



ANKASAM

bulletin

16 January 2022

ISSUE: 2022/02

United Arab Emirates' Central Asian Policy: A Constructive Collaborative Approach



03

Dynamics of Lukashenko's
Statement and
Uzbekistan

06

State-Building
Method of
Bosnian Serbs

CONTENTS

ANKASAM ANALYSIS

- 03** **Dynamics of Lukashenko's Statement and Uzbekistan**
Emrah KAYA
- 06** **State-Building Method of Bosnian Serbs**
Gözde KILIÇ YAŞIN
- 09** **United Arab Emirates' Central Asian Policy: A Constructive Collaborative Approach**
Dr. Doğancahan BAŞARAN

NEWS – ANALYSIS

- 12** **Security Commitments Diplomacy on the Washington–Moscow Line**
Sibel MAZREK

ANKASAM IN PRESS

- 15** **Media**

JOURNALS

- 17** **Journal of International Crisis and Political Studies**

Journal of Regional Studies

Cankaya District, Cemal Nadir Street, No: 9, 06680.
Cankaya – Ankara/Turkey
Tel: +90 312 474 00 46 | Fax: +90 312 474 00 45
Email: info@ankasam.org

Design–String: Esra Karadağ

All rights to this publication belong to the Ankara Center for Crisis and Political Studies (ANKASAM). Except for reasonable quotes under the Intellectual and Artistic Works Act 5846, all or part of the publication cannot be printed, broadcast, reproduced or distributed by electronic or mechanical means (copy, record and information storage, etc.) without the permission of ANKASAM. The opinions and assessments in this work belong to the author, and do not reflect the official opinion of ANKASAM institutionally.

ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Dynamics of Lukashenko's Statement and Uzbekistan



Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM
Foreign Policy
Expert



The protests that started in Kazakhstan in the first days of 2022 for economic reasons turned into acts of violence in a short time. In this process, there was a perception that Central Asian countries would be affected by the protests. In the emergency meeting of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) on January 10, 2022 on the situations in Kazakhstan, President of Belarus Aleksander Lukashenko said, "The lessons that have been talked a lot about Kazakhstan should be learned, first of all, Uzbekistan. If these lessons are not learned, according to our information, they have already been set on Uzbekistan." he said.[1]

When Lukashenko's speech is carefully examined, it can be said Lukashenko's speech actually represents Moscow's views. The target here is not originally Uzbekistan; in the context of Uzbekistan, the target is the geography of the Turkic World, Central Asia and, more generally, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Moscow is trying to build its hegemony in the geography of CIS again. Lukashenko has expressed this.

Under normal circumstances, Moscow wants to make countries dependent on itself with threatening discourses such as terrorism. In this context, it is possible to invite other states to cooperate closely with Russia through the call made to Uzbek-

istan on the occasion of the actions in Kazakhstan. However, there is one detail that has been forgotten at this point. Regional states, especially Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan; they want to protect their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unitary structures. Uzbekistan also states that it has the power to do this and that it does not need anyone. Because, there is a strong relation between the administration and the society or in other words; the center and the periphery in Uzbekistan. The solid stance of the Uzbek administration and people against threats is the strongest aspect of Tashkent. Undoubtedly, the Tashkent administration is aware of who made Lukashenko say these words.

President of Uzbekistan, Mr. Shavkat Mirziyoyev, said following statement about his country at the Security Council meeting on January 13, 2022:[2]

"The other day, unfounded statements were made by a leader of one states that Uzbekistan should learn lessons from the events that took place in Kazakhstan. We are closely monitoring the situation in the region, all the security challenges and threats. We have all the necessary potential and power to adequately respond to any threat"

Figure 1: Uzbekistan Army in Numbers



In this context, the image below gives an idea about the power and deterrent potential of Uzbekistan, which has the world's 51st strongest army.

Moreover, the Tashkent administration is taking important steps to increase its military capacity against threats. Knowing that the country's stable development can take place in an environment of peace and tranquillity, the Tashkent administration implements a multi-dimensional policy within the framework of the use of new technologies, strengthening the air defense system, ensuring information security, training of military personnel and increasing morale.[3]

In fact, Lukashenko's speech showed the real intention of the Kremlin on the basis of the Organization of Turkish States. Especially the Spokesperson of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Maria Zaharova's statement, "We expect that Turkish officials will continue to refrain from such ill-conceived reasoning out loud," draw attention.[4] In addition, it is seen that Zakharova has taken an accusatory attitude with the statements "This tragic, complex, extraordinary situation for Kazakhstan required conjugation of efforts and definitely should not be considered as an opportunity to harm, to catch fish in troubled waters".[5] However, neither Turkey nor the Organization of Turkish States has not an aggressive and imperial approach as the Kremlin claims. Along with there is no such purpose, the Organization of Turkish States announced in the Turkish World 2040 Vision Strategic Document that it acts as a transparent organization with the aim of both strengthening the solidarity among member countries and developing relations with other actors.[6]

On the other hand, it is obvious that Moscow will not have enough military and economic capacity to establish its own regional hegemony. Because neither Russia is not "Former Russia" nor The Turkish World is not the "Former Turkish World". This situation should not be ignored. In other words, its capacity does not coincide with the Kremlin's rhetoric. Undoubtedly, this situation will harm Russia. At this point, Lukashenko's statement also damaged Moscow's relations with the regional states in a sense. The developments have revealed Russia's ambitions. Moscow knows this situation best.

Lukashenko's speech dealt a major blow to the options discussed between Tashkent and Moscow until yesterday, including the option of observer membership to the CSTO. Considering at the statements made in Tashkent, it can be said that Uzbekistan has demonstrated its strength and determination to ensure its security.

Even though Uzbekistan has been independent for 30 years, it has been able to eliminate the security problems in its territory with its millennial history and state wisdom. Uzbekistan, which borders a country with security problems like Afghanistan, shows an effective struggle and a constructive policy against various threats today. This shows that Moscow and Minsk underestimate Tashkent. But the reality on the field is the opposite.

Shortly, Turkey and the Turkish World have started a long-term process within the framework of common interest and mutual respect. One of the most significant instruments of this process is the Organization of Turkish States. It is obvious that taking steps backward will not be taken because of Moscow's reactions. The region also needs a peaceful integration process. The Organization of Turkish States has also set out in this context and it is no longer possible to talk about a return.

[1] "Belarus Devlet Başkanı Lukaşenko: "Kazakistan'dan Sonra Sırada Özbekistan Var", Ulusal Kanal, <https://www.ulusal.com.tr/dunya/belarus-devlet-baskani-lukashenko-kazakistan-dan-sonra-sirada-ozbekistan-var-h297203.html>, (Erişim Tarihi: 15.01.2022).

[2] "Shavkat Mirziyoyev: We have the Power to Adequately Respond to Any Threat", Uzreport, <https://uzreport.news/politics/shavkat-mirziyoyev-we-have-the-power-to-adequately-respond-to-any-threat>, (Erişim Tarihi: 15.01.2022); "Shavkat Mirziyoyev Commented Lukashenko's Remarks", The Tashkent Times, <https://tashkenttimes.uz/national/8177-shavkat-mirziyoyev-commented-lukashenko-s-remarks>, (Erişim Tarihi: 15.01.2022).

[3] "Özbekistan Cumhurbaşkanı Şevket Mirziyoyev Hava Savunma Sisteminin Güçlendirilmesi Talimatını Verdi", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/ozbekistan-cumhurbaskani-sevket-mirziyoyev-hava-savunma-sisteminin-guclendirilmesi-talimati-ni-verdi/>, (Erişim Tarihi: 15.01.2022).

[4] "Rusya'dan Ankara'ya Kazakistan Uyarısı: 'Kötü Niyetli' Açıklamalardan Kaçının", Euronews, <https://tr.euronews.com/2022/01/13/rusya-dan-ankara-ya-kazakistan-uyar-s-kotu-niyetli-ac-klamalardan-kac-n-n>, (Erişim Tarihi: 15.01.2022).

[5] "Zaharova: KGAÖ Barış Güçlerini 'İşgalci' Olarak Görenler, Kazakistan'ın Egemenliğine Saygı Duymuyor", Sputnik, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/20220113/zaharova-kgao-baris-guclerini-isgalci-olarak-gorenler-kazakistanin-egemenligine-saygi-duymuyor-1052720216.html>, (Erişim Tarihi: 15.01.2022).

[6] "Türk Dünyası 2040 Vizyonu", Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı, <https://www.turkkon.org/assets/pdf/haberler/turk-dunyasi-2040-vizyonu-2396-98.pdf>, (Erişim Tarihi: 15.01.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

State-Building Method of Bosnian Serbs

The Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina started an investigation on the withdrawal of the Serbian Republic from Bosnia and Herzegovina state institutions due to violation of constitutional order.[1] Summons were established for the representatives of opposition parties in the Serbian Republic, and the declarations are almost tone. The press briefing of Serbian politicians after the declaration in the Prosecutor's Office showed that their views on the secession of the Serbian Republic from Bosnia and Herzegovina are on the same line with Milorad Dodik, who was a supranationalist. Dodik is not accepting Bosnians national identity and gets the support of Russia and Serbia, and other sections that identify them as Muslims.

On December 11, 2021, the National Assembly

of the Republic of Serbia held an extraordinary meeting in Banja Luka, where is the administrative center of the Serbian Republic, to make voting on leaving Bosnia and Herzegovinan state institutions.[2] At the session, it was decided by 49 deputies to draft a new constitution within six months, proposing the creation of legislation and regulations governing the security, defense, tax administration, and judicial system of the government of the Serbian Republic, and also proposing that Banja Luka be the capital of Serbian Republic.

Mirko Sarovic, who is the leader of Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in the opposition, and was the President of the Serbian Republic in 2000-2002, and was the Serbian member of Bosnia and Herzegovina Presidential Council,



**Gözde
KILIÇ YAŞIN**
ANKASAM
Eurasia Expert

testified on the session of Serbian Parliament, without opening the discussion on the invitation to the Prosecutor's Office. Mirko Sarovic is the biggest rival of Dodik. Sarovic and his party remained partly abstained on the session of December 10, 2021. Sarovic claimed that since they were not prepared for the process, they preferred not to vote. Sarovic openly claims that they have the right to separate from the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina; however, they are not thinking in the same way with Dodik on method.[3] He says that he was against delegation of authority to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2005, 2006, and 2010, and still keeping the same attitude.[4] In summary, he believes that authority should go definitely to the Serbian Republic; however, firstly, the consensus in the Serbian Republic should be provided.

After testifying as a witness within the scope of the same investigation, Serbian Socialist Party Chairman Goran Selak stated that they did not participate in the voting on the return of powers as a party, that they thought that it was necessary to talk about which powers were transferred unconstitutionally and by which procedure he can return to the Serbian Republic.[5] Selak explained to the Prosecutor's Office that Serbian Republic's institutions must be developed to more stable Serbian existence in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[6] Selak also believes that the timing and the method should be discussed, and he thinks that the elections are not a violation of constitutional order.[7]

President of the National Assembly of Serbian Republic, Nedeljko Čubriloović, announced that he had not received an invitation from the Bosnia and Herzegovina Prosecutor's Office for a hearing regarding the alleged attack on the constitutional order; He added that it was confident that the Serbian Republic did not go beyond the constitutional framework and powers. [8] Čubriloović also participated in the meeting at the National Assembly on December 21, 2021, organized by the Faculty of Political Sciences of Banja Luka University on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Serbian Parliament. In the meeting, Čubriloović highlighted the importance of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia on the survival of the Serbian people, self-determination, and scramble to establish the Serbian Republic as a state-building community.[9]

Counselor of Dodik, Radovan Kovacevic, evaluated the call for investigation of opposition representatives as a misfortune. According to Kovacevic, the investigation of persons representing the will of the citizens of the Serbian Republic proves that the Office of the Prosecutor of Bosnia and Herzegovina was used

as a political tool to settle accounts with the Serbian Republic and its founding people, the Serbs. He expressed that the rights of the Serbian Republic should be given back to them according to Dayton Agreement.[10] Dodik previously claimed that "Bosnia and Herzegovina's High Council of Judiciary and Prosecution is an unconstitutional body" and claimed that the High Representative created the institution based on anti-Dayton behavior.[11] He stated that they were actually defending the constitution regarding the relevant investigation. He also continued by saying, "Leave the story of the Muslim judges; we are consistent in our plan and cannot be stopped by outside objections." [12] He criticized the political parties that did not participate in the voting and said that the biggest betrayal was to oppose the Serbian Republic regaining its powers.[13]

The statements of Bosnian Serb politicians show that Milorad Dodik, who is described as a "cheeky nationalist" in the Western media, is not alone in his ideas about the independence of the Serbian Republic. In any way, the replacement of Dodik by another Serbian politician will not change Serbian Republic's demands for secession. Unanimity on some issues means imposing the country's reality on the West. Because the Western institutions' search for solutions to problems other than Cyprus takes place by the actual situation in the field. The Serbian Republic was designed to join a federation with the Dayton Agreement as a separate state.

Such a legal basis was given to the Bosnian Serbs in 1995. Opposition Serbian political leaders do not see the holding of parliamentary sessions and voting on secession from Bosnia and Herzegovina as an attack on the constitutional order. In this case, they must be thinking that the right to secede is regulated in the constitution. However, there is no such regulation. However, in establishing state institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the authorities were transferred to the central state by voting in the Parliament of the Serbian Republic. Decisions on the transfer of authority, which were on paper with the parliamentary votes of October 30, 2003, December 5, 2003, February 25, 2004, March 11, 2004, and August 30, 2005, were withdrawn on December 11, 2021.

Opposition politicians only argue that the timing and method should be determined together. Here, the reflection of the separatist structure of the Serbian society can also be seen. Because even if the politicians find it suitable to remain a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they know that if they express this, they will lose votes. Dodik, too, was a politician who collaborated with

Western institutions in his early days and handed over more war criminals than was requested. Realizing that he increased his votes when using separatist rhetoric, he formed his political line based on separatism. Moreover, a Serb community that has reached today's conditions cannot be expected to show loyalty to the idea of Bosnianness. Since the conjuncture makes it possible for groups that feel different from each other to become a state, a Bosnian Serb politician has no reason to defend a contrary position. It should be noted that the "prior law" is always the determining factor in political formations. Bosnian Serbs established today's "prior law" in 1995. Here, too, they received the most excellent support from the West. It is possible to see this in the testimonies of Milosevic, Karadzic, and Mladic.

On the other hand, Bosnian Serbs receive support from some European countries under the influence of Islamophobia, apart from Russia, which wants to draw the area of conflict with the West from the former Soviet geography to the Balkans, and China, which prefers to distract the attention in the Asia-Pacific with the turmoil in the Balkans. There is also the support of some other countries that plan to benefit from the map renewals triggered by the possible border change in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even if the USA, the UK, and a few EU members announce sanctions against Dodik and Serbian Republic, Dodik has a promise of support in his pocket that can double the losses that will arise from this.

Politicians who are part of the Serbian administration will resist the option of war as much as possible. For this reason, it can be predicted that the news of Muslim aggressors will increase in the Serbian press. On the other hand, the Serbian administration will try to develop its current gains and walk towards independence by forcing law and diplomacy. The fact that Dodik makes all his statements with the emphasis that they act in accordance with the Dayton Agreement and the constitution shows that he wants to walk his plans on a legal basis. The Serbian administration rejects any new situation that has arisen with the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. Nevertheless, he wants the gains of the Dayton Agreement. Deputy Prosecutor Oleg Čavka also expresses this request.[14] From this, it is understood that the Serbs wanted to return their legal status to the date of December 14, 1995, when the Dayton Agreement was signed. While there was no Serbian Republic, such a legal entity came to life with the Dayton Agreement. While only the republics of Yugoslavia and the declarations of independence with the existing borders were allowed,[15] The Dayton Agreement created a side road to this rule by uniting the Serbian Republic, which it had created, with the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina under one state. In summary, Bosnian Serb

politicians see themselves in the last stage of progress to an independent state through legal gains.

The world, which remained silent in the face of the genocide and massacres, owes Bosnians a homeland to live in peace. However, those who allowed the lands taken by the Serbs through genocide and ethnic cleansing to remain with them, and those who created a republic in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the agreement, now seem to be "desperate" against Dodik...

[1] According to the laws of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the penalty for attacking the constitutional order is five years in prison.

[2] For voted items, see "Zaključci Na Više Nivoa: Skupština Republike Srpske usvojila odluku o vraćanju nadležnosti", Novosti, <https://www.novosti.rs/republika-srpska/vesti/1064990/skupstina-usvojila-odluku-vracanju-nadleznosti>, (Date of Accession: 10.12.2021).

[3] "Шаровић саслушан у Туžилаштву БиХ; Враћање надлежности Српској није спорно већ припрема сједнице НСПС", RTRS, <https://www.rtrs.tv/vijesti/vijest.php?id=457426> (Date of Accession: 21.12.2021); "Počeo Pravosudni Progon Lidera RS! U Tužilaštvu BiH formiran predmet o posebnoj sednici NSRS o vraćanju nadležnosti", Novosti, <https://www.novosti.rs/republika-srpska/vesti/1068146/poceo-pravosudni-progon-lidera-tuzilastvu-bih-formiran-predmet-posebnoj-sednici-nrsr-vracanju-nadleznosti>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2021).

[4] "Šarović saslušan u Tužilaštvu BiH zbog sjednice NSRS-a: Mislim da to nije bio napad na Ustav", Klix, <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/sarovic-saslan-u-tuzilastvu-bih-zbog-sjednice-nrsr-a-mislim-da-to-nije-bio-napad-na-ustav/211221044>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2021); Oylamadan önceki gün katıldığı BN televizyonunun bir yayınında da Šarović, partilerinin devredilen yetkiler konusundaki görüşlerini kamunun bilmesini istedikleri için oturuma katılacaklarını açıklamıştır. Konu hakkında detaylı bilgi için bkz. "Šarović o sutrašnjem sjednici NSRS-a: Srijamo grlom u jagode, nisu svjesni opasnosti u koju nas vode", Klix, <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/sarovic-o-sutrasnjem-sjednici-nrsr-a-srljamo-grlom-u-jagode-nisu-svjesni-opasnosti-u-koju-nas-vode/211209148>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2021).

[5] "Zbog napada na ustavni poredak osumnjičena Željka Cvijanović te predsjednici partija iz vlasti u RS-u", Klix, 21 Aralık 2021, <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/zbog-napada-na-ustavni-poredak-osumnjicena-zeljka-cvjanovic-te-predsjednici-partija-iz-vlasti/211220050>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2021).

[6] "Селак саслушан у својству свједока у Туžилаштву БиХ", RTRS, <https://www.rtrs.tv/vijesti/vijest.php?id=457309>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2021).

[7] People's Democratic Alliance (DNS) President Nenad Nesic and Democratic Progress Party (PDP) President Branislav Borenovic and Serbian Republic Interior Minister Dragan Lukac confirmed that they had been summoned and announced that they would make a statement later. The Prime Minister of the Serbian Republic, Radovan Višković, declared that he did not receive an invitation from the Prosecutor's Office. For detailed information see "Вишковић: Нисам добио позив Туžилаштва; Уколико позив дође одазваћу се", RTRS, <https://www.rtrs.tv/vijesti/vijest.php?id=457452>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2021); "Лукач добио позив Туžилаштва; Потврдићу чињенице већ познате јавности", RTRS, <https://www.rtrs.tv/vijesti/vijest.php?id=457450>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2021).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

United Arab Emirates' Central Asian Policy: A Constructive Collaborative Approach

Even being a Gulf country, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) has been pursuing different policies for different regions like every other state. Central Asia is one of the interests of UAE's different policies. These policies of Abu Dhabi towards Central Asia has been shaped by a pragmatic approach that prioritizes common interest with the state party and has obtained a constructive quality. This is why the regional activities of the UAE have been based upon the development of economic relations and the achievement of economic gains through investments made in various countries.

Along with the economic ties regarding its relations with Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, UAE has been taking energy cards into consideration. Within this framework, Abu Dhabi spread on the effort to gain the involvement of UAE corporate in Caspian-based projects. All the process of these policies has corresponded to foreign investment expectations of regional countries and accelerate the relations with the mutual benefit maximization approach.

To clarify this approach, it is necessary to touch upon the Relationship between UAE and the countries in the region. First of all, to speak about Kazakhstan, it can



Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
International
Relations Expert

be said that UAE has developed a well-established relationship with this country during the period of the Founding President of Kazakhstan, Mr Nursultan Nazarbayev. In the years between 2005-2020 it has been known that UAE invested approximately \$2.4 billion in Kazakhstan and the trade volume between the two countries in 2020 was 474.4 million dollars.[1]

This development between the two countries also reflects the populace and lead to rising proximity and cultural interaction among peoples. Thusly, Kazakhstan applies visa exemption to UAE citizens, as well as it's limited to one month. From this point of view, it is possible to foresee that the economic relations between the two countries will upgrowth. As a matter of fact, Deputy Minister of Economy of Kazakhstan Alisher Abdykadirov stated that the most significant partner of his country in the Middle East in the UAE, and announced that 30 new projects will be available to be implemented between the two states.[2] It is seen that Mr Kasım-Cömert Tokayev also encourages the inflorescence of bilateral relations. Moreover, the Kazakhstan-UAE Investment Forum is held regularly every year in order to deepen the bilateral economic relations and through this forum, communication is established between investors.

The driving force behind the connection among the Abu Dhabi-Nur Sultan line is the economy. This means that the investments of the UAE are a prominent issue for Kazakhstan. For the UAE, the situation of the energy basin in the Caspian is quite substantial. Hence, the UAE company Mubadala has been involved in projects in this region by purchasing 24% of KazMunaiGas company, which carries out natural gas exploration activities in Kazakhstan.

Similarly to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan has also held a noteworthy investment from UAE. For instance, on February 8, 2012, a Loan Agreement for the Bishkek-Torugart Highway Rehabilitation Project was signed between the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Abu Dhabi Development Fund herewith the UAE has started to provide financial assistance to transportation projects in Kyrgyzstan. On 7 December 2014, a memorandum of understanding was signed to encourage mutual investments, and thereafter, a significant increase occurred in UAE investments in Kyrgyzstan. Another memorandum of understanding, signed on the same date, opened the door to cooperation in the fields of mining and trade.

As can be seen, the relations on the Abu Dhabi-Bishkek line are shaped through economic cooperation. Moreover, these relations have been regrowth in recent years, especially since Mr. Sadir Japarov became the President of Kyrgyzstan. The main UAE company known to be operational in Kyrgyzstan is DP World. [3] There is also a visa liberalization implementation between the two countries which began reciprocally on January 17, 2017. [4] This served to strengthen the bond of communion between peoples of two countries.

There has been concrete progress in the relations of the UAE with Uzbekistan after the leader of the New Uzbekistan Movement, Mr Shavkat Mirziyoyev, became the President of Uzbekistan. The fact that Mr Mirziyoyev became the President brought about Uzbekistan's expansion in many fields. In this context, Mirziyoyev's administration, which focuses on projects for the development of Uzbekistan and tries to attract investment to its country, also drown together with the UAE.

As a tangible outcome of convergence on a question, the UAE invested a total of \$4.5 billion in various projects in Uzbekistan between the dates of March 2019 and August 2021.[5] The most striking of these investments is the first solar power plant with a 100 MW capacity, which was opened in July 2021 and built by Abu Dhabi-based Masdar. There are 107 UAE-owned enterprises in Uzbekistan at present. In addition, 28 UAE-based companies are operational. All these have shown that the relationship between the two countries has a circle around economic ties. [6] In this regard, the two parties are on the same page to increase the bilateral trade volume to 10 billion dollars.[7]

A positive atmosphere prevails in the UAE's relations with Tajikistan either. In March 2007, the UAE became the first Gulf country where Tajikistan opened a consulate. This situation reveals the importance given to Abu Dhabi by the President of Tajikistan, Mr Emomali Rahmon. It is known that 22 companies of UAE origin participate in fairs organized to invest in Tajikistan. Therefore, it can be said that the economy is the driving force in the UAE's relations with Tajikistan, just like in other Central Asian countries.

Finally, when we look at the relations of the UAE with Turkmenistan, it is seen that the main topics of the relations between the two countries are energy, trade and urban development. It is also known that UAE companies such as Petrofac, Gulf Oil and

Gas Fze are closely interested in projects in the Caspian Sea and carry out operations in Turkmenistan.[8] These operations are also supported by the President of Turkmenistan, Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow. The propulsive force of the relations between Abu Dhabi and Ashgabat is the UAE-Turkmenistan Business Council The Council has an effective function in determining investment areas in Turkmenistan and guiding UAE investors.

There are 49 bilateral agreements between the two countries. As a result, Turkmenistan meets the majority of its electronics, high-tech, truck, car and other needs from the UAE. Currently, the UAE is the fifth-largest supplier of Turkmenistan.[9]

Based on all this information, it can be stated that the UAE plays a constructive role in Central Asia and contributes to regional welfare as well as creating employment through its investments. This situation brings about the sympathy of the regional capitals towards Abu Dhabi. Of course, the UAE's activities in the region are not only for the Central Asian states; it also provides gains to the UAE. Abu Dhabi Administration is making significant gains from the region both through investments and energy projects. However, it is obvious that this type of connection is not a form of relationship in which one side exploits the other. In other words, the relations of the UAE with the states of the region operate with an approach that suits the interests of all parties within the framework of the understanding of interdependence. Therefore, the regional capitals do not have any concerns about the activities of Abu Dhabi. Thus, it can be predicted that the positive atmosphere in the UAE's relations with the regional states will continue.

[1] "UAE, Kazakhstan to Strengthen Business Relations in Key Sectors", Gulf Today, <https://www.gulftoday.ae/business/2021/03/07/uae-kazakhstan-to-strengthen-business-relations-in-key-sectors>, (Date of Accession: 29.12.2021).

[2] Same source.

[3] "Trade and Economic Cooperation", Embassy of the Kyrgyz Republic, <https://mfa.gov.kg/en/dm/abu-dabi-en/Menu-Foreign/-uslugi/Trade-and-Economic-Cooperation/AE>, (Date of Accession: 09.09.2021).

[4] "Legal Base", Embassy of the Kyrgyz Republic, <https://mfa.gov.kg/en/dm/abu-dabi-en/Menu-Foreign/-uslugi/Legal-base/AE>, (Date of Accession: 29.12.2021).

[5] "UAE and Uzbekistan: Heraldng A New Era", Gulf Business, <https://gulfbusiness.com/uae-and-uzbekistan-heraldng-a-new-era/>, (Date of Accession: 29.12.2021).

[6] "Uzbekistan, UAE Agree to Enhance Trade-Economic, Investment Cooperation", President.uz, <https://president.uz/en/2455>, (Date of Accession: 29.12.2021).

[7] Aynı yer.

[8] "Bilateral Relationship", MOFAIC, <https://www.mofaic.gov.ae/en/missions/ashgabat/uae-relationships/bilateral-relationship>, (Date of Accession: 29.12.2021).

[9] "UAE, Turkmenistan Mull Strengthening Cooperation", Araznews, <https://www.azernews.az/region/158876.html>, (Date of Accession: 29.12.2021).



NEWS ANALYSIS

Washington-Moskova Hattında Güvenlik Taahhütleri Diplomasisi

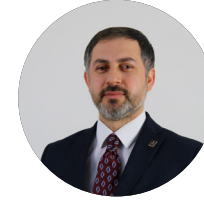
Russia's deployment of approximately 100,000 troops to the Ukrainian border has again escalated the tension between the two countries that has been going on since 2014. Stating that they are uncomfortable with the presence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the region, Russian President Vladimir Putin blames the United States (US) and NATO for the increase in tension in the region. Claiming that NATO's eastward expansion poses a threat to national security, the Moscow administration published a draft text on "security guarantees", which includes the withdrawal of NATO forces from Eastern and Central Europe and the rejection of membership requests by former Soviet Union countries, especially Ukraine and Geor-

gia. Moscow's security requests to the United States and NATO were met with backlash by Washington and its allies. Declaring that they will definitely not accept Russia's demands regarding NATO, the Washington administration is preparing for diplomatic talks with Moscow. The parties are expected to start negotiations in the coming days.

In this context, experts evaluating the developments in the Washington-Moscow line to the Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) report that the negotiation process will be difficult.



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator



Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU
ANKASAM
International Re-
lations Expert



Dr. İntigam MEMEDOV
International Re-
lations Expert



Prof. Dr. Ali ASKER
Karabuk Univer-
sity, Department
of International
Relations

"Negotiations can reduce tensions centered on Ukraine."

Stating that Russia has long wanted to communicate with the United States, Dr. Sabir Askeroğlu said, "Russia forced the USA to hold talks. If there was no agreement, there was a risk that Russia would intervene in Ukraine. Such a possibility could also affect the US foreign policy towards Ukraine. Because there is strategic cooperation between the USA and Ukraine. For this reason, the Washington administration is, in a sense, responsible for the security of Ukraine. Therefore, the United States armed Ukraine to prevent Russian intervention. All this caused tension. However, a possible crisis could complicate the work of the USA. Now, the United States has had to negotiate with Russia so that the issue does not turn into a serious crisis." said.

Drawing attention to the importance of negotiations, Askeroğlu said, "The talks can eliminate a serious security risk. It can decrease the tension in the area. However, it is very difficult to reach an agreement on the commitments Moscow demands." made his comment.

"Russia's security demands will not be accepted by the US and NATO."

Dr. İntigam Memedov said, "The USA, NATO and Russia know each other's interests. The process we are witnessing today is beneficial for both parties. This is the reason why it came to the fore." used the phrases.

Claiming that the negotiations are an opportunity to consolidate Joe Biden's role in international security issues, Memedov said, "Biden is looking for something global like the Build Back Better World Project (B3W) in domestic politics or the Korean-American Panmunjom Summit that Trump participated. Putin, on the other hand, articulates two of Russia's classic conditions, such as NATO not expanding eastward and no military bases being established in post-Soviet countries" made a statement.

Finally, claiming that the demands of Russia in the draft agreement will not be accepted by the USA and NATO, Memedov said, "We can foresee that the negotiations will continue. A positive outcome from the talks depends on whether the parties make concessions." he concluded his statement.

"Russia thinks own demands will be accepted by the United States."

Stating that Russia's security demands are not a new issue, Prof. Ali Asker interpreted the draft text sent to the USA as a documented version of 30-year-old problems, emphasizing that the eastward expansion of NATO is Russia's main problem. In this context, Asker said, "The eastward expansion of NATO and the Western threat approaching Russia's borders mean that Russia is surrounded." said.

Compared to other experts, Asker claimed that the USA would respond positively to Russia's security demands and would ask for some assurances in return, adding that the USA could make additional demands from Russia within the scope of its security obligations regarding Ukraine, Eastern Europe, South Caucasus and Central Asian countries." made his comment.



**Doç. Dr. Fahri
ERENEL**
Istinye University
Faculty Member

“The chances of Russia failing against NATO are a slight chance.”

Reminding that NATO did not fulfill its promises not to expand to the east during the Gorbachev era, and that this situation was frequently mentioned on the Russian side, Assoc. Dr. Fahri Erenel said, “Combining its geopolitical depth with its historical and cultural richness, Russia is never an ordinary country. Therefore, sanctions or a containment strategy will not deter Moscow from acting in line with the near-periphery doctrine.” made a statement.

In addition, Erenel said, “opposite of Russia’s obvious superiority in hypersonic missiles and air defense systems, the cooperation agreement it signed with China, its membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), increased military in the Baltic, Arctic and North Pacific, starting naval and air patrol activities with China in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, reaching the ability to shoot satellites in space, developing its military capacity in all areas and being led by a strong leader like Putin, There is a NATO, which show little attempts against Russia’s efforts. In this environment, the probability of Moscow failing is negligible.” he said.



**Hulusi
KILIÇ**
Retired
Ambassador

“Security guarantee demands are Russia’s longing for the Warsaw Pact era.”

Commenting on Russia’s request for security guarantees from the USA and NATO, which gave serious support to Ukraine, as a wise act, Retired Ambassador Hulusi Kılıç said, “This contract is reminding the negotiation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on the limitation of nuclear and long-range weapons during the Cold War period. Therefore, the demands for security guarantees are an indication of Russia’s longing for the Warsaw Pact era.” said.

Kılıç drew attention to the 6th and 7th articles of the 9-item draft agreement, which is expected to be negotiated between the parties at the beginning of 2022, and said, “The USA and NATO will never accept these two articles, which are also closely related to Turkey. In this context, we can easily say that these negotiations will take a long time.” made its assessment.



**Ceyda
KARAN**
Journalist

“If “moderating” intermediate formulas cannot be produced, a troubled period may be entered around the world.”

Journalist Ceyda Karan, who stated that the Biden administration is trying to re-establish the game with ‘great power competition’ against the rising economic, political and military powers in the Euro-Atlantic and Asia Pacific, said, “The “engine” of US hegemony is still in Europe and this engine has started “mistaking”. Therefore, the idea of weakening Europe’s growing economic and commercial ties with Russia and China came to the fore in the White House. Due to its proximity to Europe and the economic ties that the Nord Stream-2 Project will establish, Russia has come to the fore as an actor that needs urgent action for the United States. Therefore, the new game was built on the Ukraine once again. In this sense, the discourse of “Russian threat to the former Soviet republic that wants to choose the West” came to the fore. NATO’s “essential mission” is the hegemony of the Western-centered neoliberal order’s political economy. For this reason, the places where it cannot fully penetrate become a target.” made her comment.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

10 January 2022

ANKASAM Foreign Policy Specialist Emrah Kaya evaluated the latest developments regarding the ongoing demonstrations in Kazakhstan in the Haftanın Notları program broadcast on Kanal 12 Television.

12 January 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol answered Pinar Ergüner’s questions in the Küresel Analiz program broadcast on TASC Television regarding the ongoing protests in Kazakhstan.

12 January 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the developments in Kazakhstan on Akit TV.

12 January 2022

Rumeli-Balkan Center for Strategic Studies (RUBASAM) gave a place to the evaluations made by Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies Eurasia Specialist Gözde Kılıç Yaşın to Haber Global TV about the political crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

12 January 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran evaluated the Kazakhstan-based developments in Türkmeneli TV Enerji Analiz program.

12 January 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran evaluated the Russia-West talks in the Ulusal Kanal Günlük program.

14 January 2022

ANKASAM Foreign Policy Expert Emrah Kaya evaluated the Turkey-Armenia talks in the program of A Haber Gece Ajansı Bülteni.

15 January 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the economic developments in the Turkish World and the policies followed in the Ekonomi Politik program broadcast on TRT Avaz.

15 January 2022

On the occasion of Uzbekistan Armed Forces and Homeland Defense Day, ANKASAM’s “We congratulate the Uzbekistan Armed Forces and the Homeland Defense Day and wish all the people of Uzbekistan a peaceful and peaceful tomorrow.” was published on the official page of the Uzbekistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dunyo News Agency, with the title “News in the Turkish press about the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Uzbek Armed Forces”.

16 Ocak 2022

Kazakistan’ın Ankara Büyükelçisi Abzal Saparbekuly’nin ANKASAM’a yaptığı özel açıklamalar medya tarafından ilgi gördü.



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.

ANKASAM JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES VOLUME VI, ISSUE I.

