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Strong Reform Steps of President Mirziyoyev in the Process of Building a “New Uzbekistan”

06

Japan's Emerging
Security
Policy

08

U.S. and France's China
Strategies and Beijing's
Response

ANKASAM OUTLOOK

- 03 Strong Reform Steps of President Mirziyoyev in the Process of Building a “New Uzbekistan”**
Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL

ANKASAM ANALYSIS

- 06 Japan’s Emerging Security Policy**
Zeki Talustan GÜLTEN
- 11 Kosovo-Serbia Tension and the Impact of Regional-Global Actors**
Veli Can AKKAŞ
- 16 China’s Test with Terrorist Organizations**
Dr. Emrah KAYA
- 21 Taiwan’s New Equation of Security: What Does It Say? Why Does It Say?**
Zeki Talustan GÜLTEN
- 26 A Factor Complicating the Normalization of Kosovo-Serbia Relations: Serbia’s Constitution**
Dr. Ditar KABASHI
- 32 A Research on Allegations of the Arms Trade Against North Korea**
Zeki Talustan GÜLTEN
- 37 LNG Move of Germany in the Context of the Energy Crisis**
Cemal Ege ÖZKAN
- 42 Central Asia’s Growing Energy Needs and Alternative Methods**
Dr. Emrah KAYA
- 47 The Effects of New Technologies on the Russia-Ukraine Asymmetric War**
Aimoor DANIJAROVA
- 51 Seeking Dialogue and Inclusive Government Debates on the Afghan Question**
Dr. Doğacan BAŞARAN
- 56 India’s Nuclear Studies in the Shadow of Border Tension with China**
Şeyma KIZILAY
- 08 U.S. and France’s China Strategies and Beijing’s Response**
Dr. Cenk TAMER
- 14 What Does Taliban Mediation Mean in Pakistan-TTP Negotiations?**
Dr. Doğacan BAŞARAN
- 19 Signs of TTP’s Islamabad Attack**
Şeyma KIZILAY
- 24 Trans-Caspian Natural Gas Pipeline in the Context of the Energy Crisis**
Kenan AĞAZADE
- 29 Deepening Relations between Central Asia and Pakistan and its Reflection on Afghanistan**
Dr. Emrah KAYA
- 35 Is It Possible to Terminate Russia’s UNSC Membership?**
Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU
- 40 Why Can’t the Border Problem Between China and India Be Solved?**
Neslihan TOPCU
- 44 The Stance of Vatican on the Russia-Ukraine War**
Cemal Ege ÖZKAN
- 49 Is Poland Becoming the US Energy Hub in Europe?**
Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU
- 53 Greece’s Position on the War in Ukraine and the S-300 Question**
Cemal Ege ÖZKAN

ANKASAM IN PRESS

- 59 Media**

JOURNALS

- 60 Journal of International Crises and Political Research**
Journal of Regional Studies



ANKASAM OUTLOOK

Strong Reform Steps of President Mirziyoyev in the Process of Building a “New Uzbekistan”

It seems unlikely that states that cannot adapt to the reality of the New World Order and configure themselves accordingly will be able to exist in the new international system. Therefore, the changing world brings with it the change of countries. As globalization accelerates the

flow of information, it is observed that societies are more educated, knowledgeable and conscious. In this context, states will either enter a difficult period by failing to keep up with societies, or they will be the pioneers of change by taking into account the state-nation unity.



Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL
ANKASAM President

One of the continents where the process of change is clearly taking place is Asia. However, it is difficult to say that some countries have adopted the policy and thinking of change. For this reason, social events are occurring in various countries. However, the states leading the change are developing rapidly within the framework of human values, strengthening the governing-managed unity and acting in accordance with the era, establishing a management required by the modern world for their citizens. One of the states that comes to the fore at this point is Uzbekistan.

The “Third Renaissance”, led by the President of Uzbekistan, Shevket Mirziyoyev, is being embodied with the slogan of “New Uzbekistan.” The “New Uzbekistan Movement”, which emerged as a result of Mirziyoyev’s many years of management experience, was fundamentally aimed at creating a modern society and state administration. However, Mirziyoyev, who has continuously developed the “New Uzbekistan” and increased its inclusivity through various policies and reforms, has taken a new step to achieve the ideal he has put forward.

On December 20, 2022, Mirziyoyev announced that important administrative reforms have been initiated in Uzbekistan as a first among the Central Asian countries in accordance with the historical mission he adopted. The statement is actually the announcement to the world of one of the complementary links of the chain of decisions taken towards the state order and management system in order to become a pioneer in the modern world and to further accelerate the development process of the country.

The adoption of the decree “On Measures to Implement the Administrative Reforms of New Uzbekistan” and the adoption of resolution on its implementation reveals that Mirziyoyev, who has a great experience in international politics, attaches importance to the continuation of modern state-building in domestic politics as well. It is seen that Mirziyoyev has taken steps that prioritize “the interests of the people and human dignity” by implementing an effective domestic policy, and thus adopts achieving high results as the main goal. In this context, the management power is being improved and reformed.

The establishment of a systematic public administration order in accordance with the contemporary needs of Uzbekistan’s population of 36 million and the reduction of the number of executive organs affiliated to the government from 61 to 28 will undoubtedly make a positive contribution to state-nation unity and strengthen center-periphery relations. Moreover, reducing the number of ministries from 25 to 21 at the point of consolidation of ministries with similar activities and orientations is also in line with the needs of the era in terms of optimization of the administrative apparatus and public interest. Certainly, it is possible to say that this will also be welcomed by the citizens of Uzbekistan.

In a sense, the process of implementing critical decisions of the state, which has freed itself from its burdens, simplified the bureaucracy and added dynamism to decision-making mechanisms, will also accelerate. At this point, reducing the number of advisers and assistants of the Prime Minister from three to two, the fact that Deputy Prime Ministers will not take administrative decisions of the state and these people will not be able to manage the executive bodies will raise the quality and viability of the government’s activities to a new level.

The modern and revolutionary administrative reforms implemented in Tashkent are the result of Mirziyoyev’s far-sighted visionary leadership and well-thought-out policy. Mirziyoyev, who initiated the “Third Renaissance” and led the process of rapid development in New Uzbekistan, is carrying out comprehensive reforms. The dynamism that these reforms bring to the state administration and the contribution they will make to social life will be experienced in the near future.

Mirziyoyev, who has been assigned an important mission and has set a vision at the point of state administration, emphasized important details in his speech to the Uzbek people and the Oliy Majlis on November 20, 2022. At the point of showing that it is the people themselves who direct the development, change and transformation process in the country, the Uzbek leader said, “The society is the initiator of the reform.”[1] and showed that they will work for the ideal of a more prosperous Uzbekistan with the words “the progress can be achieved only by working hard and courageously.”[2]

If a minister does not have a clear strategic approach in the sphere and his activity does not tackle the problems of people, can you tell me, what is the benefit in having him in the post? Underlining the need to move to a systematic administration in the country, Mirziyoyev asked to the question of, “If a minister does not have a clear strategic approach in the sphere and his activity does not tackle the problems of people, can you tell me, what is the benefit in having him in the post?”[3] Undoubtedly, this question summarizes the purpose of the reforms. “The priorities in the activity of the ministries will be the transparency, legality, efficiency and quality.”[4] It is obvious that Mirziyoyev wants to create a “hardworking” structure that takes care to meet the expectations of the people.[5]

Consequently, Uzbekistan acts with the ancient culture, history, faith, civilization and consciousness of Transoxiana, Central Asia, the Turkish and Islamic World and the Asian continent. When these characteristics are combined with Mirziyoyev’s profound experience, proactive policies in the face of crises, fair approach and stance that takes into account the interests of his people and human dignity, it becomes a driving feature at the point of development of the country. The political decisions taken in Uzbekistan and the reform steps taken are being made in order to bring a systematic management approach to the country. At this point, the design of the country’s administration is carried out at the highest levels with the support received from the public. This is not about making people fit into the state, it is about bringing the state and the administration to the point where the people want it. These moves of the Tashkent administration are important not only for Uzbekistan, but also for creating a peaceful environment based on cooperation with Uzbekistan from the point of view of the entire region. Mirziyoyev, who has transferred many powers to the parliament and the government in recent years, is very determined to apply Imam Maturidi’s philosophy of “Live always taking care about the people to gain their trust.” from the highest to the lowest levels of the state.[6] It is obvious that he will be successful in this with the support of the Uzbek people.

[1] “Address by the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan H.E. Mr. Shavkat Mirziyoyev to the Oliy Majlis and the People of Uzbekistan”, President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, <https://president.uz/en/lists/view/5774>, (Date of Acession: 05.01.2022).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Japan's Emerging Security Policy

Although Japan is geographically located in the east, it is a state that acts together with Western actors due to its alliance relations, ideological positioning, cooperation framework, geostrategic and geoeconomic position and its place in the competitive conjuncture. As a matter of fact, this position causes Japan to compete with China and North Korea in the region. Along with all these, Japan constitutes the third pillar of the exercises held jointly with the United States (USA) and South Korea in the Asia-Pacific region against the North Korean threat. When the claims that these exercises also aim to surround China are evaluated, it can be deduced that Tokyo is a country with

a Western perspective in terms of its foreign policy production process and security objectives.

In addition to all these, it can be said that Japan has recently started to move closer to the West, to follow a more proactive foreign policy, to increase its own security and military power, and to make moves that attach much more importance to its defense. Because, when the relations of Japan with the countries in the Asia-Pacific region as well as with the Western states and the security moves it has implemented since November 2022 are examined this situation can be better understood. For example, Japan's entry into the AUKUS Pact in the Asia-Pacific region, created by the cooperation



**Zeki Talustan
GÜLTEN**
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific
Research
Assistant

of the USA, the United Kingdom and Australia, came to the fore, and no negative statement was received from the Tokyo administration.[1] As a matter of fact, considering the structure of AUKUS, which registered the Western alliance in the region and deeply affected China, the direction of Japan can be understood much better.

On the other hand, Japan decided to develop a new fighter jet together with Italy and the United Kingdom. On December 9, 2022, Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida, Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni and British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak made the announcement in a joint statement and said, "The program should expand interoperability with our partners in the United States, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Europe, Asia-Pacific and globally." [2] This shows that Japan has increased its military cooperation with the West.

It was also said that on December 16, 2022, Fumio Kishida's cabinet would describe China as an "unprecedented competitor" in its new national security document. However, it is stated that this document will reveal Japan's plans to acquire long-range missiles, including developing its own hypersonic weapons, as an example of upgrading its defense framework.[3] As a matter of fact, this development reveals both Japan's defense development ideas and its Western orientation.

There are two more developments dated 16 December 2022 that can be read in the same context. The first is that Japan announced that it would double its military spending within five years, citing the threats posed by China and North Korea. As a matter of fact, Fumio Kishida said that Japan's defense budget will increase to 2% of the gross domestic product (GDP) by 2027.[4]

Moreover, as regional tensions escalate and the Ukraine War raises concerns, Japan has announced that it will begin to build a \$320 billion military build-up that will arm itself with missiles that can hit China and make it ready for a hot conflict.[5] This marks the most important revision of its security strategy since Japan adopted a pacifist constitution after the Second World War.

However, on December 18, 2022, Deputy Minister of Defense of Japan Toshiro Ino said that Japan strongly condemned the activities of North Korea.[6] At the same time, Japanese lawmakers began to put pressure on the government to close two Chinese outposts, which were said to be tracking anti-Chinese opponents in the country and were thought to have spying purposes.[7] As a matter of fact, this aforementioned situation alarmed the Tokyo administration. Therefore this situation is very important in terms of showing the response of the anti-Chinese idea within the country.

On the other hand, Japan adopted a plan to extend the exposure time of nuclear reactors, replace old ones, and build new ones, and stated that under the new policy, it would restart as many reactors as possible and maximize the use of existing reactors by increasing the exposure time of the old ones above the 60-year limit.[8] This proves the proactive policies followed by Tokyo.

Currently, Japan has announced a record amount of budget to increase its military capacity. With the budget approved by Fumio Kishida on December 23, 2022, Tokyo made a decision that increased its military and defense spending to 114.4 million yen, means approximately 863 billion dollars, for the next year.

It has been announced that this budget will be used to finance defense expenditures for the country's military facilities, warships and other ships.[9] It is noteworthy that this budget is the highest defense budget in the history of Japan.

Ultimately, Russia's invasion of Ukraine, China's activities in the region, North Korea's ballistic missile tests that did not decrease and increasing nuclear power greatly increased Japan's security concerns and made Tokyo both to approach the West and to spend much more money on security and defense. It can be said that all those situations has led Japan to follow much more proactive structure.

In short, as the West, the USA and NATO's activities in the region, the concerns created by Beijing and Pyongyang, and the West's "Chinese threat" rhetoric continue, it can be predicted that the aforementioned process, which Japan started at the end of 2022, will continue in the same way in 2023, even more so.

[1] "Japan Joining Aukus: The 'Logical Choice', but Would it Be A Full Partner in the Alliance?", South China Morning Post, <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3200963/japan-joining-aukus-logical-choice-would-it-be-full-partner-alliance>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[2] "Japan, Italy, and the U.K. Are Teaming Up on a Secret New Fighter Jet", Popular Mechanics, <https://www.popularmechanics.com/military/weapons/a42218929/japan-italy-uk-new-fighter-jet/>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[3] "Japan Calls China Unprecedented Challenge in Security Shift", Yahoo, <https://news.yahoo.com/japan-call-china-unprecedented-challenge-095006630.html>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[4] "Japan Defence: China Threat Prompts Plan to Double Military Spending", BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-64001554>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[5] "Pacifist Japan Unveils Unprecedented \$320bn Military Build-up", Al Jazeera, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/12/16/pacifist-japan-unveils-unprecedented-320bn-military-build-up>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

U.S. and France's China Strategies and Beijing's Response

Looking at the recent developments in the Indo-Pacific, it will be seen that the dynamics between the Western powers and China are changing rapidly. The first breakthrough is the re-election of Chinese President Xi Jinping for a third term at the 20th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in October 2022. Jinping's statement to Congress that he resolutely emphasized the goals of fully modernizing the military by 2027 and building a great Chinese civilization by 2049 and reit-

erating the ideal of peaceful or force-based unification with regard to Taiwan, has caused serious concern in the West. Immediately afterwards, the leaders of Germany and then the leaders of the United States of America (USA) and France, met with Jinping and tried to reduce the crisis areas and ease the tension. On the other hand, China's strategy of dialogue with the West has led the US to different cooperation options in the Indo-Pacific. One of them is France.



Dr. Cenk TAMER
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific Expert

Before moving on to the China strategies of the USA and France, it is necessary to briefly mention the China discussions in Europe and France's position. First of all, France is one of the European states that has frequently sent parliamentary delegations to Taiwan in recent years. French President Emmanuel Macron has also previously called for measures to be taken within the framework of the European Union (EU) due to the secondary sanctions imposed by China on Lithuania. Also recently, Macron has called for a more balanced relationship between China and the EU, stating that they have made "strategic mistakes" due to the infrastructure transfer to China in the past.[1] More specifically, France and the other EU leaders have been disturbed by Washington's hawkish stance on Beijing in 2020 and beyond and have refrained from pursuing American policies in the Indo-Pacific. But as the West's dependence on Chinese technologies and investments has grown, the situation has shifted, and European leaders have increasingly begun to support America's China strategy.[2]

While the China debate in Europe continues, it is becoming clear that there is a leadership race between France and Germany on this issue. After German Chancellor Olaf Scholz's visit to Beijing, Macron decided to make an opening on China. In other words, France aims to get ahead of Germany's China strategy and lead Continental Europe in this regard.

The intensification of the U.S. talks with China has been another development that has attracted France's attention in this process. After US President Joe Biden met with Jinping on the sidelines of the G20 Summit in Bali in November 2022, Macron also met with the Chinese leader. In his meeting with Jinping, Macron repeated what Scholz and Biden had said earlier. In this context, the French leader wanted Jinping to use his influence over Russia to end the war in Ukraine and prevent nuclear war.[3] In short, France has begun to pursue the Chinese policy of both Germany and the United States. Moreover, the French leader has said that he will visit Beijing next year. This policy shows that it follows Germany.

There are other signs that France is following the US in its China strategy. Macron opened a new chapter in bilateral relations by visiting Washington on December 1, 2022. The joint statement issued after the Macron-Biden meeting emphasized the urgency of cooperation in the region as Pacific powers.[4] As a matter of fact, US-France relations deteriorated with the signing of the AUKUS last year. France withdrew its ambassador to Washington. What was offensive for France was the fact that the US did not inform about this in advance. At the time, French officials made statements like "we were stabbed in the back"[5]

More recently, Biden has admitted that they made a mistake by not notifying France of this agreement in advance.[6] Also in June 2022, the US announced that they could cooperate with France and the EU in the Blue Pacific Partnership. In other words, the United States is in favor of further cooperation with France in the Indo-Pacific.

This demand has increased further recently after Japan and Australia focused on talks with China. The U.S. needs new strong partners outside of Japan and Australia. India is not very keen on partnership with the United States on the seas. Britain has its own interests in the region. Germany and Italy's presence in the region is weak. Only France remains. In short, the United States needs to expand its alliances in the Indo-Pacific and cooperate with France in this sense.

As in all Western countries, we can say that France is also experiencing a confusion about China. France is cooperating with the United States towards the goal of a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific". But China differs from it in its strategy. Because of this difference of opinion, the United States and the United Kingdom moved towards a defence partnership with Australia, excluding France in the Indo-Pacific, and signed AUKUS. France continues to express its discomfort with this defense alliance targeting China. For example, Macron criticized Australia on November 17, 2022, claiming that he had provoked China with AUKUS. Because France is against provocative moves in the Indo-Pacific, whether they come from the West or China, and is close to India in this respect.[7] Both France and India can be characterized as actors that do not follow the US China strategy in the seas.

Beijing's response to the United States was not delayed. In this context, China is trying to change Europe's views and separate it from the United States. Lately Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi, in a meeting with his French counterpart Catherine Colonna, has praised Paris for its "strategic autonomy" and urged for the development of bilateral relations.[8] In this context, another Western actor with whom China is trying to improve its relations is France, which has military and political activity in the Indo-Pacific. While Washington is trying to expand its alliance in the Indo-Pacific by cooperating with Paris; Beijing is striving to take all the instruments in Washington's hands. The main ones of these instruments are Japan, Australia and France. In addition to these, we can also mention Germany and India. When you take away the allies of the United States, it will be isolated in the region. This is Beijing's strategy. To leave the United States in the middle in a possible crisis or conflict that may arise in the region.

[1]"France's Macron: Sale of European Strategic Infrastructure to China Was an Error", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/france-macron-sale-european-strategic-infrastructure-china-was-an-error-2022-10-21/>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[2]"Europe's Great Catch-Up on China", Foreign Policy, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/12/20/europes-great-catch-up-on-china/>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[3]"Macron Says China's Ability to Pressure Russia Is 'Extremely Useful'", Financial Times, <https://www.ft.com/content/bf5ec544-02c1-4108-bce7-0b1def6292a2>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[4] "Why France-US Relations Matter for the Pacific", The Diplomat, <https://thediplomat.com/2022/12/why-france-us-relations-matter-for-the-pacific/>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[5]"Stab in the Back: France Hits Out at Aukus Alliance with Fears It Threatens Indo-Pacific Partnerships", Independent, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/france-nuclear-alliance-uk-us-australia-b1921339.html>, (Date of Accession: 26.12.2022).

[6]"Joe Biden Admits US Was 'Clumsy' In Orchestrating AUKUS In Meet with Macron", Republic World, <https://www.republicworld.com/world-news/europe/joe-biden-admits-us-was-clumsy-in-orchestrating-aukus-in-meet-with-macron.html>, (Date of Accession: 23.12.2022).

[7]"Emmanuel Macron Accuses Scott Morrison of Provoking 'Nuclear Confrontation' With China", ABC, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-11-17/french-macron-takes-aim-at-morrison-over-submarine-deal/101668172>

[8]"China Pushes for Stronger Ties with France Ahead of Possible Macron Visit", SCMP, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3203939/china-pushes-stronger-ties-france-ahead-possible-macron-visit>, (Date of Accession: 23.12.2022).



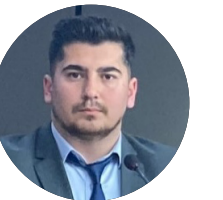
ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Kosovo-Serbia Tension and the Impact of Regional-Global Actors

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the influence of socialist movements in Europe was largely broken. Yugoslavia, despite all the resistance of the central government, could not escape its dissolution. Indeed, throughout history, the influence of Serbian nationalism in the region has not lost its importance. In addition,

various nations such as the Czechs, Bosniaks, Croatians and Albanians fought for their independence.

Kosovo has experienced various problems both during and after its establishment. The heterogeneity of the demographic structure of



Veli Can AKKAŞ

the region is at the heart of these problems. Because the Serbian population and its influence in the country are obvious. Although the government has taken various steps to strengthen the centralized system, it has encountered many obstacles. Although tensions in the region have eased over time, it is easy for a small spark to grow.

The recent license plate crisis in Kosovo has been met with great discontent by Serbs in the country, who have taken part in various protests.[1] Although there is a desire to reduce tensions and move towards normalization, the process is being undermined. This is because Serbia supports the establishment of the Community of Serbian Municipalities, while Albanians believe that this would divide the state.

Lately, things have been difficult to control. In particular, the steps taken by the Kosovo government provoked the Serbs and caused them to take to the streets.[2] As such, peace in the region has been disrupted and security concerns have arisen. The statements and steps taken by Serbia did not reduce the tension; on the contrary, they fueled it further. Moreover, Belgrade wanted to increase its troops in the region in order to control the process better.

At a time when European states are concerned about their energy and security, it is clear that they do not want an internal tension that would perhaps relive the past. No country wants that, especially when Russia's religious authority over the Orthodox is so important that it wants to intimidate the hegemonic powers.

Today, the United States of America (USA), whose hegemony is in danger, is afraid of losing its influence in Europe. In addition, the European Union (EU) also wants to focus on solving its energy problems. However, it is very difficult to ignore the tension in question. This is because the USA has openly expressed its discontent with Serbia's deployment of troops to northern Kosovo.[3] Meanwhile the EU has accelerated Kosovo's EU accession process.[4] Thus, the EU wants to strengthen its policies towards the parties to avoid these concerns and encourage Kosovo to exercise restraint through a voluntary transfer of sovereignty.

Although various measures were attempted to ease tensions in Kosovo, these measures were not very successful, especially due to the encouragement Serbs living in the region have received from Serbia. The anger towards the arrest of Dejan Pantić, one of the main triggers of the events, is becoming a symbol.

Serbs in the region, who do not believe that Kosovo is independent from Serbia, insisted on early elections. Fearing a public backlash, the Kosovo administration postponed the local elections to a date later than December 18-25, 2022.[5] In this case, it can be argued that Serbia, in particular, wants to increase its influence and to bind the Serbs in Kosovo to itself by taking away their autonomy.

Although Serbia has resorted to various means, it has not achieved what it wanted. Because the USA, which wants to protect its investments in the region and does not want to lose its leverage against Russia, has shown that it will not allow a turmoil in the region. This is because NATO has insisted that it is focusing on the Kosovo issue, which is one of the key factors for the Western Balkans.

Kosovo has taken various measures to calm the situation. In order to prevent the developments in the region from getting out of control, the Pristina administration has increased its security forces.[6] In addition, it has resorted to new solutions by reviewing its relations with both NATO and the EU. Because Kosovo, which is relatively weak economically and militarily, is aware of the threat behind the tensions.

It also shows the international community that it will not give up its sovereign rights easily. Recognizing the impact of international recognition, Kosovo uses public diplomacy quite effectively. In particular, the importance it attaches to religious diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy, which are instruments of soft power, will help it create a public opinion in its favor.

It would be biased to say that every step taken by Pristina is correct. However, given the steps and statements taken by the EU, it cannot be said that it considers the Serbian government, which is trying to protect Serbs who do not feel safe, to be justified. According to the EU, Serbia does not share common security concepts and does not agree with the sanctions against Russia.

In conclusion, it is clear that the tension in the region will not go away easily. It can also be stated that the normalization of relations between the two states has been shelved, at least for a while. However, the steps taken by NATO and the EU also reveal that they will not allow tensions to rise easily.

[1] "Kosova'da Plakası Değiştirilen 4 Araç Yakıldı", TRT Haber, <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/kosovada-plakasi-degistirilen-4-arac-yakildi-720800.html>, (Date of Accession:16.12.2022).

[2] "Kosova'nın Kuzeyi Hala Abluka Altında, Barikatlarda Gece Barışçıl Geçti", Online Vijesti 25, <https://www.vijesti.me/svijet/balkan/634427/sjever-kosova-i-dalje-blokiran-noc-na-barikadama-protekla-mirno>, (Date of Accession: 11.12.2022).

[3] "ABD Elçisi, Washington'un Kosova'daki Sırp Birliklerine Karşı 'Kategorik' Olduğunu Söyledi", Exit News, <https://exit.al/en/us-en-voy-says-washington-categorically-against-serb-troops-in-kosovo/>, (Date of Accession: 14.12.2022).

[4] "Tarihi Adım": Kosova'nın AB Üyeliği İçin İmzalanan Başvuru", Online Vijesti 25, <https://www.vijesti.me/svijet/balkan/634816/istorijski-ko-rak-potpisana-prijava-za-clanstvo-kosova-u-eu>, (Date of Accession: 14.12.2022).

[5] "Kuzey Kosova'da Yerel Seçimler Etnik Gerilimler Nedeniyle Ertelendi", Republica English, <https://english.republika.mk/news/balkans/local-elections-in-northern-kosovo-postponed-amid-ethnic-tensions/>, (Date of Accession: 11.12.2022).

[6] "Kosova Polisi Kuzeydeki Varlığını Artırıyor", Exit News, <https://exit.al/en/kosovo-police-increase-presence-in-north/>, (Date of Accession: 09.12.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

What Does Taliban Mediation Mean in Pakistan-TTP Negotiations?

After the United States of America (USA) withdrew from Afghanistan on August 31, 2021, the power vacuum in this country expanded the scope of action of terrorist organizations. In particular, the fact that the weapons left by the USA and its allies fell into the hands of radical groups has made the regional security environment fragile. One of the countries affected by this process was Pakistan. Because the Islamabad administration is facing attacks that target Chinese investments and Chinese workers through the terrorist organizations used by proxy, especially by the actors who want to destabilize the Belt-Road Project, thus trying to make the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor

(CPEC) a viable project. In other words, while terrorism threatens Pakistan's national security; on the other hand, it sabotages its development and well-being. The main organization that has made a name for itself with its terrorist acts in Pakistan is Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).

TTP is a radical organization that claims to establish an "Islamic Emirate" in Afghanistan. TTP, which is known to have close ties with the terrorist organization Al Qaeda, has a Pashtun nationalist structure. Therefore, the organization does not only increase religious radicalization in Pakistan, but also causes the anxiety of division due to ethnic claims.[1] Against this organi-



Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
AF-PAK Expert

zation, the Government of Pakistan pursues a policy of resolutely fighting terrorism with the claim of ensuring its national security and territorial integrity.

However, the Islamabad administration does not only use military methods in the fight against terrorism. The Government of Pakistan is also open to the option of negotiation, which is one of the counter-terrorism tools.

In this sense, Islamabad is holding talks with the TTP in line with the imagination of a country where there is no conflict and where dialogue is dominant. As a reflection of those talks, a ceasefire agreement was signed in May 2022 between the Pakistani Government and the TTP under the mediation of the Taliban.

Although this agreement kept the weapons silent for a while, the terrorist organization TTP used this process to recruit new personnel and supply weapons, and then announced that it withdrew from the ceasefire agreement in December 2022, thinking it had reached a certain level of power.

In the background of the said decision, the TTP's pressure from the Pakistani Government to lay down arms, the Pakistan Army's request to withdraw from the tribal region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Islamabad's rejection of this request, which is a transfer of its sovereign rights, and the terrorist organization's aforementioned demands for autonomy for the region, but this expectation is not met.

As it can be understood, the views and wishes of the parties to the ceasefire are quite different. While the Government of Pakistan was in favor of establishing a peaceful order, the terrorist organization TTP tried to turn the ceasefire period into an opportunity for field and area dominance. For this reason, since November 2022, the ceasefire has been broken and the TTP's attacks targeting civilians have come to the agenda of the international public opinion.

Moreover, TTP's attacks also damaged Pakistan's foreign policy. Because Islamabad has started to criticize the Taliban for breaking the ceasefire. The fact that the TTP was founded in 2007 by groups that emerged from the Taliban also has an impact on this situation. In this process, with the effect of other conflicts on the Islamabad-Kabil line, the Taliban's silence about the breaking of the ceasefire caused an increase in tension between the parties. Despite this, a delegation headed by Pakistani Deputy Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar visited Kabul on 30 November 2022 and met with the Taliban Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaki.[2]

This visit took place after the TTP attack, in which three Pakistani soldiers were killed in the Ketta region of Pakistan, and in a sen-

se, the Islamabad administration showed that it gave the green light to the re-operation of negotiation, one of the means of fighting terrorism. Therefore, once again, the mediation of the Taliban came to the fore. As a matter of fact, it was seen that the TTP delegation met with the Taliban officials in Kabul on December 17, 2022,[3] and then on December 20, 2022, Pakistani representatives and TTP officials met in a low-level meeting in Kandahar.[4]

This shows that despite some tensions, including border conflicts on the Taliban-Pakistan line, the parties acted with a reasonable understanding of cooperating at the point of regional security. Therefore, the mediation of the Taliban can both contribute to the establishment of a peaceful order in Pakistan and open the door for the Taliban to overcome the cyclical problems in relations with Islamabad. More importantly, through this mediation process, the Taliban may have the opportunity to convey the message to the world that they are a peaceful actor.

However, the successful conclusion of the negotiation process is not easy at all, despite the efforts of the Taliban. Because TTP is a radical organization and its demands are a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty. Therefore, every scenario where the terrorist organization does not take a step back means a return to the ground of conflict at some point. There was no concrete result from the meeting in Kandahar anyway, and then the Pakistan Army has clearly demonstrated its determination on this issue by accelerating its counter-terrorism operations. On December 23, 2022, the terrorist organization TTP carried out a suicide attack in Islamabad. This shows that reaching a ceasefire is not easy.

At this point, it should be remembered that Pakistani Foreign Minister Bilawal Bhutto Zardari's speech on 21 December 2022 emphasizing the need for cooperation with the Taliban in the fight against TTP.[5] In this sense, Pakistani Foreign Minister reminded the mediating role that the Taliban can play in his country's fight against terrorism and drew attention to the importance of returning to the negotiating table. Moreover, he made this statement in the USA. This indicates that Islamabad not only shows its support for the role that the Taliban can play in regional peacebuilding, but also indicates that Pakistan can take the initiative to break the prejudiced approach of the West towards the Taliban.

As a result, while Pakistan takes a determined stance in the fight against the TTP, it does not close the door to negotiation processes as a counter-terrorism method. In this context, it is understood that the mediation of the Taliban is important in the negotiations to be carried out with the TTP and the terrorist organization. However, the difference between the expectations of the Pakistani Government and the demands of the terrorist organization TTP reveals the fragility of the process that has begun.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

China's Test with Terrorist Organizations

Laying the foundations of the Belt-Road Project in line with its goal of controlling global trade routes in 2013, China has established relations with various regions and countries of the world. The China based project, proceeds within the frame of a win-win approach and mutual respect has made important initiatives for states at the point of economic development and

infrastructure improvement. In this process, while China was creating an important social and economic sphere of influence; faced with different threats. At this stage, one of the main priorities of the Belt-Road Project for China has been the security of investments and corridors. This situation, clearly shows itself in recent developments.



Dr. Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM
Central Asia Expert

South Asia and Africa are among the regions with which China has developed relations within the scope of the Belt-Road Project. First of all, Chinese investments and projects in South Asia are subject to significant attacks. One of the last attacks took place in Afghanistan. The so-called Emirate of Khorasan (ISKP) of the terrorist organization State of Iraq and Sham (DEAS) attacked a hotel in Kabul where Chinese nationals were staying on 12 December 2022.[1]

After the hotel attack, China wanted its citizens to leave Afghanistan. The fear and threat created by the attack had a direct negative impact on both Afghanistan and China. Because it can be said that the attacks pose a direct threat to China and its investments. Because the place where the attack took place is a popular hotel, popular with Chinese diplomats and business people.[2]

The situation in question will also negatively affect the realization process of Chinese investments and projects. In addition, the attack is not only worries China; It also worries other states and companies. At this point, it is seen that the aim of the attack was to make the problems in Afghanistan permanent and deepen. Especially when considered in the context of terrorist organizations such as ISKP, these organizations try to recruit new militants by manipulating crises and problems.

On the other hand, one of the groups that most threaten Chinese investments in South Asia is the secessionist Baloch organizations. The aim of secessionist organizations, which attack Chinese investments and Chinese nationals at different times is to prevent investments in Pakistan. After an attack in October 2022, terrorist organizations released a video threatening China that they will target more unless they leave Pakistan. Considered within the scope of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which has an investment of more than 60 billion dollars, this project is important both for the economic development of Pakistan and for the development of its infrastructure.[3] But, since a strong Pakistan without economic problems will prevent terrorist organizations from achieving their aims, these organizations target the investments of countries such as China.

China is experiencing one of the most important problems regarding terrorism in Africa. Especially, the terrorist organization Al-Shabaab organizes various attacks on Chinese investments and Chinese nationals. Al-Shabaab's ties to the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda[4] turn the organization into a major threat in Kenya[5] and Somalia.[6] Against the attacks of the organization, the Beijing administration sends military equipment to the states in the region.[7]

The most important problem faced by China in terms of investments made within the scope of the Belt-Road Project is terrorism. Although this situation causes geopolitical problems, it is not limited to this. Because the attacks threaten the security of Chinese nationals.

On the other hand, the Beijing administration also makes various demands from the states, such as deploying soldiers, increasing the protection of diplomatic missions and agreements with private security companies to ensure security.[8]

As a result, investments made by China are on the targets of terrorist organizations. In response to the attacks on its investments Beijing, sends various aids to its cooperating actors. But, it can be said that this is insufficient at one point.

[1] Mohammad Yunus Yawar, "China 'Shocked' at Kabul Hotel Attack That Injured Its Five Citizens", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/five-chinese-citizens-badly-injured-kabul-attack-businessman-says-2022-12-13/>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2022).

[2] Eltaf Najafizada, "ISIS Bomb Targets Chinese Diplomats, Executives in Afghanistan", Bloomberg, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-12-13/isis-bomb-targets-chinese-diplomats-executives-in-afghanistan?leadSource=uverify%20wall>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2022).

[3] By Asif Shahzad-Syed Raza Hassan, "Alarmed by suicide attack, China and Pakistan Work Together on Probe", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/alarmed-by-suicide-attack-china-pakistan-join-hands-probe-2022-10-31/>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2022).

[4] Riccardo Valle-Lucas Webber, "The Historical Evolution of al-Qaeda's Positions on China", Hudson Institute, <https://www.hudson.org/national-security-defense/the-historical-evolution-of-al-qaeda-s-positions-on-china>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2022).

[5] Eric Olander, "Al-Shabaab Militants Attack Chinese Construction Site in Kenya", China Global South Project, <https://chinaglobalsouth.com/2020/02/10/al-shabaab-militants-attack-chinese-construction-site-in-kenya/>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2022).

[6] "Chinese National Among 5 Killed in Attack near Somalia Border", Arab News, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/2041351/world>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2022).

[7] Joe Saballa, "China Donates Military Equipment to Somalia", The Defense Post, <https://www.thedefensepost.com/2022/03/21/china-military-equipment-somalia/>, (Date of Accession: 21.12.2022).

[8] Li Nan, "Major Security Challenges to China's Belt and Road Initiative", East Asian Policy, 11(2), 2019, p. 95-103.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Signs of TTP's Islamabad Attack

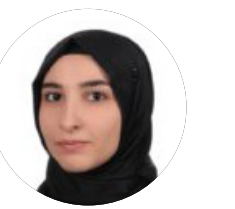
Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) is known as the umbrella organization of militant groups opposing the Pakistani government located on Pakistan's Afghanistan border. The group, which draws attention especially with its attacks in recent years, has an important place among the security problems faced by the Islamabad administration. The ceasefire process, which started between the TTP and Islamabad administration in June 2022, was disrupted by the TTP in November of the same year and the organization started its attacks again.

The suicide attack that took place in Islamabad on December 24, 2022 is an important indicator that the country under Shahbaz Sharif will continue to face the TTP problem. TTP claimed responsibility for the attack in which a soldier was killed and two soldiers were injured.[1] The suicide attack in the country's capital is significant in that it shows that the TTP is using the ceasefire process to its advantage.

It is also of great importance as it is the first attack of the group in the capital for many years.

Established on December 14, 2007, TTP seeks to curb Islamabad's influence in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas known as FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa state. The organization's aims during its founding years included the enforcement of sharia throughout Pakistan, the establishment of an Islamic caliphate, and the exit of Coalition troops from Afghanistan.[2]

As of 2018, there has been a change in the method of attack within the TTP. During Wali Mehsud's leadership, attacks against civilians were reduced, focusing more on attacks against the government and the army. In 2020, the TTP claimed responsibility for 16 attacks targeting civilians, resulting in 14 deaths. From the July 10, 2018 attack on an election campaign rally in Peshawar, which killed 23 people,



Şeyma KIZILAY

until April 2020, there has not been a suicide attack with double-digit fatalities claimed and carried out by the group.[3]

According to the Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), there were 207 terrorist attacks in Pakistan in 2021. There was a 42% increase in attacks compared to 2020, resulting in 335 casualties. PIPS reported that the TTP alone was responsible for 87 attacks and that 282 attacks were carried out in 2021, an 84% increase compared to the previous year.

It was stated that more than 500 law enforcement officers lost their lives in these attacks.[4] In 2020, the number of claimed attacks was 149. In a statement released by the organization, it claimed that 42 attacks were carried out in January 2022 and 48 security personnel, including soldiers and police officers, were killed.[5]

As of 2020, the TTP will target security forces more in attacks. Conflicts and operations will be shaped accordingly. In the coming periods, TTP-Islamabad clashes may become more common.

The nature of the latest attack also carries a number of messages and details. The TTP has carried out suicide attacks in Pakistan in the past. However, for the first time in many years, an attack on security forces took place in the country's capital. This incident in the capital of the country will make the TTP bolder for new attacks. At the same time, it will also have the effect of putting the Islamabad administration under pressure.

The ceasefire seems to have allowed the TTP to regroup and gather strength to launch new attacks. There is speculation that Islamabad may have allowed TTP elements to return to Pakistan from Afghanistan as part of the deal. The organization's unilateral withdrawal from the ceasefire is seen as a factor that shows that it has no intention of laying down arms.[6] Therefore, it is worth considering the possibility that the ceasefire process may have prepared the ground for these attacks. It can also be said that the momentum of the attacks was determined in line with regional developments.

Following the suspension of the ceasefire by the TTP, the group's pressure on the Pakistani government began to increase again. It can be said that the country is re-entering a period in which more measures will be taken and counter-operations will be carried out within the scope of national security. It is possible to say that the method to be followed by the Chief of General Staff Asim Munir is also important. In this respect, it is important in which direction the counter operations will proceed.

At this point, it is noteworthy that the United States of America's (USA) statements that it will support the Islamabad administration in Pakistan's fight against terrorism are also noteworthy. "The United States stands ready to assist Pakistan in dealing with the resurgent TTP," the US State Department spokesperson said in a statement.[7] In early December 2022, it was announced that Washington had added the TTP to its list of "Specially Designated Global Terrorists".[8] Based on these demonstrations of support, it can be interpreted that the US influence will increase in the Pakistani government's fight against the TTP and operations will be organized in this context.

The developments on the US-Pakistan line on the fight against the TTP will also shape the Taliban's perspective on the issue. It is also important how the Taliban, which played a mediating role in the ceasefire process, will respond to this issue. The cross-border dimension of the TTP-Islamabad developments will also affect Kabul's attitude.

[1] "دآب آمل سا رد یراجت نا هلمج تیلوئسم ناتسکاپ نابلاط کی رحجت"، Afintly, <https://www.afintl.com/202212231117>, (Date of Accession: 24.12.2022).

[2] "Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan", Counter Terrorism Guide, <https://www.dni.gov/nctc/groups/ttp.html>, (Date of Accession: 24.12.2022).

[3] "The Revival of the Pakistani Taliban", CTC, <https://ctc westpoint.edu/the-revival-of-the-pakistani-taliban/>, (Date of Accession: 24.12.2022).

[4] Madiha Afzal "Pakistan's Ambivalent Approach toward a Resurgent Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan", Brookings, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/02/11/pakistans-ambivalent-approach-toward-a-resurgent-tehrik-e-taliban-pakistan/>, (Date of Accession: 24.12.2022).

[5] "The outlawed Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Claims in a Statement That It Carried out 42 Attacks and Killed 48 Law Enforcement Personnel, Including Soldiers and Policemen, in the Month of January," Twitter, https://twitter.com/Roohan_Ahmed/status/1488720806779707394?s=20&t=Jm5-eU-30MhivgZQmfh04bQ, (Date of Accession: 24.12.2022).

[6] "Pakistan Could Take Its Fight Against the TTP to Sanctuaries in Afghanistan", The Diplomat, <https://thediplomat.com/2022/12/pakistan-could-take-its-fight-against-the-ttp-to-sanctuaries-in-afghanistan/>, (Date of Accession: 24.12.2022).

[7] "Us Seeks Strong Partnership with Pakistan on Counterterrorism", Dunya News, <https://dunya news.tv/en/Pakistan/683307-US-seeks-strong-partnership-with-Pakistan-on-counterterrorism>, (Date of Accession 24.12.2022).

[8] "US Names Anti-Pakistan Groups 'Terrorist' Organizations", US News, <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2022-12-02/u-s-designates-pakistan-al-qaeda-branch-terrorist-groups>, (Date of Accession: 24.12.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Taiwan's New Equation of Security: What Does It Say? Why Does It Say?

On August 2, 2022, Speaker of the United States (USA) House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi paid a visit to Taiwan. After this visit, China started to follow a very strict and proactive Taiwan policy and many drills were held around the island. This has increased the tension in the Asia-Pacific region to a high level. Due to the danger that Beijing has begun to increase, the USA and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO) also made statements of support to Taiwan. Therefore, the relations established by the West with Taiwan gained momentum.

All these developments have served Taiwan's interests. Because, after the visit, many Western state administrators continued to go to Taiwan and make statements of support to the island. At the same time, Taiwan's trade and military



**Zeki Talustan
GÜLTEN**
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific
Research
Assistant

relations with the West, and especially with the United States, have advanced. As a matter of fact, on October 3, 2022, the USA approved the decision to sell weapons worth 1.1 billion dollars to Taiwan. US Secretary of State Antony Blinken said the agreement was “necessary for Taiwan’s security” and urged Beijing to stop its military, diplomatic and economic pressure against Taiwan.[1]

It can be said that the current conjuncture and China’s aggressive attitude towards the island create an advantage for Taiwan. As a matter of fact, as Beijing’s pressure on Taipei increases, the relations developed by the West with Taipei gain momentum. Because we can say that there is a win-win relationship. The Western alliance uses Taiwan in its policy of suppression and containment of China. This returns to Taiwan in terms of economic interests and security support. Moreover, it is possible that this situation will open a door to Taiwan in terms of official recognition status in the future.

In this context, the issue of how Taiwan protects its national security and interests in the current conjuncture and how it can provide these with internal resources is very important in terms of bringing Taipei’s geopolitical and geostrategic interests to the highest level. At this point, Retired Rear Admiral Kung Chia-cheng, Former Head of Taiwan National Chung-Shan Institute of Science and Technology, stated that Taiwan has stealth supersonic missiles that could hit Beijing, change the military balance in the Taiwan Strait, and potentially deter a future Chinese invasion.[2] This statement can be read in two different ways.

First of all, there are claims that the ultimate goal of Chinese President Xi Jinping is to go down in history as the president who unified China and Taiwan. Therefore, it can be expected that China will increase its pressure on Taiwan in the future. This increases Taiwan’s security concerns and naturally Taiwan increases its defense and military power.

On the other hand, it is unclear whether the West, the USA and NATO will give serious support to Taiwan in a possible hot conflict. At this point, considering that the Ukraine War is still going on, it can be predicted that the West will not want a new conflict. This leads Taiwan to strive to become a self-sufficient state. As a matter of fact, considering the prediction that China’s junction points with Taiwan will increase, it can be stated that this is a need for Taiwan.

Another important issue that needs to be evaluated in this context is what message Taiwan wants to convey through those statements. Because both the West’s moves over Taiwan and Taiwan’s proactive policies against China make the Beijing administration more oppressive on Taiwan. As the pressure of China increases, both the anti-Chinese activities of the West in the region and its relations with Taiwan are developing. It can be thought that Taipei is aiming for this with those explanations. Therefore, the island administration may be aiming to make Beijing more aggressive by using threatening rhetoric against China, and to deepen the West’s anti-Chinese activities and relations with itself.

As a result, Taiwan has made a serious military threat against China through its emphasis on concealed weapons. Beyond whether Taiwan actually has the military capacity to implement the threat in question, it is much more important to conduct a strategic analysis of the reasons for the discourse. As a matter of fact, in the context of the two issues evaluated here, firstly, Taiwan may be following a strategy of “taking care of itself” because of the lack of possible support from the West, and secondly, it has been determined that Taipei may want to maximize the pressure that the West will exert on China with the benefits it has obtained from the West by provoking China.

[1] “US Approves \$1.1 Bn Taiwan Arms Sale, Angering China”, BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-62775544>, (Date of Accession 24.12.2022).

[2] “Taiwan’s Hidden Missiles Can Hit Beijing, Shanghai”, Asia Times, <https://asiatimes.com/2022/12/taiwans-hidden-missiles-can-hit-beijing-shanghai/>, (Date of Accession 24.12.2022).





ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Trans-Caspian Natural Gas Pipeline in the Context of the Energy Crisis

In the last months of 2022, it has been observed that the construction work regarding the Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline increased. In this sense, it can be said that Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan have demonstrated a serious will.

In fact, although this issue dates back to the 2000s, it could not be finalized, especially in the 2010s, due to the opposition of the Russian state-

owned energy giant Gazprom. However, following the Russian-Ukrainian War, Western investors' interest in Caspian-based projects has increased.

There are various reasons for this situation. First, despite the European Union's (EU) commitments to green energy, the EU is turning to the resources of Central Asia to overcome the energy crisis. This has opened the door to a louder discussion of the



Kenan AĞAZADE
ANKASAM Eurasia
Research Assistant

need for the integration of Turkmen natural gas to the Azerbaijan-based Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP) and its continuation, the Trans-Adriatic Natural Gas Pipeline (TAP). As a matter of fact, Azerbaijani and Turkmenistan natural gas is considered to be the most reasonable choice that can fill the gap in the European market caused by the sanctions imposed on Russian natural gas.

Secondly, the West seeks to break Russia's influence in the post-Soviet space. This increases the geopolitical importance of Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. Although Moscow will take some steps to avoid losing Baku and Ashgabat, it can be said that Western actors want to include Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan among the actors with whom they have developed deep cooperation through various projects.

Therefore, Europe believes that its success in diversifying its energy suppliers can be crowned with the geopolitical containment of Russia. This is why the EU attaches great importance to Caspian-centered projects.

Plus, these projects will not only help Europe overcome its energy crisis, but also fight inflation. Furthermore, this would contribute to European security and democracy. This is because efforts to end dependence on Russia have led to the rise of far-right sentiments among impoverished European populations. In other words, it can be argued that energy cooperation with Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan will also contribute to the preservation of Europe's position in terms of values.

In conclusion, the Russia-Ukraine war has led the West to search for alternatives to Russian natural gas, but no permanent solution has yet been found. At this point, it is seen that the West has shifted its attention to Caspian-centered projects. Therefore, the Trans-Caspian Natural Gas Pipeline is once again on the agenda. This project will not only weaken Russia's hand in terms of energy, but also offer the EU the opportunity to develop cooperation with Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. It will therefore limit Moscow's influence in the post-Soviet space. Moreover, this solution can also be interpreted as a solution to limit the far-right in terms of protecting European democracy and values.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

A Factor Complicating the Normalization of Kosovo–Serbia Relations: Serbia’s Constitution

Several issues need to be resolved between Kosovo and Serbia. Serbia’s refusal to recognize Kosovo’s independence is the main problem. Even in the Brussels negotiations, the terms “Republic of Kosovo and Republic of Serbia” are avoided, and instead terms of a geographi-

cal rather than a legal nature are used, such as “Kosovo–Serbia” or “Pristina–Belgrade.” This is because the European Union (EU) remains committed to maintaining a neutral stance on Kosovo’s state status.



**Dr. Ditar
KABASHI**

Emphasis on “Kosovo” in Serbia’s Constitution

As it will be remembered, in the independence referendum held in Montenegro on 21 May 2006, 55% of the Montenegrin people voted in favour of independence and thus Montenegro officially seceded from the Union of Serbia and Montenegro and became independent. [1] Subsequently, on September 30, 2006, the National Assembly in Serbia adopted the new Constitution and submitted it to a referendum on October 28–29, which was approved with the support of 53% of the population. Finally, the new Constitution entered into force on November 8, 2006.[2] Consequently, with the independence of Montenegro, the Union of Serbia and Montenegro was dissolved, and the two countries adopted new constitutions.

The 2006 Constitution of Serbia mentions Kosovo in various articles of the constitutional text, starting with the “Preamble.” All these constitutional provisions have in common that they emphasize Kosovo as an integral part of Serbia. The “Preamble” of the Constitution states that the Province of Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of the territory of Serbia and enjoys a broad autonomous status within Serbia.[3]

Under the Constitution of Serbia, in addition to the Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija, there is also the Autonomous Region of Vojvodina. However, it is stipulated that the autonomy of the Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija shall be regulated by a special law to be adopted by the procedures provided for the amendment of the Constitution.[4]

Again, when taking office, the President of Serbia swears an oath before the National Assembly, beginning with “I will, with all my efforts, protect the sovereignty and integrity of the territory of the Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo and Metohija are a part...”[5] In short, the Serbian Constitution defines Kosovo as an “integral part” of Serbia. This is the main source of the problem.

Kosovo’s Constitution Emphasizes “Neighborhood”

The 2008 Kosovo Constitution’s “Preamble” emphasizes the belief that Kosovo will contribute to the stability of the region and Europe by building good neighbourly relations and cooperation with all neighbouring countries.[6]

As can be seen, the approach of the Kosovo Constitution is based on a conciliatory and peaceful language. This refers to other neighbours, especially Serbia. Thus, the aim is to overcome the tense relations in the Balkan geography and to open a new page. In addition, Article 1, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution states that the Republic of Kosovo shall not make territorial claims against any state or part of any state and shall not seek to unite with any state. This means that Kosovo does not plan to unite with Albania or the three Albanian-majority countries in southern Serbia.

In Search of Solutions

For the problems between Kosovo and Serbia to be finalized, there needs to be a strong will in both countries. This requires the same stance and determination from the ruling and opposition sides. However, this is not easy in Kosovo. Only with the intervention of the powerful states of the West, especially the US, can a common political will be established.

The first thing that strikes one when looking at the Serbian political scene is that there is almost no opposition in the National Assembly. Indeed, the ruling coalition has a qualified majority. However, politics in Serbia is not only about political parties. The Serbian Orthodox Church also plays a key role in the political scene. Therefore, in the absence of a consensus on Kosovo in the “political power-church” tacit alliance, no solution is possible. Moreover, the Serbian government led by President Alexander Vučić and the Church agree that Kosovo cannot be recognized as an independent state.

In addition to the political dimension, the legal scope of the event is also important. Although recognizing the existence of a state is a political will, this will must be realized through “legal action.” In such a way that the recognition between two countries that do not intend to recognize each other is established by a government decision.[7] That is, the government of one state can decide to recognize the existence of another state through an ordinary or extraordinary cabinet meeting. However, if there are problems between the two countries, the situation is different. The resolution of Kosovo-Serbia relations is not just a matter of political will, but a process in which the legal dimension comes to the fore.

On the one hand, the Brussels negotiations are progressing, albeit slowly, and on the other hand, the Berlin Process, which plays an important role in the European integration of the Western Balkans, is underway. However, in this environment, Serbia’s continued recognition of Kosovo as its autonomous region in the Constitution prevents the resolution of the issues between the parties.

By defining Kosovo as an autonomous region, the Serbian Constitution obliges all institutions of the Serbian state not to recognize Kosovo as an independent neighboring country. As a result, the tendency of the two countries to establish and maintain lasting peace and neighborly relations disappears. This is because no political agreement can contradict the Constitution. Therefore, unless the Constitution of Serbia is amended, permanent solutions cannot be reached through negotiations. At most, some diplomatic or technical results can be achieved in accordance with the conjuncture.[8]

[1] “Independence of Montenegro”, Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Montenegro/Independence>, (Date of Accession: 13.12.2022).

[2] “Constitution of Serbia”, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Serbia, (Date of Accession: 14.12.2022).

[3] Sırbistan Anayasası için bkz. Palament, http://www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/documents/Constitution_%20of_Serbia_pdf.pdf, (Date of Accession: 15.12.2022).

[4] 182/2 article of the Serbian Constitution.

[5] 114/3 article of the Serbian Constitution.

[6] Kosova Anayasası için see. Gkrks, <https://gkrks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702>, (Date of Accession: 17.12.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Deepening Relations between Central Asia and Pakistan and its Reflection on Afghanistan

Central Asian states have developed their relations with regional and global powers within the framework of a win-win approach on various issues thanks to their multi-faceted and multi-vectored foreign policies. The Western World, China and Russia are the prominent actors in this regard. However, despite the proximity of the South Asian states to Central Asia, relations have remained limited due to geographical difficulties, foreign interference in the

region and security issues.

Despite the negative factors, various steps of rapprochement between the Central and South Asian states have been taken in the last few years. Because Central Asian states have different characteristics and identities, it is easier for them to establish common bonds with different actors in South Asia. For example, it influences Pakistan, which has a high religious



Dr. Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM
Central Asia Expert

sensitivity due to its Muslim population, and India thanks to its secular governance approach. However, the peaceful and constructive foreign policies of the Central Asian states are important for all states.

As Central Asian governments develop relations with South Asian states, Pakistan is one of the prominent actors. Astana, Ashgabat, Bishkek, Dushanbe and Tashkent have recently established important contacts and relations with Islamabad. First, Zhumangarin Serik, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade and Integration of Kazakhstan, visited Islamabad on December 22, 2022.

During the visit, the parties signed nine documents, including six memoranda on the supply of goods to Kazakhstan. They also discussed trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation, overland transit of Pakistan's logistics company National Logistic Cell (NLC) to Kazakhstan via Afghanistan and the launch of regular flights to Pakistan by Kazakhstan's SCAT Airlines.[1] Zhumangarin also met with Pakistani Prime Minister Shahbaz Sharif to discuss participation in the construction of the Trans-Afghan Corridor.[2] In his statement on the meeting, Sharif emphasized that the road and railroad would not only ensure commercial cooperation but also establish peace and prosperity in the region.[3]

The Bishkek administration is also taking an important step to improve relations with Islamabad. In January 2022, Pakistan's Ambassador to Kyrgyzstan Sardar Azhar Tariq Khan emphasized that the development of trade and economic relations between the two countries is crucial for regional and global trade integration.[4] Kyrgyzstan advocates a geographical link with Pakistan to strengthen ties and calls for the extension of the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan Railway Line to Pakistan.[5] Because the relationship with Pakistan will create an important opportunity for both Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia to reach the seas. In addition, a Kyrgyz Republic Trade House was opened in Lahore, Pakistan to improve trade relations between the states.[6]

What is noteworthy at this point is that Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan contacted the Taliban for the first time through official delegations. [7] Although various issues were discussed during the talks, the main goal of the Astana and Bishkek administrations is to ensure that Afghanistan is not ignored in the process of opening up to South Asia and the seas, and to eliminate possible obstacles to the construction of the Trans-Afghan Transport Corridor.

Uzbekistan is one of the main architects and supporters of the Trans-Afghan Corridor with Pakistan. For this purpose, various meetings are held. Because in 2023, various contacts will be made for the financing of this line. Recently, new agreements were signed between Tashkent and Islamabad. In this context, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Trade and Investment of Uzbekistan Khodjaev Jamshid Abdukhakimovich and Minister of Commerce of Pakistan Naveed Qamar signed nine memorandums of understanding. The aim is to establish bilateral cooperation and increase the trade volume to 1 billion dollars. The parties also agreed to implement the Pakistan-Uzbekistan Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) from February 2023.[8]

The parties also agreed to meet with the Taliban to resolve the problems faced by Pakistani and Uzbek transporters. Uzbek and Pakistani officials will visit Kabul, probably in January 2023, after Tashkent and Islamabad have agreed on a joint agenda to be presented to the Taliban.[9]

Tajikistan is among the states that have recently become closer to Pakistan. At this point, the highest level visit to Pakistan was made from this country. During the visit on December 14-15, 2022, several agreements were signed between Tajik President Imamali Rahman and Sharif. Stating that he attaches great importance to relations with Tajikistan, Sharif said that he wants to establish energy, rail and road connections with the Central Asian region rich in energy resources for the development and prosperity of the entire region. Rahman, for his part, expressed satisfaction with the security cooperation and proposed to jointly tackle current challenges such as extremism, terrorism and radicalism.[10]

Energy-centered developments are also noteworthy in Turkmenistan-Pakistan relations. Pakistan's Minister of State for Petroleum Affairs Musadiq Masood Malik visited Ashgabat. Projects such as TAPI and TAP were discussed.[11] On November 11, 2022, Turkmenistan's Ambassador to Pakistan Atadjan Movlamov emphasized in a statement that Turkmenistan can meet Pakistan's energy needs.[12]

In conclusion, relations between Central Asian states and Pakistan are being strengthened in a multifaceted and multidimensional manner through issues such as economy, food, energy and security. Implementation of the Trans-Afghan Corridor is critical to accelerate and further strengthen relations. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are also participating in this process, with Uzbekistan playing the leading role. Thus, Pakistan will be able to open up to the north, namely Central Asia, through the corridor, while the Central Asian states will be able to reach the sea. At this point, the corridor to be established between the parties will both include Afghanistan in regional cooperation and make a significant contribution to the process of resolving the crises in the country. The relations thus established between the parties will maximize national, regional and inter-regional gains.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

A Research on Allegations of the Arms Trade Against North Korea

North Korea has been largely isolated in the international conjuncture due to its isolation from the global system and its stance against the West, the United States of America (USA) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This causes North Korea's name to be mentioned very often with illegal activities. The allegations that Pyongyang secretly supplied weapons to Moscow during the Russia-Ukraine War are among the controversial activities in which North Korea is mentioned.

On the other hand, on December 22, 2022, the White House made a statement regarding North Korea. In the statement, it was emphasized that Wagner Group, a Russian private military company, purchased weapons from North Korea to be sent to Russian soldiers fighting in Ukraine. US President Joe Biden's National Security Advisor, John Kirby, said in a statement on the subject that US intelligence officials determined that North Korea completed its first arms shipment, including rockets and missiles, in November 2022.[1]



**Zeki Talustan
GÜLTEN**
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific
Research
Assistant

As a matter of fact, North Korea produces new and updated versions of the weapon and ammunition systems left over from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). However, Pyongyang has a serious capacity to manufacture both nuclear weapons and Long-Range Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). It can be thought that this situation makes North Korea attractive for Russia in terms of arms supply.

In addition to all these, it can be said that Pyongyang and Moscow have a close political relationship. Because this closeness also strengthens those claims. Both countries are currently close to each other in terms of foreign policy production due to both their opposition to the Western-centered system and their marginalization by the international community. Trying to isolate both states through sanctions is also an important factor in the formation of this intimacy.

After the allegations were made, Russian businessman Evgeny Prigojin described Kirby's statements that Pyongyang supplied Wagner with weapons as "speculation". Prigojin stated that North Korea has not delivered any weapons to Russia for a long time.[2]

At this point, it can be deduced from Prigojin's statements that Pyongyang supplied weapons to Moscow in the past due to its "long-standing" rhetoric. As a matter of fact, the allegations that Russia bought weapons from North Korea and Iran in the past have come to the fore strongly, but the parties have denied these allegations. However, in a statement he made in November 2022, Iranian Foreign Minister Hussein Emir Abdullahiyan admitted that Tehran had given unmanned aerial vehicles to Moscow before the war.[3] As a matter of fact, this reinforces the allegations that North Korea, which is the target of those allegations and also the state that denies these allegations, also supplies weapons to Russia. Therefore, Prigojin's statements can be considered as a confession.

It can be said that this situation will bring about an increase in the pressure on both Russia and North Korea. Because North Korea, especially because it is antagonized by Western states and is perceived as a significant nuclear threat, there may be a hardening of sanctions imposed on Russia.

On the other hand, a discourse has been developed in the USA that the countries that supported Moscow during the Russia-Ukraine War chose their side within the scope of the war. Therefore, the pressure on North Korea may increase due to the developments in Ukraine. In particular, it can be predicted that the arms support provided by the Western states such as Wagner to a highly controversial group will harden the process of isolating Pyongyang.

As a result, it is known that Russia faced many problems in the field during the Ukraine War and these problems are increasing day by day. Because North Korea is an actor that threatens global and regional security due to both the ballistic missile tests it carries out and the nuclear threat it creates. As a result of this situation in Pyongyang, various exercises are held in the Asia-Pacific region in partnership with the USA, Japan and South Korea. However, North Korea is able to overcome the sanctions pressure imposed on it by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), thanks to Russia and China. For this reason, it can be predicted that the parties cooperate in the face of both global and regional challenges and will further this cooperation. Therefore, it is natural that the allegations that there is a secret arms supply between North Korea and Russia come to the fore.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Is It Possible to Terminate Russia's UNSC Membership?

On December 26, 2022, while the Russian-Ukrainian War, which started on February 24, 2022, was ongoing, the Kyiv administration officials raised the issue of Russia's expulsion from the United Nations (UN) Security Council (UNSC). The official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine stated the following:[1]

"Ukraine calls on UN member states to renew the UN Charter on the legitimacy of Russia's remaining in the UN, deprive Russia of the status of a permanent member of the UNSC and expel it from the UN altogether."

Commenting on the issue, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Dmitry Kuleba said that Rus-

sia's future should be discussed so that it does not threaten the peace and security of the West.[2] Following Ukraine's statement, White House spokesperson Karine Jean-Pierre said, "If there was a way to suspend Russia's membership in the UNSC, we would address it immediately. Unfortunately, we can't change the rules of the UN."[3] Charles Michel, President of the Council of Europe, said that a mechanism should be developed to at least suspend Russia's UNSC membership, if not to expel Russia from the organization altogether.[4]

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Vershinin stated that to change the UN provisions, the resolution must be adopted by two-thirds



**Dr. Sabir
ASKEROĞLU**
ANKASAM
Eurasia Expert

of the participating states, including all permanent members of the UNSC, and that such an initiative against Russia could not be realized.

Oleksiy Chepa, First Deputy Chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the Russian State Duma, emphasized that he was confident that the UN would not heed Ukraine's call to expel Russia from the UNSC, that Russia's membership was important for world peace, and that its termination would be in the interests of the United States of America (USA), not according to world rules, and would lead to international conflicts.[5]

The UN and its supreme body, the UNSC, were established for certain purposes and shaped by the consequences of World War II. The main objective of the UNSC is to prevent the occurrence of world wars once again. It is also envisaged that states should not go to war. War is prohibited by the UN Charter.

The UN Charter stipulates that the use of force can be by international law in two circumstances. These are self-defense and events based on a UNSC resolution. However, Russia's intervention in Ukraine was neither based on self-defense nor a UNSC resolution. Therefore, Russia violated the UN Charter, of which it is a member, and violated the international peace and security environment that the UNSC is mandated to maintain. Therefore, according to Kyiv, Russia's membership in the UNSC should be questioned and terminated.

On the other hand, the US invasion of Iraq is similarly in violation of international law. However, while the US membership in the UNSC is not questioned, Russia's membership is being sought to be terminated because of the war in Ukraine. Moreover, this idea is being considered not only in Ukraine but also in the US and Europe.

There are several reasons for the view and desire to terminate Russia's membership in the UNSC. The first is related to Ukraine's approach towards Russia. Ukraine will naturally demand the highest level of pressure on Russia because of the occupation.

Secondly, a UNSC without Russia as a member would make it easier to pass resolutions against Moscow and the veto barrier would be removed. This is a situation desired by countries that want to punish both Ukraine and Russia.

Thirdly, according to Western countries, Russia is a weakening power and is losing its status as a great power. Instead, it is thought that it would be more appropriate to make rising powers members of the UNSC. Among these states, Germany and Japan stand out. India and Brazil are also mentioned in this regard.

Last but not least, there is Russia's threat to use nuclear weapons. This is because Russia, as a member of the UNSC, is responsible for maintaining international peace and security and preventing the proliferation and use of nuclear weapons, yet it has made the regional and global security environment more fragile by expressing that it could use nuclear weapons in Ukraine.

Nevertheless, there are two major problems with the proposals to terminate Russia's membership in the UNSC at the request of Ukraine and to make Germany and Japan members at the request of Western states. The first one is that with the possible membership of the UNSC, the decision-makers of this organization will be composed entirely of the US and its allies, with the exception of China. In other words, legitimate decision-making on global issues would be transferred to Western countries or G7 members. In such a scenario, actors who have problems in their relations with the US and the West, in general, will have even more distrust in the UN.

The second problem is how to limit the behaviour of a nuclear-armed Russia that does not bind itself to UN rules if Russia's membership in the UNSC is terminated. As a result, Ukraine's request raises the question of the impact of a UNSC member Russia versus a non-UNSC member Russia on international security. Ukraine, on the other hand, demands the termination of Russia's membership in the UNSC and its expulsion from the UN in order to punish Russia.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

LNG Move of Germany in the Context of the Energy Crisis

The region most affected by the Russia-Ukraine War, which started on February 24, 2022, has been Continental Europe. The war is taking place in the region. However, the fact that many countries in Europe are dependent on Russian natural gas has put these countries in a dilemma. One of the countries mentioned is Germany. Accordingly, Germany has turned to

alternative searches in order to ensure energy security. In this context, the Berlin administration has put the liquefied natural gas (LNG) option on the agenda.

On the other hand, it is necessary to mention the process by which LNG is transported. As is known, natural gas is transported by ships in



**Cemal Ege
ÖZKAN**
ANKASAM Eurasia
Research Assistant

cases where it is not possible to transport it by pipeline. LNG, which is the liquefied form of natural gas, is a clear, colorless, odorless and clean burning fuel. LNG, which is cooled to -162° C and becomes liquid, shrinks 600 times at the end of this process. Thus, it becomes easier and safer to store and transport.[1] At this point, it can be said that LNG comes to the fore more in cases where pipelines cannot reach.

Along with all this, it is worth mentioning Germany's policy towards Russia before the war. Berlin has followed a policy that meets a very large part of its energy needs, especially natural gas, from Moscow. Especially after the unification of East and West Germany and the end of the Cold War, relations on the Moscow-Berlin line progressed extremely warmly until the war in Ukraine. The policy pursued by the decision-makers in Germany was also effective in this. The basis of the partnership between the two countries has been energy cooperation.

Especially during the period of Gerhard Schröder, who served as Chancellor of Germany between 1998 and 2005, the Berlin administration pursued a policy of implementing a series of projects that would integrate the country's energy policy into Moscow. In this context, the Nord Stream-1 pipeline, which started during the Schröder era and carries Russian natural gas to Germany through the Baltics, became active in 2011 during Angela Merkel's Chancellorship. Moreover, Germany has not even canceled the Nord Stream-2 Pipeline Project with Russia, despite the pressure of countries such as the United States (US) and UK. However, after Moscow's intervention against Kyiv, Berlin stopped the project.

Therefore, the war has been the end of Germany's policy of importing cheap energy from Russia through pipelines. In this context, Germany has headed towards to LNG. LNG is a much more costly option compared to natural gas transferred through the pipeline. The only reason why Germany, which is the most economically developed country among the European Union (EU) countries, has not shown interest in LNG until the war is not only due to economic reasons. It can be argued that this is, first of all, a "geopolitical" choice. Berlin, due to its warm relations with Moscow, did not put this option on its agenda until the war began.

On the other hand, on December 17, 2022, Scholz inaugurated Germany's first LNG terminal in Wilhelmshaven, a port city located in the north of the country. At the opening ceremony, German Economy Minister and Vice Chancellor Robert Habeck said, "Today we are taking a very important step in ensuring security of supply in Germany." Moreover, Habeck stated that with the implementation of the new LNG terminal, Germany has shown what it can achieve in a few months if necessary. In addition to these, Scholz pointed out that a large part of the natural gas to Germany will come from Norway, the US and the Gulf countries.[2]

As can be understood, the opening of the new LNG terminal in Germany heralds the beginning of a new era in both Germany's foreign policy and energy policy. The foreign policies pursued by countries also guide their policies in the context of energy. Therefore, with the opening of this terminal, which can be described as a turning point for Berlin, it can be said that Germany will no longer put the pipeline option on its agenda in the short and medium term.

The LNG terminal opened in Wilhelmshaven is one of the five terminals that Germany decided to build after the war. However, the natural gas planned to be obtained from these five terminals will constitute 20% of the natural gas from the Nord Stream-1 Natural Gas Pipeline.[3] This is noteworthy in that it shows the difficulties that Germany will face in terms of meeting its energy needs. Therefore, it can be argued that Berlin's orientation towards LNG is a necessity rather than a choice.

On the other hand, it should be emphasized that Germany will export LNG from the US. Washington is one of the leading countries in the world at the point of LNG imports. Therefore, it can be said that the US has achieved its goal in a way. The main goal of the US in Europe is to prevent the German-Russian rapprochement. Given the role played by energy in this rapprochement between Berlin and Moscow, it can be more clearly understood how great a gain this is for Washington.

In conclusion, the war in Ukraine has constituted a turning point in the energy policy pursued by Germany. Thus, the Berlin administration has put the LNG option on its agenda instead of exporting cheap natural gas from Moscow. However, LNG will cover only a small part of the natural gas that Germany exports from Russia through the pipeline. For this reason, it can be argued that the conditions created by the war led Germany to build LNG terminals in the country.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Why Can't the Border Problem Between China and India Be Solved?

The border problem between China and India, which has been going on for more than half a century, rather than causing the parties to soften and come together to solve the problem as time passes, it is leading to an increased tensions. Due to the inability to reach a solution on the disputed borders and regions, the China-India border has not been officially drawn yet. Since both countries could not solve the border problem, the region is moving away from an environment where peace, stability and sustainable relations exist.

The first border conflict between China and India occurred in 1962. Then, in 1967 and 1975, clashes took place

between the parties again.[1] After the 1980s, negotiations began between China and India in order to solve the border problem, and these negotiations brought convergence in other areas such as economy and trade. But, although there were various meetings between the two states, the border issue could not be resolved.[2] However, during the process of negotiations, there was no conflict at the border. However, in 2013 and the following years, all this positive atmosphere dissipated. Subsequently, border conflicts between the parties started to occur again.



Neslihan TOPCU

Considering that China has solved its border problems with Central Asian countries in the past, it raises a question mark as to why the border issue with India has not been resolved. When we look closely at the problem, it is seen that there are more than one reason behind this unsolved problem.

Competition between the parties prevents the actors from taking a step towards each other. Both China and India see each other as competitors in the region.[3] Both states resemble each other in many aspects such as their large population, wide borders, growing economies, efforts to be effective in organizations and the similarity of the problems they face. The competition between these two similarly sized countries to increase their influence both in the region and in the international arena has been going on since the past. Countries that compete against each other are unlikely to follow a compromise path unless they have common interests. Although compromises occur in certain periods, this atmosphere does not continue for a long time. Looking at history, it is possible to see many examples of this.

On the other hand, due to the advantages offered by the disputed places, none of the parties considers the benefit of a solution to be sufficient. In other words, there is a perception that the solution will only cause one party to be more satisfied and the other party will gain less benefit. Therefore, China and India cannot reach an agreement in the direction they want.

Another concern of India is that if the border dispute is resolved, China will increase its trade near the border and as a result of this trade, the border will be filled with cheap Chinese goods. There is a fear that China's growing influence will undermine India's trade and economic development. Therefore, in the negotiations on the settlement of the border dispute, trade is among the issues that the New Delhi administration particularly emphasizes.[4]

In addition, the fact that both China and India regularly invest in defense and there is a military activity on the border causes the parties to feel more insecure. Military mobility is one of the factors that increase the tension between the two countries.[5] According to P. R. Shankar, a retired lieutenant general in India, China's primary military target is India.[6] As it can be understood from here, India thinks that China perceives befromentioned country as a threat. Similarly, New Delhi believes Beijing sees India as a threat. Due to this perception of the parties, the governments of the two countries tend to defend themselves in order to protect themselves.

Another issue is the positioning of the parties against each other's sensitivities. The historical friendship between Pakistan and China has been bothering New Delhi since the past. In parallel, the hosting of the Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, in India disturbs China.[7] Such behaviors of China and India reduce mutual trust and prevent the parties from coming together to solve the problem.

Negotiations are the only way to progress in the border dispute between the two countries that has been going on for years. Because both countries lose a lot by continuing this dispute, and these losses are contrary to the interests of both sides.[8] In fact, China and India agree that the world should become multipolar and that emerging powers should play an important role in international relations. In addition, both states share similar global policy views on issues such as climate change, international trade, finance and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs.[9]

When all these issues are evaluated, it is thought that the two states may benefit from reaching an agreement to support each other in commercial, economic, social and international issues. However, mutual prejudices leave the border problem unsolved.

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[4] Ayhan, op.cit, p. 94

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Central Asia's Growing Energy Needs and Alternative Methods

In the aftermath of the Russia-Ukraine War, energy has become one of the most talked about issues in the world. As a result of the Western sanctions imposed on Russia, energy trade between the two sides has been reduced to minimum. The European Union (EU) has decided to impose a price cap on Russian oil as part of the sanctions. In response, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed a resolution banning the sale of oil and petroleum products to countries that would implement the EU decision.

As competition between the parties intensified, the EU turned to various alternatives. In this context, the Union has signed agreements with some countries, stopped shutting down its nu-

clear power plants and focused on renewable energy. One of the regions where Europe has developed such relations is Central Asia. Because there are important energy resources in Central Asia. According to data published by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2022, the energy reserves and renewable energy potential in Central Asia are as shown in Table 1.

The Central Asian countries of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are rich in oil, natural gas and coal reserves. For example, Turkmenistan is the fourth richest country in the world in terms of natural gas. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have rich hydroelectric potential. The



Dr. Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM
Central Asia Expert

diversity of energy resources in the region offers a significant opportunity for energy security. However, water and energy resources in some regions are unstable and regular access is limited. Moreover, potentials cannot be used at the desired level. In addition, systems and infrastructures in the region are quite old. For this reason, the region may experience energy shortages, especially in the winter months.[1]

Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan stand out among the countries experiencing various energy problems. These states follow three basic strategies in international, regional and national scope to overcome the energy problem. In December 2022, Kyrgyzstan signed an agreement with Japan to build a hydroelectric power plant in the Karakol region.[2] Tajikistan is inviting Germany to invest in hydro-power in the country.[3] Uzbekistan has also agreed with France, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and China to build solar power plants in various parts of the country.[4]

On a regional scale, in a joint statement by the Ministry of Energy of Uzbekistan and the Ministry of Energy and Industry of Kyrgyzstan, it was announced that Uzbekistan, which produces electricity with Turkmen gas, will send some of it to Kyrgyzstan.[5] On the other hand, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan agreed to trade 300,000 tons of oil and oil products in 2023.[6] These agreements and trades show that countries play a complementary role in meeting their energy needs.

Last of all, an important part of the Central Asian states are energy exporting countries. At present time, it is known that projects such as TAPI, TAP, and CASA 1000 are being developed, and Kazakhstan is exporting energy to Europe while Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are exporting energy to China. However, these exports are constrained by rising domestic demand. On a national level, Uzbekistan even relies on energy imports to meet domestic demand, summarizing the situation by saying, "In the winter we import natural gas to meet our domestic needs, and in the summer we export the gas we buy to return it." [7] It is also known that Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are trying to solve the energy problem to a large extent by building nuclear power plants.

As a result, Central Asia, despite being an important energy hub, can face a number of problems, especially during the winter months. The employment of systems and technology left over from the Soviet Union, the fact that infrastructure is being renewed, and the region's ever-increasing population and production capacity are the primary reasons behind this. At this point, Central Asian states are trying to solve energy crises and meet the needs of their people through international, regional and national decisions. One of the main details about energy in the region is that Central Asian states are turning to renewable energy more and more every day. In this way, states are trying to increase their revenues, ensure the transition to a green economy and make energy a product that can be exported continuously.

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[7] Navbahor Imamova, "Central Asia Balances Domestic Demand with Foreign Exports", VoA, <https://www.voanews.com/a/6879769.html>, (Date of Accession: 30.12.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

The Stance of Vatican on the Russia-Ukraine War

In addition to being a political power, the Vatican is the administrative center of the Catholicism sect. The Pope is the spiritual leader of all Christians of the Catholic denomination. Therefore, Pope Francis has the ability to deeply influence the millions who belong to this faith. In this context, the Ukrainian Government considers it extremely important to be able to get the Pope's support.

Moreover, considering that the Russia-Ukraine War developed on the axis of Eastern Europe and that this geography hosted a serious Catholic population, it can be better understood why Kyiv aspires to benefit from the support of the Vatican. The majority of citizens of countries that are important in Eastern European geopolitics, such as Poland, Czechia, Hungary and Croatia, belong to the Catholic



**Cemal Ege
ÖZKAN**
ANKASAM Eurasia
Research Assistant

denomination. The Vatican's stance towards the Russia-Ukraine War, which began on February 24, 2022, has been a subject of discussion since the mentioned process. In particular, the Pope's attitude, which does not directly target Russia, has caused a reaction from both Ukraine and other circles in the West. Although the Pope has repeatedly condemned the war, he has been criticized by some circles for leaving the door open for negotiations with Russia. For example, on April 17, 2022, the Pope condemned the war and pointed out that the conflict was brutal and meaningless. However, it was observed that the Pope refrained from mentioning the name of Moscow and Russian President Vladimir Putin in his speech.[1]

Therefore, it can be suggested that the Vatican is trying to play the role of a mediator at the point of war and therefore, in a sense, is trying to carry out a policy of balance. However, the Vatican's policy is far from pleasing both sides. Both Moscow and Kyiv have frequently criticized the Vatican's policies. In this context, it can be argued that the Vatican is far from using its political and religious power effectively on the course of the war.

On the other hand, on June 14, 2022, Pope Francis shared his views on the war in Ukraine in an interview with La Civiltà Cattolica as follows:[2]

"What we are seeing is the brutality and ferocity of this war, which is usually used by the Russians and is usually carried out by mercenary troops. In reality, the Russians prefer to send Chechens, Syrians, mercenaries to the front... At this point someone may say to me: But you are pro-Putin! No, I'm not. It would be simplistic and erroneous to say such a thing. I am simply against turning a complex situation into a distinction between good guys and bad guys, without considering the roots and self-interests, which are very complex."

One of the most striking points in the Pope's statements on the subject is his emphasis on non-Christian ethnic elements about the war that Russia is waging in Ukraine. Therefore, it can be suggested that the Pope consciously preferred these statements. The Vatican, even if they belong to different sects, sees the war as a conflict between Christians. In this case, the Vatican's unwillingness to confront Russia, one of the important centers of Orthodoxy, may have been effective. The Pope also responded to the criticism levelled against him since the beginning of the war, pointing out that in a sense, the conflict should not be seen as black and white.

On the other hand, some Vatican experts have pointed out that the war means the end of the multi-dimensional foreign policy pursued by the Vatican towards Russia since Pope Francis took office in 2013. It has been stated that the Pope remained mostly equidistant during the first weeks of the war, but with the advancing process, he raised the tone of his voice against Russia.[3]

In this context, it can be argued that the Pope's policy towards Russia since his inauguration has been based on a balancing factor. The Pope has refrained from developing a critical discourse, especially on the issues in which Moscow is involved in the world. However, the war has in a sense meant the end of this policy.

In addition to all these, although the Vatican tries to carry out mediation activities on the war, it can be said that this policy does not satisfy the parties. As will be remembered, the Pope was subjected to harsh criticism from Kyiv on August 24, 2022. The main reason for this is that the Pope refers to the death of Marya Dugina, the daughter of Alexander Dugin, who was allegedly close to Putin on this date, which coincides with Ukraine's independence day, and emphasizes that many innocents have paid the price of this war. Kyiv reacted strongly to the Pope's statements, and Ukrainian Ambassador to the Vatican Andriy Yurash expressed that the aggressor and the victim should not be put in the same category. Moreover, the Vatican's Ambassador to Kyiv was also summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine because of these statements of the Pope.[4]

As can be seen, Kyiv is not satisfied with the Vatican's position on the war. Kyiv was extremely disturbed by the Pope's making such a statement, especially on the independence day of Ukraine. It is noticeable that the Ukrainian leadership is not satisfied with the balance policy that the Vatican is trying to pursue. Kyiv expects more concrete support from the Pope and wants him to use his influence over the Catholic population of Eastern Europe for Ukraine.

On the other hand, the Pope made statements on the war in Ukraine on November 28, 2022. The Pope drew attention to the importance of diplomacy in relations with Moscow. In addition, Francis recalled his personal efforts to end the conflict and support Kyiv, mentioning his visit to the Russian Embassy in Rome on the second day of the war, February 25, 2022, and two telephone conversations with Ukrainian President Vladimir Zelensky. Furthermore, the Pope spoke about his interventions aimed at freeing prisoners of war on both sides and stressed that he wanted to visit both Kyiv and Moscow. However, he also insisted that it was not necessary to openly mention Putin's name.[5]

As can be understood, the Pope thinks that only diplomacy can be effective in resolving the war. In this context, it continues to carry out mediation activities between the parties. On the other hand, the fact that Putin does not mention his name directly leads to Ukraine's reaction. On the other hand, some points in the Pope's statement on the date caused Moscow to react harshly as well. The Pope pointed out that Chechen and Buryat members of the Russian Armed Forces committed more atrocities in Ukraine than ethnic Russian soldiers. He also suggested that the ethnic groups are not from the Russian tradition.[6] After Moscow reacted harshly to this, Russian Foreign Ministry Spokeswoman Mariya Zaharova stated that the Vatican apologized to Russia on December 15, 2022, and stated that Moscow now considers the matter closed.[7]

As can be seen, the Pope draws attention to Russian and non-Christian ethnic structures regarding the war that Russia has been waging in Ukraine since the beginning of the war. Chechens are Muslims, and Buryats are Buddhists. In this context, the Pope attaches importance to the Christian identity of Russia, even though Russians belong to the sect of Orthodoxy. Therefore, this situation plays a role in shaping the Vatican's approach to Moscow.

Consequently, the Vatican has been trying to carry out mediation activities between Moscow and Kyiv since the beginning of the war. However, although the Pope tries to carry out a policy of balance and diplomatic activities between the parties to some extent, it seems that Ukraine and Russia are not very satisfied with the Vatican's policy.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

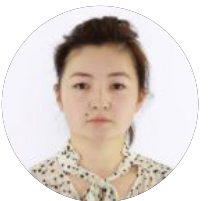
The Effects of New Technologies on the Russia-Ukraine Asymmetric War

Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, making a move that will change the agenda, theories and security paradigms of international relations. The Russia-Ukraine War has led to a process that questions both the status quo and traditional conventional warfare. This war is characterized as asymmetric, proxy and hybrid warfare.

Asymmetric warfare because Ukraine is incomparably stronger than Russia in terms of military technology and troops. However, factors such as the global political conjuncture,

the support of the international community, success in information warfare and legitimate defense provide Ukraine with serious military, economic and political support. It is even compared to the famous "David and Goliath" characters, giving the message that the weak but righteous will win.

Likewise, the Russian-Ukrainian war has turned into a proxy war with the participation of global and regional actors who provide the aforementioned aid but do not fight on the ground.



**Aimoor
DANIYAROVA**

In fact, if we recall the issues of Ukraine's membership to the European Union (EU) and the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), we can talk about a proxy war.

In another aspect, the Russia-Ukraine War stands out as an example of hybrid warfare. One of the most important elements of hybrid warfare is soft power; the peaceful phase of war can be called the application of soft power. Both governments make effective use of information, propaganda and disinformation. In hybrid warfare, tools such as diplomatic or economic pressure, color revolutions, terrorism, cyber attacks and espionage are used together with conventional weapons.

As can be seen from these tools, the most important component is the use of new technologies. Its use in the Ukraine War has been in the form of Elon Musk's support for internet access through SpaceX and Starlink, storage in cloud data storage services through the use of Tesla Powerwall backup batteries, advanced generators and lithium batteries. According to Mikhail Fedorov, Ukraine's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Digital Transformation, developing technology and personnel in this process can make the country a technological superpower in the future. An example that can prove this is the independent development of the Delta Program, which changes the map of the war zone in real time, by the Ukrainians.[1]

However, another major supporter of asymmetric warfare that gives Ukraine the upper hand in the conflict is the American company Palantir. Because the explosions in Kharkov Oblast in September 2022 took place thanks to American weapons and Palantir's intelligence information working with the Pentagon.[2] The company has developed MetaConstellation, which helps users find objects in real time. Accordingly, a MetaConstellation user has the ability to request data such as radio signals, infrared light images and aerial photographs from satellites flying over the areas through an artificial intelligence system.[3] This product is capable of targeting and attacking Russian Army positions with rockets, artillery or unmanned aerial vehicles.

In addition, when the data is entered into the system and reports on drone strikes, the program can also calculate the damage done. As we have seen, digital military action, the so-called "battle of the magicians", is key. This leads to the asymmetric conflict mentioned earlier. Indeed, Mikhail Fedorov said, "Further cooperation with Palantir will help us strengthen our army and defeat the enemy as soon as possible." [4]

With the help of the same system, Ukrainian troops were able to track where Russian troops were moving and launch attacks with good accuracy. This system was useful in rescue operations near Izyum, Kharkov and Kiev. It also ensured the liberation of the Kherson region.

Contributions by foreign governments and large corporations to change the course of the war are a positive factor due to their deterrent effect. Because when Russia launched a "special military operation" in Ukraine, it did not expect to face so much resistance, losses and cascading problems. Indeed, the Russian-Ukrainian War is reminiscent of both the wars of the future in terms of the military technology used and the bloodiest battles of the past with their long trench fighting.

It can be argued both that Russia will not give up on achieving what can be characterized as a victory in "Putin's political existential" war and that it will not compromise thanks to diplomatic, economic and military support. This means that the war will be prolonged. Therefore, this asymmetric, hybrid and proxy war will not only be a good test bed for existing technologies, but also a justification for the development of advanced military technologies.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Is Poland Becoming the US Energy Hub in Europe?

On September 27, 2022, the Baltic Gas Pipeline was inaugurated, carrying Norwegian gas from the North Sea to Poland. Recently, it has been seen that Poland has the intention to become the new gas hub of Europe instead of Germany. After a series of failed attempts to take over transit flows of Russian gas bypassing Ukraine, Poland is trying to become both a transit country and a distribution hub for the supply of re-liquefied natural gas (LNG) to Central and Eastern European countries, especially from the United States of America (USA).

Such Polish initiatives became urgent after a series of explosions that occurred in the Nord

Stream-1 and Nord Stream-2 gas pipelines on September 26, 2022 and the inauguration of the Baltic Pipeline, which transports Norwegian gas from the North Sea to Poland, on September 27, 2022. Looking further back, in 2019, US Ambassador to Poland Georgette Mosbacher announced that the Washington administration plans to make Poland the export hub for American LNG in Europe.[1]

Following the Russian-Ukrainian War and Russia's exclusion from the European energy market, two important developments took place in Europe. These are Poland becoming a distribution center as an alternative to Germany and



Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU
ANKASAM
Eurasia Expert

American LNG replacing Russian energy sources. Russia used to supply Europe with around 240 billion cubic meters of natural gas per year. By the beginning of October 2022, the volume of Russian gas exports to Europe had decreased by 88% compared to 2021. This is because the European Union (EU) has increased its LNG imports from countries such as the USA.[2]

In return, Berlin will build a \$6.7 billion LNG terminal that, if fully operational, could meet a third of Germany's gas demand. So, the idea that LNG imported from alternative sources could replace most, if not all, natural gas supplies from Russia for the EU has started to gain momentum.[3]

Poland has long claimed that, with the Baltic gas pipelines to Germany, it has become the "gas hub of Europe" by increasing the quantity of natural gas it buys from Russia, but that this has left it weakened vis-à-vis Moscow. The USA's goal is to end Berlin's "gas dependence" on Moscow and to transfer the role of "gas distribution" from Berlin to Warsaw. It can be said that Germany, which had been getting closer to Russia regarding energy, will be punished in this way.

The interests of the USA and Poland overlap regarding Russia, Germany and energy. In order to maintain its competitive position in the European energy market and become an important actor, Washington needed to eliminate its European rival. After Russia's intervention in Ukraine, the conditions for making this happen became favorable.

On the other hand, the USA has launched an initiative to replace Russia in the European market. Indeed, on November 29, 2022, the American oil and gas company ConocoPhillips (COP) and Qatar Energy, the state oil and gas company of Qatar, signed an agreement to supply Germany with 2 million tons of LNG per year on the basis of long-term contracts. This corresponds to about 2.7 billion cubic meters of pipeline gas.[4] The USA is increasing its influence in the European market both by offering its own energy resources to Europe and by cooperating with Middle Eastern countries.

The USA is pursuing a dual strategy towards Europe. While becoming an "energy power" in Europe, Washington will also put Warsaw at the forefront, making Poland compete with Germany.

Thus, Poland will become dependent on the USA. This is because Warsaw's relations with Washington will take on a dimension similar to the Russian-German relations of the past years, when Warsaw criticized Berlin. This policy is also supported by London. Britain, which has left the EU, is likely to cooperate with Poland in its competition with a German-French-oriented Continental Europe.

These developments and the ties established between the states will affect the internal balance in Europe as well as the policies regarding the Russia-Ukraine War. While the USA is expected to adopt a more cautious policy and assert itself in the field of security, Washington is expected to adopt a pro-Warsaw stance in the field of energy.

As is well known, Warsaw was extremely uncomfortable with the Berlin and Moscow's strategic partnership on energy. Poland's concerns were eased significantly after Russia was pushed out of Europe. In this process, USA's European policy was shaped in line with Poland's interests. At the present stage, Poland's second goal is related to Germany. Warsaw is in competition with Berlin.

In conclusion, a Washington-London-Warsaw axis is emerging within the Western World. Poland becoming Europe's energy hub will play a critical role in the competition against Germany.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Seeking Dialogue and Inclusive Government Debates on the Afghan Question

The Taliban, which took Kabul under its control on August 15, 2021 and gained dominance over the whole of Afghanistan after dominating the Panshir Valley, announced that it had established the "Interim Government of Afghanistan" on September 7, 2021. However, despite the year 2023, there is still no state or international organization that recognizes the Taliban administration. Although various states continue their humanitarian aid activities towards the country in order to prevent deepening of humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan and de facto relations with the Taliban have developed in the context of investments, no concrete steps have been taken in terms of official recognition. Moreover, there is no indication that the Taliban will be able to overcome the recognition problem in the short term.

The international community has some expectations regarding the recognition of the Taliban. It is possible to express these expectations in three main points. The first is to prevent Afghanistan from becoming a safe haven for terrorist organizations and for the Taliban to fight terrorism. In this sense, it is known that the Taliban has carried out various operations to combat the so-called Khorasan Emirate (ISKP) of the terrorist organization State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). However, DAESH's attacks against various targets, especially the Hazaras and foreign diplomatic missions, continue. In this sense, it is possible to state that ISKP threatens the regional security environment.

Moreover, given that regional states have developed de facto relations with the Taliban, it can be argued that the Taliban is seen as a



Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
AF-PAK Expert

reasonable partner in the fight against DAESH. However, when the United States of America (USA) announced on August 1, 2022 that it had killed the leader of the terrorist organization al-Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri, in a drone strike in the diplomatic district of Kabul called Shir Pur, the issue of the Taliban's relationship with al-Qaeda came to the fore and the international community's criticism of the Taliban hardened.

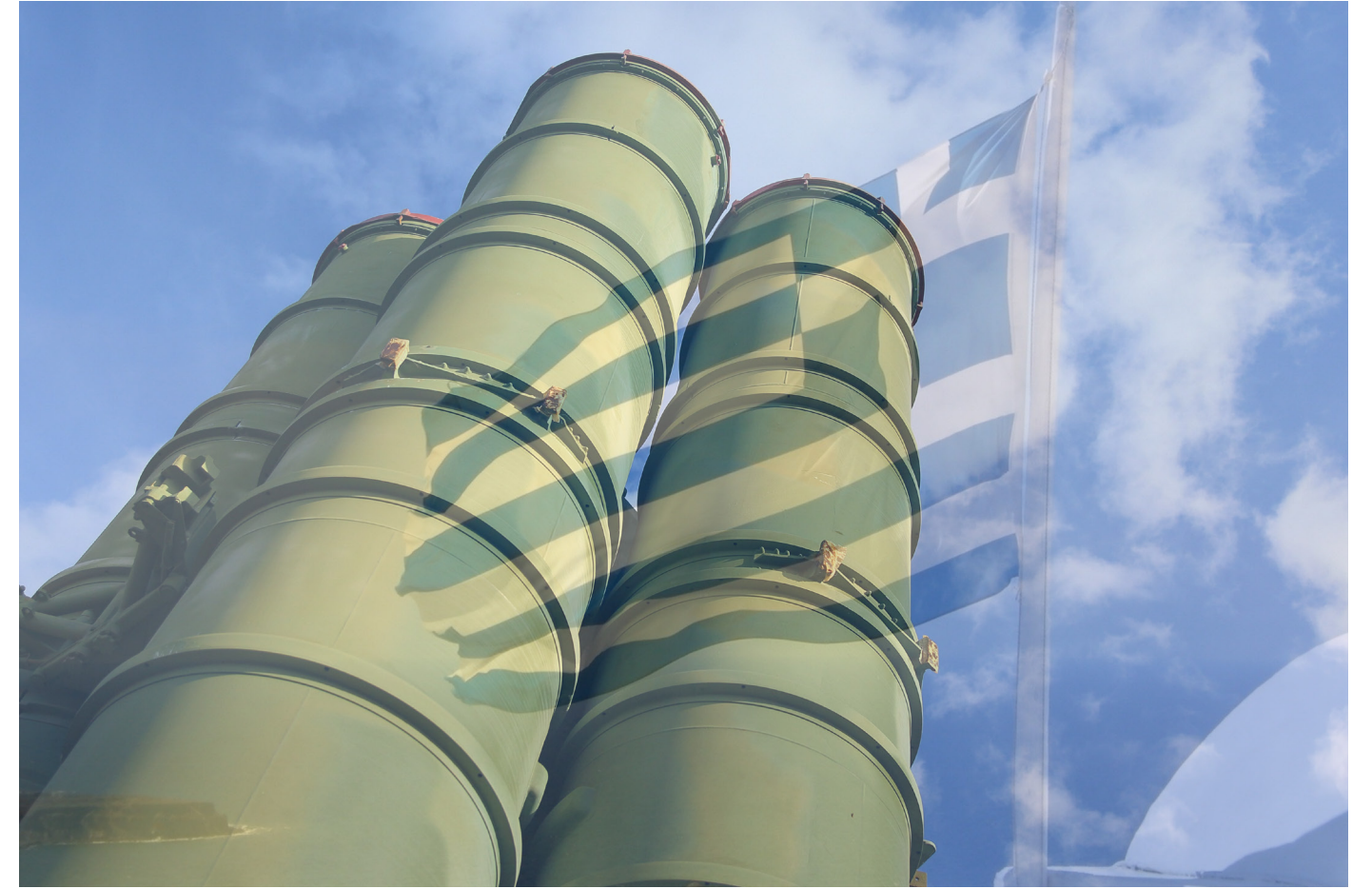
The second demand is to make progress on human rights, especially women's rights. The Taliban government, on the other hand, states that they constitute a Sharia order and respect the rights of women within the framework of Islamic criteria. However, it can be stated that restrictions on women's right to education have affected the international community's view of the Taliban. The third expectation is the establishment of a government in Afghanistan in which all identity groups will be represented. This is because the Taliban is a Pashtun nationalist organization. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the Pashtun hegemony in the country, which was experienced during the old regimes, continues. Against the Pashtun hegemony, both opposition groups and the international community call for the establishment of an inclusive government. The Taliban, on the other hand, claim that their government is already inclusive. While calls for dialogue in the context of the Afghan Problem have increased recently, it is seen that the issue that comes to the fore is the issue of inclusive government. In December 2022, in particular, this issue has become even more pressing.

As a matter of fact, on December 29, 2022, Former President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai stated that the Taliban should start a process to establish an inclusive government and claimed that it is in the interest of all parties to start inter-Afghan talks. [1] It is possible to say that Karzai's statements are important. It is known that Karzai took the initiative to ensure that the handover of the city's administration was carried out in a healthy way when the Taliban arrived at the gates of Kabul, and in a sense, he played a key role in the transition period together with Abdullah Abdullah, the head of the Afghanistan National Reconciliation Council. That's why Karzai has a certain weight, even though he is one of the Presidents of the deposed regime. This is why Karzai, like ousted President Ashraf Ghani, did not flee Afghanistan and chose to stay in the country. However, one of the main controversies in November 2022 was the Taliban's refusal to allow Karzai to travel abroad. The Taliban's approach is motivated by the fact that Karzai was the first president during the occupation and therefore has important relations with Western diplomats and politicians. Therefore, the Taliban thought that Karzai's messages from abroad could increase Western pressure. And so it has been. Because the aforementioned statements of Karzai are in the nature of a call to increase the pressure on the Taliban so that an inclusive gov-

ernment can be established at some point. But it is more than that. Because Karzai calls for dialogue at every opportunity. This can be characterized as a warning to the Panshir Movement, which is waging an armed struggle against the Taliban. In other words, Karzai is demanding a return to the dialog table rather than new conflicts in the country. Of course, this could also be interpreted as Karzai's desire to once again assume the role of mediator that he assumed during the handover of Kabul and to consolidate his own political position.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss the question "What is meant by inclusive government and representation of all identity states?". Likewise, the question "Are there any successful examples of systems based on ethnic representation?" should also be considered. This is because the claim of representation based on ethnic identity, which looks very democratic on paper and promises harmonious governance, in practice leads to increased ethnic and sectarian contradictions and conflicts. The frequent government crises in Iraq and Lebanon are concrete indicators of this. Essentially, the problem in Afghanistan is the problem of nationalization/ nation building. In fact, statement of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Joseph Borrell in August 2021, "We have failed in the nation-state building in Afghanistan." 2 is also an admission of the situation in question. On the other hand, the question "What kind of ethnic representation?" opens the door to federation discussions. Already in November 2022, many politicians from the ousted regime in Afghanistan, who were already voicing their opposition to the Taliban, proposed a federation as a solution to the Afghan problem. In the medium and long term, this proposal could open the door to process leading to the division of the country. Therefore, expecting the federation option to open the door to a healthy and peaceful order without a skillfully prepared constitutional model would be overly optimistic and disconnected from reality.

As a result, the Taliban have ruled Afghanistan since August 2021. But the problem of recognition of the Taliban leadership has not yet been resolved. Moreover, the pressure on the Taliban is increasing day by day. This in turn jeopardizes the sustainability of aid and investment in Afghanistan. In a sense, the international community is punishing the Afghan people, not the Taliban. Because with each passing day, the economic problems in the country are deepening and the level of welfare is decreasing. In this environment, the main proposal brought within the framework of the solution of the Afghan Question is shaped by the discourse of "inclusive government". However, an order based on ethnic representation could deepen the identity-based divide and open the door to a new civil war that could lead to the division of the country.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Greece's Position on the War in Ukraine and the S-300 Question

Following the Russia-Ukraine War that started on February 24, 2022, Greece was one of the countries where Russia's relations deteriorated the most. The Athens administration reacted extremely harshly to Moscow's intervention against Kyiv. After all, Russia has declared Greece as a non-friendly country. The Athens administration reacted extremely strongly to

Moscow's intervention in Kyiv. After all, Russia has declared Greece an unfriendly country.

Considering the historical, religious, and cultural relations of the two countries, this can be characterized as another big loss for Moscow in European geopolitics. Greece is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)



**Cemal Ege
ÖZKAN**

ANKASAM Eurasia
Research Assis-
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and has become one of the few states that continues to purchase weapons from Moscow. In this sense, Athens has followed a policy that tries to carry out a policy of balance with Moscow in the alliance. However, the war led to the end of this policy of Athens.

In addition to all these, Greece has attracted attention as one of the most dependent countries on Russia for natural gas among the European Union (EU) members. This played an important role in shaping Athens' policy towards Moscow throughout the war. Since Greece knows that this dependence creates its own weak spot, it is currently pursuing a policy that defines itself as a transit point for energy and is trying to implement various energy projects. An example of this is the Greece-Bulgaria Natural Gas Interconnection, which became operational in October 2022 and provides the transfer of Azerbaijani natural gas.

On the other hand, Greece was one of the countries that provided arms to Ukraine during the war. Accordingly, on 16 September 2022, Berlin and Athens agreed to facilitate the shipment of armored vehicles to Ukraine following a meeting between Greek Defence Minister Nikos Panagiotopoulos and his German counterpart Christine Lambrecht. Under the agreement, Greece agreed to send 40 Soviet BMP-1 tanks to Ukraine, and in return, it will receive as many Marder-type tanks from Germany.[1]

On the other hand, this aid has caused controversy in Greek domestic politics. The coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA), the country's main opposition, criticized Greek Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis for the agreement. SYRIZA deputies have drawn attention to the fact that the agreement may threaten the country's security. In response, on October 14, 2022, Greek Defense Minister Nikolaos Panagiotopoulos stated that the agreement with Berlin would not create any shortcomings in Athens' security.[2]

As can be seen, in Greece, the government and the main opposition are positioned on different points regarding arms aid to Ukraine. While SYRIZA advocates the implementation of a more moderate policy, the New Democracy Party (ND), led by Mitsotakis, pursues the opposite policy.

When the agreement is examined, it is clear that Athens' military aid to Kyiv is not "unconditional" aid. Greece has agreed to provide military aid to Ukraine only on the condition that it receives the counterparts of the weapons it will provide from Germany. Moreover, the arms aid provided by Greece to Ukraine is the kind of weapon that the Greek Army wants to dispose of in a sense. As can be seen from the BMP-1 tanks, Greece will remove quite outdated heavy weapons from its inventory and purchase higher-quality tanks from Germany. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the agreement is in favor of Greece.

On the other hand, Athens' arms aid to Kyiv has been on the agenda for the second time on the occasion of the S-300 Air Defense System. In this context, on 17 December 2022, the following words of Panagiotopoulos were reflected in the Greek media:[3]

"If the United States (US) installs a Patriot system on Crete and, after being integrated, connects it to the air defense system, then the S300s can be removed. The same procedure applies to other Russian-made air defense systems that they may want to send to Ukraine."

In this context, as can be understood from the statements of the Greek Defense Minister, Athens wants to use the S300s as an element of bargaining with Washington. Therefore, Greece has raised this issue in the name of its own security rather than Ukraine's security.

Moreover, Russia's recent increase in airstrikes against Ukraine has further strengthened the idea of sending air defense systems to Kyiv in the West. Ukraine needs systems manufactured with Russian technology as much as it needs the West's defense systems. Greece is trying to put itself at the forefront because it hosts old Russian air defense systems. Therefore, it seems that Athens wants to take advantage of this situation on its own behalf.

In this context, Greece wants to implement a model similar to the one it applied to Germany with the US. In this context, Greece wants to implement a similar model to the one it has implemented with Germany with the US. As in the agreement with Berlin, Athens is trying to bring the exchange model to the agenda at the point of the agreement it wants to realize with Washington. However, the chances of Greece sending the S-300s to Ukraine without receiving the Patriot are extremely slim. Greece has not yet gratuitously provided arms assistance to Ukraine.

On the other hand, the Greek Defense Minister stated that Athens had not received an official offer from Washington on the Patriots on December 21, 2022. In addition, Panagiotopoulos stated that sending the S-300s to Kyiv is not a simple matter at all and that they have no intention of weakening their own security.[4] At this point, it can be argued that Athens' policy is based on a wait-and-see approach. Moreover, the S-300s are already being actively used by Greece. Therefore, the system has an extremely important place in Athens' security policy. In this regard, it is predictable that Greece expects to receive an offer or assurance from the US.

On the other hand, Greece's bringing up the S-300 issue has led to Russia's harsh reaction. On December 28, 2022, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov stated that Moscow was assessing Athens' intentions regarding the S-300. Lavrov said that under the agreement between the two countries, Greece does not have the right to transfer these systems without Russia's consent. The Russian Foreign Minister stated that they had conveyed this issue to Athens and that the Greek authorities had told Moscow that they were paying attention to their own commitments.[5] As is clear, Moscow will not remain silent about a possible scenario in which Athens will send S-300 to Kyiv. It can be argued that Greece is testing the waters by measuring the reactions of the US and Russia on this issue.

In conclusion, the war led to the lowest level of relations between Moscow and Athens in history. In addition to supporting Ukraine on a rhetorical basis, Greece has also supported it through heavy weapons. Despite all this, Athens pursued a policy that met its own security needs throughout the war in Ukraine. The example of Germany is one of the most concrete proofs of this. In addition, the introduction of the S-300s in exchange for the Patriots is also very important in terms of revealing Athens' policy.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

India's Nuclear Studies in the Shadow of Border Tension with China

China-India border problems have been going on for years and there is a fluctuating relationship between the two countries. The Actual Control Line (LAC) of 3,440 km, which is not fully defined, causes the security forces of the two countries to clash frequently. Despite the talks at the military level, conflicts occur from time to time and tensions escalate. Negotiations over the past three decades have failed to resolve border disputes. The presence of rivers, lakes, and snow peaks in the control line affects the variability of the borderline.[1]

On December 15, 2022, tensions rose again on the China-India border, and a clash with stones and sticks occurred between the security forces.[2] During this tension, India's missile test launch drew attention to a different point. In this context, the development of New Delhi's nuclear capacity and missile tests is important.

It is possible to say that the border tensions with China had a triggering effect on India's nuclear development and activities. Border tensions, which caused a war between the two



Şeyma KIZILAY

countries in 1962, turned into conflicts again in 2017. After China tried to extend the border road from a disputed region, conflict occurred in the region.[3] However, the conflict that took place mainly in 2020 brought the risk of a new war to the agenda. After the 2020 conflict, which is among the deadliest conflicts of the last 45 years, the military and nuclear activities of the two countries have started to attract more attention. Both military exercises undertaken by the parties and work capable of affecting border security; is essential because it is a message to the other party.

After the conflict in 2020, a dispute took place in the Sikkim region in January 2021. Later, in September of the same year, China accused India of shooting at its troops. In June 2022, New Delhi accused China of building a base and observation tower in the region, and the tension again resulted in conflict. The conflict on December 15, 2022, occurred in the Tawang region of Arunachal Pradesh state in eastern India. Indian Defense Minister Rajnath Singh has argued that the conflict began with Chinese troops "entering Indian territory" and "unilaterally trying to change the status quo" along the disputed border near the Yangtse region.[4]

While tensions continue between the two countries; India has conducted a long-range nuclear-capable missile test. It can be said that the test is a show of strength for Beijing. However, a statement was made by the Indian authorities that the test was planned earlier. It is also stated that the test was announced in advance. Thus, New Delhi's move is a routine step towards building its defence capacity. It was an interesting coincidence that border tensions occurred in this process.[5]

India, which started its nuclear program in the 1940s, announced its first official Nuclear Doctrine in 2003. New Delhi has listed the aims of nuclear studies in the said doctrine. According to this, the aim is to achieve a reliable minimum deterrence, to use these weapons in retaliation for a nuclear attack on Indian soil or Indian forces anywhere, and not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapons states. For these purposes, various studies and tests are carried out from time to time.[6]

In May 1998, the country conducted a series of nuclear tests that demonstrated its capacity to use nuclear energy for military purposes. Declaring the "No First Use Doctrine" after this test, India has committed to not be the first to use nuclear power.[7]

As part of the test, the first test of a nuclear-capable ballistic missile called Agni V was made in 2012. Agni V is considered one of India's attempts to strengthen its nuclear deterrence against China. New Delhi has developed a family of intercontinental ballistic missiles called "Agni", meaning "fire".[8] Agni missiles are long-range, nuclear-capable, ground-to-ground ballistic missiles. Previous versions of the series have also been tested in the past years.

The previous, last Agni V test was conducted in October 2021. The missile has a range of about 5,000 km. It is also known to be capable of reaching most cities in mainland China, including Beijing.[9] In the statements made; it is stated that the test carried out to verify the new technologies and equipment on the missile proves that the missile can hit targets farther than before.[10] At the same time, in the announcement made by the Ministry of Defense of India, it was stated that the successful test was in accordance with the "minimum deterrence" policy. In June 2021, the new generation nuclear-capable ballistic missile Agni P, an advanced variant of the "Agni" class missile, was successfully tested.[11]

The Agni V missile test, operated by the Strategic Forces Command, was conducted from Abdul Kalam Island, off Odisha. The nuclear-capable missile using a three-stage solid-fuel engine was developed by the Defense Research and Development Corporation. It is stated that Agni-VI is also under development with a much longer range starting from 8000 kilometres and can carry Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicles.[12]

Apparently, India will continue to advance this series. As a matter of fact, the Stockholm-based defence think tank SIPRI, in its statement in June 2022, claimed that India had 160 nuclear warheads as of January 2022 and was on the way to expanding its nuclear arsenal. It seems that India will continue to push this series forward.[13]

Currently, it is estimated that India uses eight different systems with nuclear capacity. It consists of two aircraft, four land-based ballistic missiles, and two sea-based ballistic missiles. It is estimated to produce around 700 kilograms of weapons-grade plutonium, sufficient

for 138 to 213 nuclear warheads. The country is working to increase its existing capacity, complement its systems, or create new systems to replace them. New Delhi continues to modernize its nuclear arsenal with at least four new weapon systems developed in this context.^[14]

At the same time, additional plutonium will be required to produce warheads for these missiles. It is stated that India has built several new plutonium production facilities in this context. The 500-megawatt Prototype Rapid Cultivation Reactor (PFBR) under construction at the Indira Gandhi Atomic Research Center near Kalpakkam is expected to further increase India's plutonium production capacity.^[15]

As a result, it is seen that New Delhi has taken important steps toward increasing its nuclear capacity. Missile tests and modernization studies are shaped by new-generation technological opportunities. It can be said that these studies are expected to create a deterrent effect in terms of the current border problems of the country. In this context, it can be predicted that India will continue to develop its nuclear capacity in terms of production and capacity.

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ANKASAM IN PRESS

2 January 2023

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the role of colonial activities that started in the 15th century in the climate crisis and the attitudes of colonial countries towards the climate crisis to Anadolu Agency (AA).

2 January 2023

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's opinion on the role of colonial activities that started in the 15th century in the climate crisis and the attitudes of colonial countries on the climate crisis to Anadolu Agency (AA) was published in Yeni Şafak and TR News.

3 January 2023

The determinations regarding the key role played by Azerbaijan in the Central Asia-Europe connection in the analyzes published by the Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) were featured in Trend News Agency, the leading media organization of Azerbaijan.

4 January 2023

The determinations regarding the key role played by Azerbaijan in the Central Asia-Europe connection, included in the analyzes published by the Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM), were featured

4 January 2023

The findings about the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan Railway in the analyzes published by the Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) were featured in Jordan-based Mena.fn.

5 January 2023

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the measures to implement administrative reforms in New Uzbekistan were broadcast on the Telegram channel of Dunyo News Agency, the leading media organization of Uzbekistan.

6 January 2023

The findings regarding the key role played by Azerbaijan in the Central Asia-Europe connection, included in the analyzes published by the Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM), were featured in Azerbaijan-based Media.az.

6 January 2023

Göktuğ Çalışkan's analysis titled "The USA's Increasing Interest in Central Asia and its New Economic Initiative", published in ANKASAM, was published on Vestikavkaza.ru.

6 January 2023

The findings in the analysis of Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) that the Caspian Sea plays a key role in overcoming the energy crisis in Europe were featured on Trend.az.

7 January 2023

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations about the administrative reforms implemented in Uzbekistan were shared on O'zbekiston 24 TV.



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 II

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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