tamer adding that such independence would mean Washington's victory over Beijing in the Asia-Pacific. "If Washington makes it clear it will defend Taiwan, the Chinese threat will increase and give the grounds for the invasion. Thus, China will take action in case the United States defends Taiwan. However, it appears that China did not fall into the game of the United States. Thus, Washington has not been able to pull China into war." he assessed it.

Stressing that China's major desire is to force the USA to make a move which has violates international law, Tamer said the United States' aim is to ensure that states of the world recognize Taiwan's independence. Lastly, Tamer indicated, "In the case of many states around the world recognising Taiwan's independence, it will become difficult for China to send troops to the island, and perhaps impossible."



Chienyu SHIH
Taiwan Institute for
National Defense
and Security Studies
Researcher

"China thinks that the US is using Taiwan as a pawn."

According to Chienyu Shih, a researcher at Taiwan's National Institute for Defense and Security Studies, the US main goal is to harm China's "One China" principle and to target Beijing's interests. "Beijing believes that Washington has benefited from the Russia-Ukraine War. Accordingly, the United States uses Taiwan as a pawn to block Chinese assistance for Russia." he made his commented.

The US delegation's visit to Taiwan should be seen as a positive move on the part of the Washington administration's firm and consistent support for Taipei, he said, adding that Taiwan is of strategic importance in the Eastern Pacific. Shih also dedicated that the visit was a reminder and a warning to China to not capture Taiwan by force.

The US delegation's visit to Taiwan should be seen as a positive move on the part of the Washington administration's firm and consistent support for Taipei, he said, adding that Taiwan is of strategic importance in the Eastern Pacific. Shih also told that the visit was a reminder and a warning to China not to capture Taiwan by force.



Ferhan ORAL
Retired Colonel

“The visit was made with the aim of changing China’s attitude towards Russia.”

Retired Colonel Ferhan Oral considers the US delegation’s visit to Taiwan a reflection of China’s concerns about its ability to use force against Taiwan, adding that the trip was part of China’s policy to change its passive attitude towards Russia as part of the war in Ukraine. However, he ruled out the possibility. “The visit can also be read as a manifestation of the US effort to continue the unipolar world order with its efforts to economically weaken the two rival poles (China and Russia) and break solidarity between both countries,” Oral said.

Oral, who examined the issue from a military perspective, said “The United States of America considers that it is not sufficient to balance China through the alliances (AUKUS-Australia, Britain, the United States Alliance), as well as through countries which it has co-operated in the field of defence, such as Japan and South Korea. In addition, “The United States will make an effort to deploy NATO as a non-resident, which will renew its Strategic Concept later in the year. Likewise, the post-Ukrainian War European security cannot be maintained without the United States, but it also notes expressions of support for strengthening the maritime presence in the Indo-Pacific, in the EU’s “Strategic Compass”, which was adopted last month by the Council on Foreign Relations.”



Dr. Ahmet Bülent MERİÇ
Retired
Ambassador

“The USA promises to strengthen Taiwan’s asymmetrical fighting capabilities against Chinese intervention.”

Retired Ambassador Ahmet Bülent Meriç stated that the USA deliver a message to China by sending a delegation to Taiwan saying Beijing should not support Russia on the Ukraine issue and contribute to the peaceful resolution of the war.

Meriç stated that China has included Taiwan in its military area with ballistic and cruise missiles within the scope of the “Anti Access/Area Denial-A2/AD” strategy, and therefore the possibility of the USA intervening in Taiwan has disappeared. He also said Beijing has constructed a military buildup near Taiwan.

Referring to the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 and the Taiwan Allies International Protection and Development Initiative Act of 2019, Meriç indicated, “The USA guarantees the security of Taiwan with the laws called ‘Taipei Act’. However, the US’s security and defence commitment to Taiwan is very vaguely written in these laws. This ambiguity also benefits the United States, and diplomacy also takes advantage of this kind of situation. This provides a deterrent in a way. Therefore, with the visit of the US delegation to the region, this deterrent is being tried to be sustained. Shortly, the United States promises to strengthen Taiwan’s asymmetric (hybrid) combat capabilities against Chinese interference by this visit.” made his assessment.

Meriç also stated that the USA has developed a new strategy against China’s A2/AD strategy and within this scope, it has taken measures around Taiwan by placing the layered missile defense system in that region.



Mehmet Emre ÖZTÜRK
Journalist

“The visit could damage security and stability in the region.”

Underlining that the USA has made many visits to Taiwan before, Journalist Mehmet Emre Öztürk emphasized that the senators in the delegation have taken a sharp stance against China. Öztürk said, “It should be considered that the regional visit carries steps that shake-up security and stability. The United States, which cannot officially recognize Taiwan, tends to conduct its diplomatic activities unofficially through the Taiwan American Institute. Such steps, which harm the principle of “One China”, increase the tension between China and the Taiwan administration. Every step the Tsai Ing-wen administration takes with the United States shows that tougher rhetoric is emerging in mainland China.”

By reminding the Chinese People’s Liberation Army has been held exercises in the air and sea zones around Taiwan Island in the face of the visit, Öztürk said that thanks to the “One China” principle adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1971, China has an important basis of legitimacy today. In this sense, Öztürk said that China opposes any political provocation that will come through Taiwan by any unofficial means.

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5 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Eurasia Expert Dr. Sabir Askeroğlu made evaluations to Haber Global on the Russia-Ukraine War.

5 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's article titled "The Meanings of Crimean Geopolitics in Regional-Global Politics" was published on the website of the Baltic Coastal Economies (BRE) platform operating under the Pan-European Institute.

6 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's assessment of the Russia-Ukraine War to The Epoch Times was shared on the UK-based news portal Leave EU Now.



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

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CRISIS AND POLITICAL STUDIES VOLUME VI, ISSUE I

JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES

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

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