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## Ukraine to Taiwan: "Pole Wars" or "Order of Chaos"

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The Implications of  
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## ANKASAM OUTLOOK

# Ukraine to Taiwan: “Pole Wars” or “Order of Chaos”

The United States (US), which seeks to build new regional alliances through crises, uses and fuels all kinds of conflicts of interest between the countries that are candidates and claimants to the multipolar world.

The dynamic crisis line stretching from Ukraine to Taiwan refers to an open-ended process for the whole world. This uncertainty process, in which the scenarios of the Third World War and

the discourses of the “New Cold War” are frequently voiced and where more concerns prevail, undoubtedly raises the questions of “where are we heading to?” and “what accounts underlie all of this?”

### The world order is changing

Surely, it is not a coincidence that all these developments have accelerated with the 46th



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president of the US. President Joe Biden is part of the process here, and he's just playing a dangerous role. To put it more concretely, the role that Biden has assumed through the discourse of "democrats-autocrats" in accordance with his "democratic" identity stands out with its "accelerator", "aggressive" and "polarized" dimension in the operation carried out after the 9/11 against the existing-potential powers that are described as rivals/enemies of the US hegemony. In other words, we can say that Biden is busy with naming the definitions made by his predecessors George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump.

At this point, the following concepts emerged: Crisis, identity, generation, siege, corridor, resources, fear, and pole. All of these are intertwined and lead to a single door: The power struggle. The name and definition of the international system under reconstruction has been shaped around these words and concepts. When it is considered that, this power struggle from the center of Washington, two claims and two main actors emerges: the US, which aims for a "unipolar" system, and the "others" who want a "multipolar" world.

### **The US wants to be the "savior" again**

In this context, the US is aware that it will lose in the face of Eurasian-centered challenges without maintaining control in Europe and in the Pacific, which constitute the two main pillars of the global power struggle. The "Russian-Ukrainian War" and the possible "China-Taiwan War", as well as the escalating crisis in this context, point to precisely this goal. The US wants to realize its global hegemony with the "two empires of fear" that it has launched all over the world and to put itself in the role of "savior" once again; just like during the Second World War and its aftermath, in the Cold War.

In this respect, it is noteworthy that "Russian fear/threat" has come to the fore on the European side and "Chinese fear/threat" in the Asia-Pacific region in the recent period. Thus, in the new US strategy, it is emphasized to end Germany's claims of "multipolarity" in Europe through the "fear/threat of Russia" and even more to turn it into a "strong ally". On the other hand, it seems that the US wants to bring these countries to Germany's position by preventing the existing-possible claims of India and Japan in the Asia-Pacific context through the "fear/threat of China".

### **To bring "new world order" out of chaos.**

Chaos underlies the US presence and power. This is the reason why crises that tend to spread on a global basis and give the appearance of devastating chaos. The US wants to establish the new world order within the framework of the logic of "destroy and rebuild it according to itself." Because the US sees the system established after the Second World War as an obstacle to itself. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate the current crises not only in the context of geographies, but also in the form of a war against the established, generally accepted values, law, and institutions of the international system.

The basis of the US' strategy of achieving results through crises lies in the fact that the policy of building hegemony based on the understanding of "soft power" against Europe and even partly Russia (in the context of energy diplomacy) especially China, has lost the advantages it has provided.

Thus, Washington is both forcing these actors into a power struggle at the point where it is strongest and pulling them into a costly area by pushing them to take up arms through "new threats". Thus, by depriving them of soft power sources, it wants to put them in the position of revisionist/aggressor states and start a new alliance process against them. In doing so, it seeks to achieve a less costly result by following the "proxy war" method and to strengthen its economy by selling more weapons.

The US, which seeks to build new regional alliances through crises, also uses and fuels all kinds of conflicts of interest between the countries that are candidates and claimants to the multipolar world.

The two main addresses of the crises: Russia and China.

These issues underlie the tendency of the US to increase the intensity and dose of its operations aimed at the image of Russia and especially China over the crises in the recent period, to deepen and expand in the geographical-political-economic-security fields. With this controlled, planned crisis policy, the US aims to shock these actors into irrational actors, and thus revealing the limits of both actors' power, aggressive/aggressor faces, a network of fragile/weak relationships. It wants to show the whole world that they cannot be rivals/alternatives in the construction of the international system, that it is the solely power.

With this policy, Washington forces these actors into a contradiction based on discourse-action and tries to put them in the position of unreliable actors. Beijing, which until yesterday stood out with its soft power, is against violence and sanctions, let alone war, and the recent announcement that it will resort to sanction weapon and displaying an aggressive power position is important in this respect, although it describes it as a defense.

### **The US turns out to be profitable**

The US seems to be starting to get the results from this crisis policy. Thus, now, there is an image that the network of relations that Russia and China have been building with a noose until yesterday has begun to loosen rapidly and that they face the threat of extinction if they do not take wise steps.

The fact that the US has formed a "bloc of sanctions" at this point accelerates the process of isolation and aggression of these two powers. The resistance-quests of these powers, which have become isolated and aggressive, towards the siege that has formed around them seem to become more inextricable with an extended-deepened "war of attrition" through existing-possible crises.

The destruction caused by this "indirect/proxy war" on the deterrence and prestige of these actors, in which the multidimensional, hybrid war methods initiated by the US against the Russia-China duo are becoming more effective day by day, clearly points to a near future where direct war methods will be on the agenda. Especially, it should not be ignored that China is gradually becoming involved in the Third World War and Nuclear War threats that Russia raised until yesterday.

### **Ukraine-Taiwan crises**

The US is the sole winner of the Russian-Ukrainian War. Because with the Ukrainian War, it has seized an important opportunity to consolidate its European pillar, and therefore its leadership within the West, and in this context, it has re-established its authority over North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). So that the Germany-centered EU is turning into a legionary power of the US in the western hemisphere every day through the "fear of Russia". Thus, while the US has reduced costs with the EU in its goal of global hegemony, on the other hand, it has made it more dependent on itself and has largely pacified an opponent that challenged itself under the name of "multipolarity" discourse.

The US move on Taiwan, on the other hand, is aiming at an even more divided/fragmented and isolated China against Beijing, which pursues a "One-China Policy". Therefore, the Taiwan crisis emerges as a much bigger-deeper dimensional test of Beijing. China's possible invasion of Taiwan could trigger even bigger crises. The fact that no indication has been received from the Beijing administration, which has suffered a serious loss of deterrence and prestige, that it will pursue a more cold-blooded policy, obviously shows that it has come to the US' game; just like in the case of Russia.

Consequently, the current process is a war of hegemony between the US and its rival actors, a power struggle conducted around the discourses of "unipolarity", multipolarity, "democracies", "autocracies". The US is trying to respond to this systemic challenge through crises with new regional alliances-proxies based on its existential mission and aims for a unipolar system.

The geographical distribution of crises and the "regional/global threats" highlighted here, as well as the methods and tools used, point to this. The future of a new world order through chaos largely depends on the reaction of the "others". It is a very difficult possibility that this reaction will be "soft". Because these powers, which wanted to end the US hegemony through "soft power" until yesterday, are clearly facing a big game that they did not expect. It seems that the future of the new world order will once again be determined by the rimland and corridors.

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## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# The Implications of Nancy Pelosi's Visit to Taiwan

Following the announcement of the Speaker of the House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi's upcoming visit to Taiwan, it was discussed how and when this visit would take place.[1] Pelosi visited Singapore on August 1, 2022 and landed in Malaysia on August 2, 2022. Pelosi's plane took off for the next stop after making diplomatic talks there.[2] Although South Korea and Japan

were in Pelosi's official visit plan, the plane landed in Taiwan, which is not on the route. In this process, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China has announced that they will respond harshly if Pelosi visits Taiwan.

As Pelosi's plane made its way north (via Indonesia) from the south, the United States (US)



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reconnaissance aircraft also conducted surveillance flights around Taiwan, so the US closely monitored Chinese Navy patrols around Taiwan and fighter jets. In this context, it has been calculated that if Pelosi's plane were to head to Taiwan, China would respond with an action to take necessary measures.

In fact, the US has decided whether Pelosi's plane should land in Taiwan during the flight, and according to China's mobility. The aircraft was accompanied by a fleet of 13 aircraft from the US Air Force, including eight fighter jets and five tanker aircraft. A week before the visit, Global Times commentator Hu Xijin said that if Pelosi's plane approached the island, the Chinese Army would try to remove it and shoot it if necessary.[3] Thus, the visit took place in a tense atmosphere.

Pelosi's plane took a long route, giving time to fighter jets and reconnaissance aircraft of the US. The American Navy sent four warships to the east of Taiwan. At the same time, the Taiwan Army's Mirage 2000 fighter jet took off to escort the passenger plane carrying Pelosi.

In the meantime, China closed its airspace on the Taiwan border to civilian flights. Chinese Armored Army units were also deployed across the coast from Taiwan to the province of Fujian. China has also deployed 800-1000 km-range DF-16 ballistic missiles. In addition, the Chinese Navy aircraft carriers Liaoning and Shandong left their ports. Chinese fighter jets have also taken preventive flights in the region near the Taiwan Strait's center line. The Taiwan Army has raised its combat readiness to the highest level.

The plane's destination was not marked until the final hour of landing, so it was kept secret. The aircraft made a quick return to the north after Indonesia and headed for Taiwan. As a result, the fighter jets of the US were able to speed their flights to control air space around Taiwan. The risk of combat has increased as the US warplanes accompanying Pelosi's aircraft approaching Taiwan airspace.

At this point, events could have concluded in the following:

- First, Chinese aircraft could have taken away Pelosi's plane.
- Second, the downing of some aircraft could have been the result of the US warplanes guarding Pelosi's aircraft getting into a dogfight with Chinese aircraft.
- Thirdly, after Pelosi's plane landed in Taiwan, there could be a military intervention by China on the island.

Washington has sought to make Beijing accept this visit without a war. So, the US is trying to make China to accept this new status quo. The new status quo is that in the process leading to Taiwan's independence, world states can communicate with the island and develop bilateral relations. It is estimated that after Pelosi's visit, the leaders around the world are going to visit Taiwan more often. China has a difficult time accepting these new terms. In this sense, the US is testing the boundaries of China.

### Implications of the Visit

Immediately after Pelosi visited Taiwan, the Chinese People's Liberation Army began conducting exercises, flights and missile tests in the waters surrounding the island. It is thought that China could capture the islands in Taiwan's immediate vicinity in retaliation for the US. But the United States could interpret China's seizure of any of the islands, or its establishment of new military bases there, as a major escalation, and could lead to more economic sanctions against China. The move could also put alarm bells on neighboring countries in the South China Sea that are having disagreements with Beijing.

Beijing has also imposed a ban on imports of more than 100 food companies of Taiwan. It is also claimed that the Beijing administration will impose severe penalties on those who support Taiwan's "separatist" activities.[4] Furthermore, it has been suggested that China could minimize its relations with the US and impose sanctions on diplomats. On the other hand, cyber-attacks on sites of official Taiwanese institutions have increased. Official websites of some institutions collapsed just before the visit.

With all these incidents, the implications of Pelosi's visit could be as in the following, in terms of the US-China relations: The trip is likely to have devastating effects on the American-Chinese relations. China still considers to take military actions to respond to this visit. The question is whether China will accept this new status quo, since Pelosi's visit paves the way for a status quo change related to the island.

Meanwhile, China's drills around Taiwan, blocking international waterways, and the possibility of invading other islands in the future, are other actions that threaten the status quo in the region. Therefore, both the US and China are trying to create a new situation that would benefit them by overturning the balance in the region. Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-wen has com-

mitted to maintaining the status quo in the Taiwan Strait by saying that Chinese military exercises are unnecessary reactions.[5]

The US has apparently pledged to China that the visit will not lead to the creation of new status quo. China has already responded to this visit.[6] The two sides are known to have been in constant communication throughout the day, meaning that they have negotiated on some issues. Washington was able to prevent Beijing from a harsh reaction through this communication. In brief, the US has taken the pledge that China would not intervene militarily until Pelosi's plane has taken off. After receiving such a guarantee, Pelosi's plane took off for Taiwan. Washington's administration has extended the flight's cruise, just in case, keeping in touch with Beijing and taking necessary precautions against possible threats. The communication of the parties and the resolution of misunderstandings in this process eliminated the risk of war.

Its impact on global politics could be as in the following: firstly, it is difficult for European countries and Russia to keep quiet as the United States descends into a war with China. In such a scenario, world powers can begin to take sides in war. While European countries support the position of the US, Russia's support for China is further consolidated. Russian President Vladimir Putin has warned that Washington's provocative moves will lead the US to a confrontational point against China.[7] So Russia does not underestimate the possibility of war between the US and China. If these two great powers (the US-China) confront each other through Taiwan, North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) interest will be shifted here.

The departure of NATO, which Russia views as a major threat to its borders, towards Taiwan, would be a relief of Moscow's European hand. On the other hand, China's fraying, considered Russia's closest ally, would put Moscow in a more difficult position. It is therefore possible for Russia to start pursuing a proactive policy in the region to support China. This could prompt action from Japan, which has historical disputes with Russia. With European powers backing Japan, the risk of a global war will increase.

As a result, one could argue, Beijing is late in taking the needed measures regarding Taiwan. It is evident that Beijing has failed to act on the Taiwan issue, making mistakes on its behalf and undermining its deterrence. In addition, China was delayed in making military preparations. In short, China has remained qui-

et on the US. To prove otherwise, Beijing is likely to make huge, progressive moves. This visit was a major loss of prestige for China.

[1] "Nancy Pelosi to meet Taiwan's president on Wednesday", Financial Times, <https://www.ft.com/content/a2a69c08-b327-4a4d-99ff-20f92a4437f3>, (Date of Accession: 02.08.2022).

[2] "Jet that carried Nancy Pelosi to Malaysia leaves Kuala Lumpur, with Beijing on alert over potential Taiwan stop", SCMP, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3187429/jet-carried-nancy-pelosi-malaysia-leaves-kuala-lumpur-beijing>, (Date of Accession: 01.08.2022).

[3] In a banned tweet, a top state-media commentator reportedly said China could 'forcibly dispel Pelosi's plane' and shoot it down if it flies to Taiwan", Businessinsider, <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-threat-to-shoot-down-pelosis-plane-if-she-visits-taiwan-2022-7>, (Date of Accession: 01.08.2022).

[4] "Here Are All the Ways China's Hitting Back Against Pelosi's Trip", Bloomberg, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-08-03/here-are-all-the-ways-china-s-hitting-back-against-pelosi-s-trip>, (Date of Accession: 01.08.2022).

[5] @anadoluagency, "China's military drills are 'unnecessary responses, Thasi says", 3 Ağustos 2022, Twitter, <https://twitter.com/anadoluagency/status/1554706508356747266?s=20&t=UjUHf-WeSraGCWWipFbEIA>, (Date of Accession: 03.08.2022).

[6] "China says it is in communication with U.S. over Pelosi's expected Taiwan visit", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/china-says-it-is-communication-with-us-over-pelosis-expected-taiwan-visit-2022-08-02/>, (Date of Accession: 03.08.2022).

[7] "Russia backs China over 'provocative' Pelosi visit to Taiwan", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/kremlin-warns-us-over-provocative-pelosi-visit-taiwan-2022-08-02/>, (Date of Accession: 01.08.2022).



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# England: Post-Johnson Period Foreign Policy Possibilities

On July 7, 2022, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson announced that he had resigned from the leadership of the Conservative Party and would continue to serve as Prime Minister until a new leader would be elected. While the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic, which has affected the whole world, are still present, regional and global transformations are happening due to Russia's intervention in Ukraine. Today, energy, food and economic crises are happening along with these transformations. Thus, the recent developments in the UK may cause some

changes in the foreign policy of the country as well as in the domestic policy of the country. The approaches of the candidates who will come to power after the Johnson period will be important in terms of how the UK foreign policy will be shaped with regard to the current situation.

Brexit has been the most important development during the Boris Johnson period. By evading the responsibility obtained by membership to the European Union (EU), England has gained



**Gamze BAL**

the ability to create a more independent policy. This made Johnson an important leader in the post-Brexit period due to his influence on the shaping of UK foreign policy. Especially in terms of the realization of the "Global Britain Vision", which was brought to the agenda during the Theresa May period, this period offered Prime Minister Johnson important opportunities.

In addition, the document titled "Global Britain in a Competitive Age" published on 16 March 2021 outlined the general framework of post-Brexit policies. The document, which was introduced by Johnson with the words "A new page in the history of England", explains the main objectives of England in foreign relations, security and defense policies.

When the document is examined in terms of foreign policy, values and commercial ties with other countries come to the fore, and it is understood that the Atlanticist understanding continues to be a priority. The first statement of the document is that the US-British alliance will continue, and that the importance of the Euro-Pacific Region in ensuring the security and welfare of England should be recognized.

Then, the document states that Russia poses a direct threat to Britain and Europe and that the West is to act as a whole in accordance with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against this threat.[1] Essentially, the Russian threat has been a critical factor in increasing the commitment to the cooperation of the countries in the region in order to sustain protection and strengthening of European security. In this context, Britain acts jointly with both NATO and the EU in order to ensure European security, and supports Eastern European countries that are vulnerable to Russian influence.

As a reflection of this setting, a triple pact was signed between Poland, Ukraine and England on February 17, 2022, and it was decided to provide coordination on cyber security, energy security and the fight against disinformation.[2] Later, Johnson proposed to form a military, political and economic alliance with Poland, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania against the Russian threat.

The Russia-Ukraine War, which started on 24 February 2022, and revealed that European security was under Russian threat, and thus confirmed the statement of the document. From the early days of the war, Britain showed its commitment to provide Ukraine with military support in its fight against Russia.

The war on the European continent reminded the need for NATO

in establishing and protecting the security of the region, and the states that are not members of NATO made attempts to join the Atlantic Alliance in order to increase their security.

Similarly, Finland and Sweden, countries with neutral status, have also applied for membership in NATO. On 11 May 2022, Britain signed a "Security Agreement" with Sweden and Finland, which ended their neutrality status and signed NATO accession protocols. The agreement includes the right of the parties to cooperate in the fields of military training, drills and intelligence, as well as the promise of Britain to provide military support to both countries in the event of them being attacked.[3] In short, during the contemporary reshaping of European security, England tries to be among the shapers.

Relations with China and "Indo-Pacific Region Foreign Policy" are other issues in the document that draw attention. China is described as an important competitor in terms of economic security of England. However, it has been stated that trade relations with China can be developed without harming British values and cooperation can be made on issues such as climate change, protection of biodiversity and fighting transnational problems.[4] London wants to develop more comprehensive and lasting relations in the Indo-Pacific Region, which has become increasingly important and competitive today, in terms of protecting its security, economy, values and interests compared to other European countries.[5]

As it will be remembered, on September 15, 2021, the USA, England, and Australia formed the defense pact called AUKUS in order to prevent the rise of China in the Indo-Pacific Region and to build new nuclear submarines.[6] On the occasion of the AUKUS, Britain continued its traditional US partnership and settled in the Indo-Pacific Region. In addition to the Pacific, Britain has launched free trade negotiations with the Gulf Cooperation Council with the aim of increasing its effectiveness on the Gulf countries. It should be noted that if any agreement is reached, it will be possible for London to increase its influence in the Indo-Pacific in line with the Global Britain goal, as well as providing more support to the British economy.

All these developments in foreign policy during the Johnson period have had significant consequences for England. The post-Johnson UK foreign policy will be shaped by either former Finance Minister Rishi Sunak or Foreign Minister Liz Truss. Sunak is a politician who lived in the United States and embraced the Atlanticist understanding. Truss, on the other hand, is a Europeanist

and is known for being close to Canada. While Truss supported staying in the EU in 2016, when the Brexit issue was presented to the referendum, he later defended Brexit by taking part in the cabinet during the Johnson period. Today, both candidates express their commitment to Brexit. After all, staying outside the EU enables London to be more liberated and mobile.

It is clear that this policy of London, which openly supported the Kiev administration in the war between Russia and Ukraine, will continue in the new leadership period. As a symbol of this support, it is likely that Kiev will be included in the foreign visits of the new Prime Minister. However, there may be a decrease in the intensity and amount of support to Ukraine due to the economic problems in the country.

Both candidates agree that China poses a threat to both the UK and global security. Sunak states that China's purchase of important British companies, including strategically sensitive companies, should be banned. As a matter of fact, in the recent past, England has decided to remove Huawei from the 5G infrastructure. However, it is estimated that the development of trade relations with China will be more prominent if Sunak, who has an economic and financial background is elected, due to utility maximization. In other words, he can continue Britain's politics of balance in relations with China.

Truss, on the other hand, advocates the view of limiting technology exports as much as possible from authoritarian regimes. He also made a comparison with Ukraine in the past and suggested that Britain should give weapons to Taiwan in order to prevent a possible Chinese invasion in Taiwan. During the election period, with the influence of the Chinese lobby, he avoided making statements about the security of Taiwan and what happened in Xinjiang.[7] However, in the event that the Prime Minister is Truss, it is likely that the issue of Taiwan will be raised more frequently and that the US will be urged to implement proactive policy in Taiwan. Therefore, Sunak will create a Chinese policy on the basis of interests and Truss will create a Chinese policy on the basis of values.

As a result, both candidates have their own views on foreign policy. However, considering the epidemics, wars, crises, competitions and the fact that the world will face more and more similar crises, radical changes in the foreign policy of the leaders should not be expected. In any case, it can be said that there will be a similar trend to the Johnson period in the new period and there will not be many changes.

The sharp return in Britain's foreign policy can be realized with the change of the party, not with the leader who rules the country. On the other hand, it should be noted that the new Prime Minister will spend overtime to improve the scandalous image of the party during the Johnson period and increase its decreasing popularity, focusing primarily on domestic policy. In this process, it is possible to take advantage of some foreign policy decisions that will receive the support of the public in order to aid in the interests of the party.

[1]"Global Britain in a Competitive Age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defense, Development And Foreign Policy", HM Government, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/975077/Global\\_Britain\\_in\\_a\\_Competitive\\_Age\\_the\\_Integrated\\_Review\\_of\\_Security\\_Development\\_and\\_Foreign\\_Policy.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/975077/Global_Britain_in_a_Competitive_Age_the_Integrated_Review_of_Security_Development_and_Foreign_Policy.pdf), (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).

[2]Evan Simko Berdnarski, "Ukraine, Poland And UK Sign Cooperation Agreement As Russian Threat Looms", New York Post, <https://nypost.com/2022/02/17/ukraine-poland-the-uk-sign-agreement-as-russian-threat-looms/>, (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).

[3]Anne Kauranen, "UK Strikes New Security Agreement With Sweden And Finland", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/uk-strikes-new-security-agreement-with-sweden-finland-2022-05-11/>, (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).

[4]"Global Britain in a Competitive Age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defense, Development And Foreign Policy", HM Government, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/975077/Global\\_Britain\\_in\\_a\\_Competitive\\_Age\\_the\\_Integrated\\_Review\\_of\\_Security\\_Development\\_and\\_Foreign\\_Policy.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/975077/Global_Britain_in_a_Competitive_Age_the_Integrated_Review_of_Security_Development_and_Foreign_Policy.pdf), (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).

[5]Ibid.

[6]"What Is The Aukus Alliance And What Are Its Implications?", The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2021/sep/16/what-is-the-aukus-alliance-and-what-are-its-implications>, (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).

[7]"Altar Ruse Aims To Outmanoeuvre Truss Over China", The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/jul/25/sunak-ruse-aims-to-outmanoeuvre-truss-over-china>, (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Balochistan Convergence in Pakistan-Iran Relations

2022 witnessed the intense negotiations between Pakistan and Iran on the topic of border security and regional peace. The most remarkable meeting that took place in this context was the meeting which was happened between Pakistani and Iranian delegations on July 20, 2022 in order to ensure border security and the sustainability of the regional peace envi-

ronment. The main issue that makes this meeting important is the adoption of a decision that prioritizes the regional development and mutual dependency to be established through the establishment of trade centers in the border regions.[i]

Undoubtedly, when the border security of the



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two countries is mentioned, the geography of Balochistan comes to mind. Because Balochistan is the name of the geography located on the Iran-Pakistan border and constituting the most underdeveloped regions of both states. Baluch people live in Balochistan Province on the Pakistani side of the border and live as a part of Sistan-Baluchestan Province in Iran. In this sense, Baluch people think that they are in a productive area in terms of maritime trade, considering Pakistan's Gwadar and Iran's Chabahar Ports, which are located in the geographies they live in. This means that the Balochs did not fall behind economically and this situation leads them to think that they are left behind due to consciously applied state policies. The situation in question increases the political awareness of the Baluch and causes separatist Baluch movements to be seen in both countries. Moreover, a significant part of these separatist movements internalized the method of armed struggle. That's why they commit acts of terrorism.

Although the two countries have a common problem, separatist movements in Balochistan often bring Islamabad and Tehran face to face. Because Pakistan and Iran, as two bordering countries, experience cooperation and competition processes together. First of all, the fact that Pakistan is a Sunni-Islamic country and has close relations with Saudi Arabia creates some discomfort in Tehran. On the other hand, in the context of Iran's sectarianist strategy, which can be described as Shiite expansionism, its contacts with Pakistani Shiites deepen the threat perceptions of the Islamabad administration. Especially, the fact that the Tehran administration mobilized the Zaynabiyyun Brigade, which consists of Pakistani Shiites, in religious and ideological terms, and use it to fight in the Syrian Civil War as a proxy warrior, in line with the argument of protecting the holy places, created serious discomfort in Pakistani decision makers. Because there is no guarantee that this group will not be used as a proxy actor in Pakistan in the future for Iran's interests.

As it is known, Pakistan is a country where sectarianist violence is high and attacks against Shiites are at the forefront. Claiming to be the protector of all Shiites in this environment, Iran is not uninterested to Pakistani Shiites. This causes the tension between the parties to escalate from time to time.

However, it is claimed that both states use separatist Baluch organizations against each other from time to time cyclically and tactically. As a matter of fact, it is remembered that after various terrorist attacks, Iranian authorities made statements accusing Islamabad and also Pakistani officials made statements accusing Tehran. However, the establishment of the Baluch state on one side of the border is a situation that the other actor would not want because of the encouraging effect it will create. For this reason, even if the claim that the parties used separatist Baluch organizations against each other in counter-cyclical and tactical terms in some periods is true; the two countries are need each other in terms of establishing border security and maintaining their territorial integrity in this context.

It is obvious that Baluch separatism in Pakistan has increased recently. It is possible to say that especially the actors who want to destabilize the Belt-Road Project Initiative support the separatist Baluch organizations. Moreover, it is not just Pakistan; Iran is also part of the Belt-Road Project. This comes to the forefront as an issue that will make it inevitable for the instability on one side of the border to spread to the other state.

The Balochistan Problem and, in this context, the terrorism problem in Pakistan deepened even more after the withdrawal of the United States of America (USA) from Afghanistan. It is undeniable that there is Baluch groups which are turning the power vacuum in the region into an opportunity and using the unclaimed weapons in Afghanistan. This is a source of concern for both Pakistan and Iran. That's why, the two countries feel there is need to take some measures aimed at border security and regional stability.

The decision to establish trade centers in the border regions, which was taken after the contacts made in line with the need, came to the fore both as a pragmatic solution fed by the idea of increasing the stability and economic prosperity of the region, and came to the fore as a method to push the controversial issues into the background by deepening the interdependence relationship between the two countries.

Increasing regional prosperity and on the Iran-Pakistan line of Balochistan; therefore, becoming a trade center in the South Asia-Middle East connection can eliminate the thought that the Baluches are left behind and improve their belonging to the countries they live in. Therefore, the contacts on the Islamabad-Tehran line resulted in a plan aimed at limiting separatist movements by emphasizing eco-



conomic cooperation in the establishment of regional security. For this reason, it is possible to say that all actors have adopted a rational and pragmatic policy for the current situation.

As a result, Pakistan and Iran experience cooperation and competition processes together with the effect of being two bordering countries. Although the differences in the religious-ideological positions of the two states affect their geopolitical preferences by highlighting the differences of opinion between the parties, the sense of regional insecurity also necessitates the development of cooperation processes between Islamabad and Tehran. In this sense, the Balochistan Problem can also be described as a joint problem of the two states. Moreover, the problem becomes more evident with each passing day due to the intense targeting of the Belt-Road Project route by terrorist organizations in parallel with the increasing competition between the USA and China and poses a national security threat to the relevant countries due to the risk of separation. This makes it mandatory for Pakistan and Iran to cooperate in the context of border security. Time will tell whether the pragmatic solution put forward by the parties will be successful.

[i] "Pak-Iran Delegation Discuss Regional Peace, Border Security Issues", Urdu Point, <https://www.urdupoint.com/en/pakistan/pak-iran-delegation-discuss-regional-peace-b-1538840.html>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

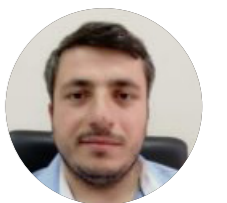


## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# What Kind of Afghanistan Does the United States Want?

Like any actor in the international system, the United States (US) prioritizes her interests in bilateral relations. From the perspective of the US, Afghanistan is no exception. In this context, the US may always tend to make "beneficial" collaborations to maximize her national interests. So, what the US wants is Afghanistan, basically a country that is quite dependent on it, is gov-

erned by an administration that is willing to work with Washington and, if possible, grateful to it. In addition, Afghanistan has a "predictable" desire to carry out policies in line with the regional policies of the US. However, achieving the ideal situation in question is not always possible. Even in such environments, great powers are not uncommon to completely abandon their



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expectations. The Washington administration may consider different options if an ideal scenario does not materialize itself.

If the ideal scenario mentioned as in the above does not occur, the US will likely consider different options. The first of these options is for the US to accept an Afghanistan that can cooperate with her regional partners, if not with itself. Thus, it may be possible to achieve national interests indirectly. The second option is to have an Afghan administration in power that carries out policies in line with neither the US herself nor her regional partners. When faced with such an environment, at least she will be tried to ensure that the Afghan administration carries out a policy that does not conflict with the regional rivals of the US and does not harm its own regional goals. Because in cases where profit maximization cannot be achieved, at least it will be aimed to minimize the damage to be seen. In short, it is desirable that an uncontrolled or undirected Afghanistan would not harm Washington's regional interests.

Another option that reflects the least desirable situation for the US is to hold power by an Afghanistan administration that does not work in harmony with itself or its partners, cooperates with its rivals in the region, and thus harms regional interests. In such a scenario, Afghanistan's functionality disappears, as the US cannot benefit in the short or medium term. It may be desirable for an Afghanistan that has lost its functionality not to be a functional partner for the regional or global rivals of the US. To briefly explain this option, elements such as keeping Afghanistan as a regional or even a global problem center, leaving it too weak to fulfill its obligations arising from any international agreement, and thus avoiding it due to the costs of countries wishing to cooperate with Afghanistan, or when cooperation comes to the fore, the regional rivals of the US should not be harmed by it, can be considered within the scope of this option.

The expectations of the US from Afghanistan vary according to the conjuncture and are adapted to new situations following the changing conditions. Therefore, it is difficult to say that Afghanistan will lose all her importance to Washington, even if the ideal scenario in terms of bilateral relations is not realized. If there is a problem with the Afghan administration, the existing government will be changed, and "more open to cooperation" administrations will take over.

In the early years of the 1996-2001 period, when the Taliban seized power in Afghanistan, the US, pleased with the relative stability of the country, personally carried out the overthrow of the administration after the Taliban provided support to the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda, that is, her own enemies.

It has been seen that the relations between the US and Afghanistan are compatible, especially in the first period of the new Afghan administration, namely the Hamid Karzai Government, established in 2001. However, because the harmonious relations between the two countries did not continue for a long time, problems occurred. The criticisms made by Karzai for the fact that many civilians lost their lives in the operations carried out within the scope of the fight against the Taliban during the second term of the Hamid Karzai Government and statements by the US that it wanted a puppet administration in Afghanistan were not welcomed by the Barack Obama administration.

After this event, considered "ingratitude" by the American public, many news and analyses against Karzai began to appear in the Western media, especially in the US. In almost all analyzes of Karzai's character, it is stated that he is "unstable" and "unpredictable." The situation showed that Karzai is no longer perceived as an "ideal" ruler, as mentioned above, from the point of view of the US. Karzai, who received a standing ovation after his speech in the American Senate in 2004, ceased to be an actor that could cooperate with time. The Obama administration's desire to withdraw American troops from Afghanistan caused Karzai to refrain from signing the Bilateral Security Treaty between the US and Afghanistan, which led to the cooling of relations between the two administrations.

On the other hand, the statements of Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah, who were candidates in the 2014 Presidential Elections, that they would establish warmer relations with the United States and approve the Bilateral Security Treaty, were welcomed by Washington. Thus, the US has found colleagues who are "more open to cooperation" in Afghanistan.

Another point that should be added is that international actors consider not only identity or unity of understanding but also the element of power when establishing relations based on mutual interest. Because in many cases, it is seen that the groups with which there is a

consensus are not in the administration in the addressee countries. In such an environment, it is tried to establish a unity of interests on common ground with the political movements that hold the administration and are seen as the most influential group.

In short, the groups holding power constitute the primary contact group, even if there is no unity of understanding. To evaluate Afghanistan specifically, the administrations established after 2001 tried to be the most powerful group in the country. Still, a strong power could not be found throughout the country and could not be successful. In such cases, the continuation of interest-based relations may become the primary option by establishing a common ground with groups such as the Taliban that hold power. However, at the current stage, it is seen that the US and the Taliban are far from meeting on a common ground. Although it is not impossible to establish a negotiating table between the parties, as in Doha, it is possible to say that it can only be installed in a position where the hand of the US is vital. Otherwise, the Washington administration will not sit at the table.

In addition, the illusion that what is ideal for the US is also suitable for Afghanistan is desired to continue. In other words, there is a desire to establish a unity of understanding between the US and Afghanistan administrations. Thus, with efforts to make Afghanistan a better country, US regional and international policies can be integrated, and governments in Afghanistan can remain "useful" to the US. If this ideal situation cannot be fully achieved, it is possible to try to ensure relations and mutual interests in minimum commonality. In this respect, criticisms made on democracy, human rights, women's rights, and minority groups' rights can be forgotten after a while, provided that the government in the country mentioned above agrees with the minimum common interests.

As a result, ideal Afghanistan desired by the US should primarily depend on itself to some extent. If possible, it should put the national interests of the United States first, even when the national interests of the two countries conflict. If this is not possible, it is desirable to at least not serve the interests of its regional rivals. A weak and troubled Afghanistan is seen as the ideal scenario if both situations would not be realized. Whether Afghanistan is strong or weak, democratic or theocratic, unitary or federal, it will not be a priority if the US benefits from its national interests. Considering the current pressure on the Taliban, the blocking of Afghanistan's national reserves, and the lack of adequate assistance to the country, it is possible to say that the Washington administration focuses on a weak and problematic Afghanistan.



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Security Policies of Sunak and Truss and Their Impact on the Global System

After the resignation of Prime Minister Boris Johnson in the UK, it is expected to be replaced by either former Finance Minister Rishi Sunak or former Foreign Minister Liz Truss. Although Sunak as an Indian origin candidate, was at the forefront in the election race at the beginning, it is stated that former Foreign Minister Truss has taken the lead in the latest polls.[1] It is thought that since Truss was the Minister of Foreign Affairs before, it is more likely for Truss to know the global interests of the UK closely and therefore

came to the fore as the most favorite candidate.

On the other hand, the fact that Sunak, who was the Minister of Finance, does not have enough experience in Foreign affairs weakens his hand. In any case, the candidates have started to make promises on issues concerning the global interests of the UK, especially regarding Russia, China and Brexit. Ultimately, this change in the prime minister's seat will not



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only affect the relationship between the UK and European Union (EU); but also shape its relations with the transatlantic. The impact of this "seat problem" will even extend to the relations with the Asia-Pacific.

Considering Russia's attack on Ukraine and China's increasing threat to Taiwan, it is expected that global defense and security policies will be main determining components in Britain's foreign policy. In this context, the promises of prime minister candidates in the field of economy and foreign affairs alone are not sufficient; defense-security policies will also be effective in their success in the election. Because the report "Global Britain in the Age of Competition",[2] mentions the importance of developing an integrated perspective in security, defense, development and foreign policy of the UK.

In this context, it is wondered how Sunak or Truss will deal with threats to Britain's global interests and what discourse and tools they will use in response. According to a poll which was made among British public, 45% of the people believe that both Russia and China pose the same level of threat.[3] Therefore, it is important how the candidates will construct their defense-security policies in order to deal with the threats posed by Russia and China.

On the subject, British Defense Minister Ben Wallace stated that the country needed a stronger and bigger army and emphasized that the defense budget should be increased in this regard.[4] Accordingly, the UK may lose its position as Europe's largest defense spender in the next ten years, if the budgetary restrictions continue. In this respect, the UK may fall below the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) target of "2% of the defense budget to national income".

At a time when such threats from Russia and China are increasing, Ben Wallece naturally favors giving more importance to the country's defense-security policies. If necessary precautions are not taken against these crises that suddenly appear in the world, it may not be possible to protect the global interests of the UK after a point. For example, Truss suggests that lessons should be drawn from Ukraine, that China can exhibit similar aggression in Taiwan, likewise Russia's aggression on Ukrain, and therefore military support should be given to the island country from now on.[5] On the other hand, it is seen that Sunak cannot make a concrete policy, discourse and promise about the "Russia and China threat". Only in July 2022, Sunak announced that he would be stricter against China in a state-

ment he made in order not to lag behind the competition with Truss.[6]

It should be noted that Sunak, who previously served as the Minister of Finance, is inexperienced in defense-security policies as in foreign policy. For this reason, Truss criticizes Sunak, claiming that if he becomes prime minister, Britain will not be able to protect its global defense-security-economic-political interests.[7] In addition to this, Sunak's views on Russia and China are not clear. Therefore, when he comes to power, it is difficult to foresee what measures he will take against these threats.

Based on her promises in the election race, Truss announced that she would increase the defense budget to 3% of the national domestic product in the next 5 years; Sunak advocated that it should be increased to 2.5% over some years.[8] During the Johnson period, defense expenditures were increased above the 2% target set by NATO and kept stabilised at these levels. After Russia's attack on Ukraine in February 2022, it came to the fore that the UK should spend more on defense.

On the subject, Sunak opposed the "arbitrary" increase in defense expenditures. But on the other hand, he supported NATO's 2% target. Moreover, he emphasized that it is not even the ceiling; but the need for a base.[9] Therefore, Sunak is always in favor of sticking to the 2% target. However, he is opposed to immediate "arbitrary" increases in expenditures.

Truss, on the other hand, favored more military support to Kiev during the Russia-Ukrainian War. It is seen that in the foreign policy and security interests of England, Sunak is not flexible enough and will have difficulty in keeping up with the changing situations. The principled and planned stance brought by being an economist indicates that he cannot be pragmatist and flexible in foreign policy. However, the war and peace situations in the world and the threats related to these circumstances are changing all the time and the states have to keep up with it. Sunak's principled policies could harm British foreign policy interests.

### Their Impacts on the Global System

The change of prime minister in England will not only affect the balances within Europe; it will also affect London's relations with Washington. This will certainly have some reflections in Asia-Pacific. While the USA wants Truss to win; China will support Sunak.

### If Sunak wins the election, it's effect on the global security will be as follows:

**Relations with EU Countries:** In the 2016 referendum, Sunak, unlike Truss, supported Brexit from the very beginning. In other words, Truss defends Europe more strongly. But Sunak may not be as enthusiastic about Europe's security as Truss is. In Russia's war with Ukraine, both Johnson and Truss strongly sided with Kiev. However, it is thought that Sunak will not be able to show the same solidarity and will remain soft towards Russia.

**Transatlantic Relations:** While complying with NATO's defense spending targets, Sunak may not give sufficient support to the US's Russia and China strategy. More precisely, Sunak can pursue policies that are more independent from the Washington administration at the global level by advancing in line with the vision of "Global Britain" and the goal of "Starting the Golden Age with China". In short, if Sunak takes office, the global solidarity of the USA and Britain may be damaged.

**Relations with Asia-Pacific:** When it comes to relations with China, the best word to describe Sunak might be "realpolitik".<sup>[10]</sup> That is, it favors compromise rather than conflict. In this respect, Sunak advocates being mature, prudent and balanced in relations with China. In this case, if Sunak becomes prime minister, Britain will cooperate less with the United States in the Pacific.

### If Truss wins the election, it's effect on the global security will be as follows:

**Relations with EU Countries:** Truss, who was against Brexit at first, later started to advocate the opposite. For this reason, it should not be forgotten that Truss supported the "Britain is Stronger in Europe" campaign during the 2016 referendum process.

**Transatlantic Relations:** It can be said that NATO's effectiveness in Europe will increase as a result of the strengthening relations with the USA. Britain's rapid increase in its defense budget during the Truss period will put pressure on European countries in this regard. London's strengthening of ties with Washington could have both positive and negative effects on European security. A stronger NATO, increasing its influence in Europe, could be a provoking factor for Russia to embark on new adventures.

**Relations with Asia-Pacific:** If Truss becomes prime minister, the UK will focus on developing a global security policy, including the defense of Taiwan. Greater British involvement in the Pacific could make China more aggressive, and eventually war in Taiwan could become inevitable.

[\*] Tercüme: Egemen ÖNEY, Geliş Tarihi: 10.08.2022, 11:47-Teslim Tarihi: 10.08.2022, 14:45

[1] "Liz Truss Now Leading Rishi Sunak by 24 Points in Race for No 10, Polling of Tory Members Finds", Independent, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/liz-truss-rishi-sunak-tory-leadership-poll-b2128498.html>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

[2] "Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy", UK Government, <https://bit.ly/3HjYFy7>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

[3] "Winning the China Vote", Beijing Britain, [https://beijingto-britain.substack.com/p/winning-the-china-vote?r=ax5st&utm\\_medium=ios](https://beijingto-britain.substack.com/p/winning-the-china-vote?r=ax5st&utm_medium=ios), (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

[4] "UK Needs A Bigger Army, Defence Secretary Ben Wallace Signals", Sky News, <https://news.sky.com/story/uk-needs-a-bigger-army-defence-secretary-ben-wallace-signals-12659501>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

[5] "Rishi Sunak is "Best Described As Realpolitik.", Twitter, <https://twitter.com/melissakchan/status/1547854306384105472?s=20&t=B-bDnz9LxwY0YMNPJpM6BQ>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

[6] "'I'll Change This on Day 1 As PM': Rishi Sunak Talks Tough On China", NDTV, <https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/enough-is-enough-rishi-sunak-pledges-to-get-tough-on-china-if-elected-3189999>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

[7] "Rishi and Liz Go to War over China", DailyMail, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-11044367/Rishi-Sunak-attacks-Liz-Truss-Beijing-camp-hits-accusing-soft-China.html>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

[8] "Rishi Sunak vs Liz Truss: Key Policy Differences", The Hindu, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/rishi-sunak-vs-liz-truss-key-policy-differences/article65663289.ece>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).

[9] Aynı yer.

[10] "Rishi Sunak is "best Described As Realpolitik.", Twitter, <https://twitter.com/melissakchan/status/1547854306384105472?s=20&t=B-bDnz9LxwY0YMNPJpM6BQ>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).



## The Role Assigned to DAESH in the Chaos Plan Regarding Afghanistan

Although it has been nearly a year since the withdrawal of the United States of America (USA) from Afghanistan, it cannot be said that a fully functioning order has been established in the country. There is already a severe economic crisis in the country, and this is triggering humanitarian crisis. Moreover, Afghanistan's has other problems as well. Because the government established by the Taliban has not yet been officially recognized by any state. This causes the country to experience diplomatic problems and makes it difficult for it to participate in international projects. Furthermore, the security environment has not been established in Afghanistan. Because, on the one hand, it is seen that the Panjshir Movement, the anti-Taliban opposition organization, is trying to increase its actions; on the other hand, it is observed that the terrorist organization State of Iraq and Damascus (DAESH) has increased the activities of the so-called Emirate of Khorasan (ISKP).

All these developments lead to the idea that the claims that the main plan in the US withdrawal process is to plunge Afghanistan and the region in

general into chaos may be justified. In that case the question of "What kind of chaos?" needs to be answered.

Presumably, the first stage of the chaos plan is aimed at plunging Afghanistan into a civil war. As a matter of fact, both the reduction of aid to Afghanistan, the difficulty of attracting investments in parallel with the Taliban's recognition problem, and the confiscation of Afghanistan's national reserves condemn the Afghan people to poverty. The purpose here is to make the impoverished Afghan people adopt the idea that the Taliban has failed to govern the country despite coming to power and finally to activate a social uprising. However, the issue is not limited with this.

In the context of civil war scenarios, the overt support of some countries and the covert support given to the Panjshir Movement by some states is in a dimension that cannot be ignored. At this point, the efforts of Ahmed Masood, the leader of the Panjshir Movement, to unite all opposition groups under the



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name of the "Supreme Council of National Resistance" can be interpreted as a harbinger that an armed struggle against the Taliban may also be launched. Then, what is the role assigned to the terrorist organization DAESH?

In fact, the great powers that use terrorist organizations as proxy actors in various conflict zones seem to be in anticipation of the terrorist organization DAESH playing the dirtiest game in the context of civil war scenarios. Because when the actions of the aforementioned terrorist organization are examined, it is understood that it is trying to both wear down the Taliban and plunge Afghanistan into a sectarian war, as well as open Taliban's legitimacy to debate, and in doing so trigger a regional war.

To clarify this idea, it is known that the terrorist organization ISKP, which operates in Afghanistan on behalf of DAESH, has been organizing in this country for a long time. The presence and activities of the terrorist organization in Afghanistan have found a place on the agenda of the international public opinion with the Kabul Airport attack which took place in August 2021.

Afterwards, DAESH made one's mark for itself with attacks on Taliban elements and Shiite mosques. While this indicates that the main purpose of the organization is the overthrowal of the Taliban administration; it clearly shows that the organization is playing with the nerve endings of the country in terms of Afghanistan's drift into sectarian war. Because a civil war that will break out in Afghanistan may firstly evolve into a sectarian war, and therefore turn into a proxy war, and then into a regional war. As a matter of fact, the second phase of the chaos plan is exactly here; that is, it is associated with the possibility of regional war.

As can be expected, Afghanistan's descent into civil war will further deepen the atmosphere of insecurity in the country. This, in turn, may lead to the fact that various radical groups, especially the terrorist organization DAESH, benefiting from the power vacuum that will occur.

Terrorist organizations here can export instability and terror by radicalizing the Muslims of East Turkestan and therefore China through the Wakhan Corridor, and the Muslims of Russia through Central Asia. At this phase, if it is remembered that many groups operating in the states of the region in parallel with the terrorist organization DAESH's claim of a so-called global caliphate have pledged allegiance to the ISKP, the risk of the issue evolving into a regional war will be better understood.

At this point, assuming that the US withdrawal plan is a chaos

scenario, it can be argued that through DAESH, the country is being destabilized and wanted to be plunged into a civil war that will last for many years. Since such chaos could result in the destabilization of China and Russia, the two rivals of the US in the global power struggle. In other words, the US, which cannot build a lasting peace in Afghanistan and therefore cannot control Eurasian geopolitics, may have constructed its withdrawal strategy in line with the aim of destabilizing the geography it cannot control and therefore its rivals. But can these claims be true?

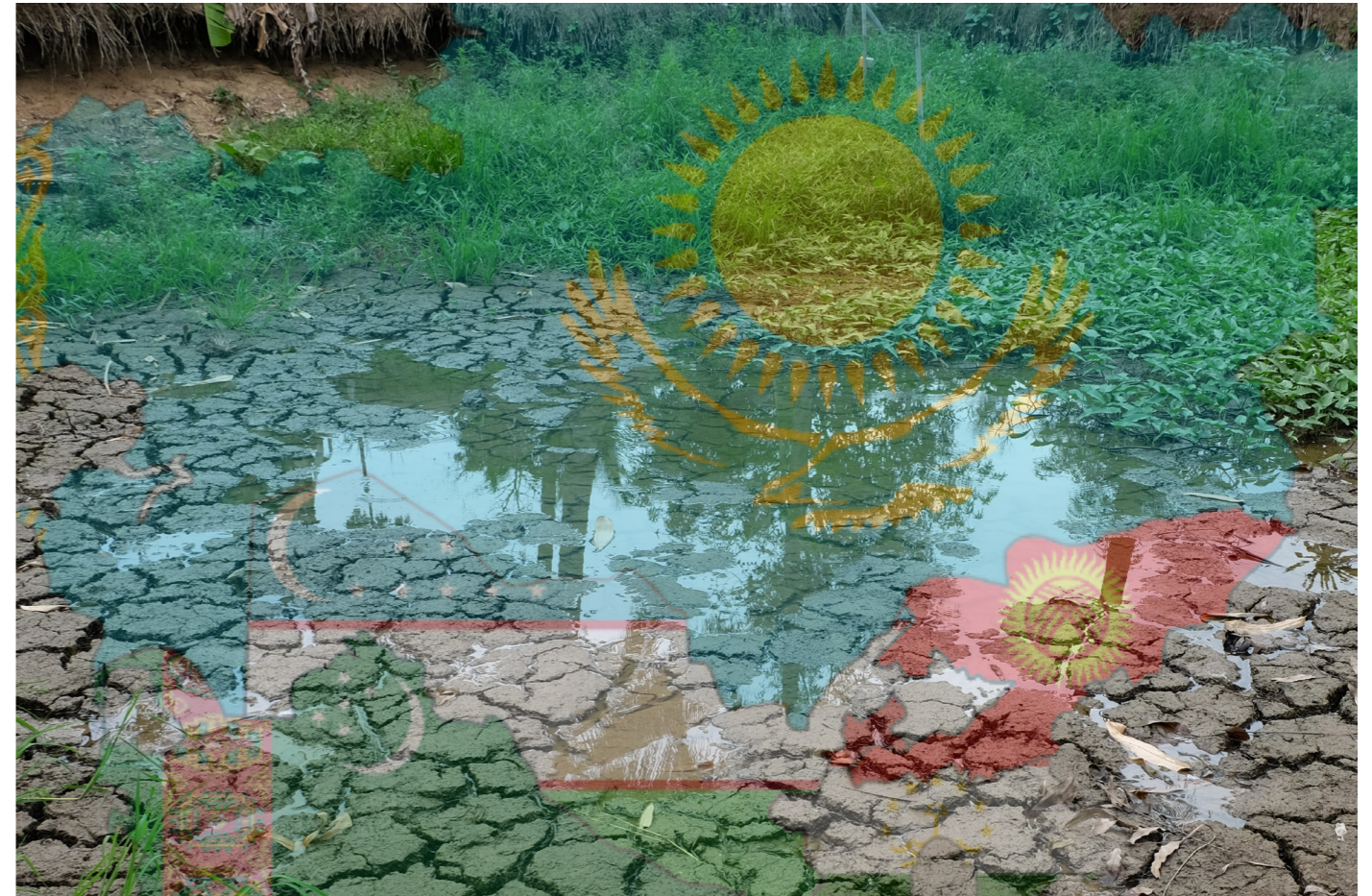
Although it should be noted that the mentioned allegations are an assumption that emerged because of the discussion of various scenarios, the statements of Taliban Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaqi at the conference titled "Security and Economic Development of Afghanistan" in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in July 2022, revealed that the idea of a chaos plan is too serious to be denied. Because Muttaqi asserted that 1800 DAESH member terrorists were released by the ousted regime on the day Kabul came under the control of the Taliban.[1] This is a claim that needs to be discussed.

Consequently, US relations with terrorist organizations are not a new deal. When it is remembered that the terrorist organization DAESH moved from Syria to Afghanistan under American escort, there is a possibility that this plan will become a reality. Therefore, Muttaqi's claims are quite important. Because it is known that the Ashraf Ghani regime was controlled by the US and that both US figures and US collaborators assumed critical public duties at that time. This can be assessed as the fact that the US may have made the final hit by releasing DAESH member terrorists while withdrawing.

The role assigned to the terrorist organization DAESH may be that it contributes to Afghanistan's descent into civil war, plays a decisive role in turning this war into a sectarian war if it breaks out, and leads the spread of sectarian war to the entire region in the context of radicalization.

The role assigned to the terrorist organization Daesh may be that it contributes to Afghanistan's descent into civil war, plays a decisive role in turning this war into a sectarian war if it breaks out, and leads the spread of sectarian war to the entire region in the context of radicalization. As a matter of fact, the fact that the terrorist organization the claims to have carried out missile attacks on Uzbekistan and Tajikistan from time to time reveals the extent of the danger.

[1] "دندش دارآ یخړچ لېب و مارگب را ی شغاد ۸۰۰ زاړه کی لباک طوقس ماگنه: یتام", Etlaatroz, <https://www.etlaatroz.com/148914/motaghi-when-kabul-fell-1800-isis-fighters-were-released-from-bagram-and-pulcharkhi/>, (Date of Accession: 28.07.2022).



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Water Cooperation in Central Asia: The Basis for Stability and Sustainable Development

Natural resources have always been the driving force for determining the world order. This simple but universal rule forms the basis of both geoeconomics and geopolitics. In the meantime, increasing environmental concerns in recent years have made water issues the primary concern of interstate disputes. In this context, considering that water is a strategic resource and the basis of the sustainable development of Central Asia, it can be predicted that addressing transboundary water use issues will become the basic dynamic of regional cooperation pursuits.

Currently, 76 million people live in five Central Asian countries. Most of the region's important water resources come from the melting of snow and glaciers in the God Mountains, the Hindu Kush Mountains, the Wahan Mountains and the Pamir Mountains, and merge into common water resources, namely the Siri Darya and Amu Darya rivers.

Most of the people living in the region are directly or indirectly dependent on water due to agricultural activities. As a matter of fact, 90%



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of Central Asia's energy needs are met from hydroelectric sources.[1] This makes water resources much more significant. Additionally, increasing population leads to higher demand for water in the states of the region. This results in disputes arising from sharing of the water resources. Undoubtedly, this situation also creates several risks.

Moreover, in parallel with global warming, the average annual temperature in Central Asia is expected to increase by 6.5°C by 2100.[2] Thus, climate change can also cause drought. It is also known that increasing temperatures increase water demand and, in addition, shorten the irrigation season.

These developments may lead to states being dragged into a conflict of interest in the supply of agriculture and hydroelectric energy and, more importantly, to the emergence of the food security problem throughout the region. This could have political consequences that could lead to regional instability. For example, when the recent events in Karakalpakstan are considered, it is understood that one of the causes of the problems experienced is the socio-economic problems encountered due to acute water scarcity. Similar examples are likely to increase in the future. This may cause actors who want to take advantage of the weaknesses of Central Asian countries in line with their political and economic interests to deepen the instability in the region.

For all these reasons, Central Asian countries are looking for ways to use limited water resources in the most efficient way by recognizing the seriousness of potential problems. This situation makes regional cooperation essential for states. Central Asian countries are already striving to work in coordination in line with some priorities.

The first of these priorities is to improve cooperation in the use of transboundary water resources. Because the beneficial management of water for Central Asian countries in ensuring food, energy and water safety requires negotiations. In this sense, it can be said that Central Asian Heads of State Consultation Meetings have a critical role. The most concrete example of this is the Central Asia Green Agenda Program signed because of the 4th Consultation Meeting held in Cholpon-Ata, Kyrgyzstan on July 21, 2022. As it can be understood, this program reveals that there is a search for regional cooperation that will contribute to the interests of all states.

Moreover, the success of the regional states in the use of water and management of resources also serves regional cooperation processes. For example, Tashkent and Dushanbe man-

aged to reach a compromise on the Rogun Hydroelectric Power Plant, which was planned to be built in Tajikistan. In addition, an agreement was reached between the two countries on the common use of the Zeravshan River basin and the construction of two hydroelectric power plants with a capacity of 320 MW.[3] Another example is the agreement between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to supply Kyrgyzstan with sufficient electricity during the winter months in return for the discharge of water from the Toktogul Hydroelectric Power Plant in 2021.[4] Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan need water to produce electricity, whereas Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan need water for irrigation. In short, the steps taken by the countries of the region to strengthen cooperation in the field of water are very important.

The second priority for the regional states is the national measures to be taken in the issue of water supply. Measures taken at the national level facilitate the management of the water crisis. This situation can be exemplified by the policies carried out in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan within the framework of the Development of the Water Sector until 2030 Concept. Similarly, the Water Sector Reform Program is carried out in Tajikistan covering the years 2016-2025. Kyrgyzstan also carries out various studies within the framework of the Agricultural Development Concept for 2021-2025. In Kazakhstan, it is known that a Water Law has been prepared by the Ministry of Ecology, Geology and Natural Resources of Kazakhstan. This draft law is planned to be submitted to the Parliament of Kazakhstan in 2023.

In conclusion, all Central Asian states decide for preserving and advancing water resources as well as improving the legal framework regarding the usage of resources.

As a result, Central Asian countries do not ignore the acute problems related to water; they oppose making the water issue a tool for competition between the states and try to compromise within the framework of a sensitive approach. It can be said that national measures targeting this aim have been taken along with the joint programs developed accordingly. This way, water becomes not a cause of conflict but a means of cooperation. This contributes to the progression of regional integration processes.

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[4]"Кыргызстан предоставит Казахстану и Узбекистану воду в обмен на электроэнергию", Sputnik, <https://ru.sputnik.kg/20210614/kyrgyzstan-uzbekistan-kazakhstan-voda-elektroenergiya-soglasheniya-1052857042.html>, (Date of Accession: 27.07.2022).



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Europe's New Indo-Pacific Definition/Description

Although there is no consensus over the definition of the concept of "Indo-Pacific", different definitions have been developed by many countries/organizations in Europe.

From these definitions, although the strategy document of France, which is the first and only European Union (EU) member country to publish a strategy document for the region, does not contain a geographical definition as can be seen from the map on the document cover, it is understood that there is a perception of "the region extending from the eastern coast of Africa to the western coast of the United States

of America (US)".[1] In Germany's Strategy document, the Indo-Pacific is defined as "the entire region characterized as the Indian Ocean and the Pacific" [2], and in the Netherlands' strategy document for the region, defined as "the region extending from Pakistan to the Pacific islands." [3] According to the United Kingdom (UK)-based think tank Policy Exchange, the definition of the Indo-Pacific is "a region extending from the Indian subcontinent to upper South-east Asia and China, and from there to the Northeast Asian countries of Japan and Korea". [4] In the EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy Document dated 16 September 2021, which is composed



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of the regional strategy documents of Germany, the Netherlands and France, the Indo-Pacific has been defined as “the vast region stretching from the eastern coast of Africa to the Pacific Island states.”[5]

Despite all the different definitions, when 90% of world trade is carried out through the seas, the Indo-Pacific region has the largest market in the world, and has nodes such as the Strait of Malacca, which hosts a significant proportion of 25% in world trade. In addition, the reality that the EU invests \$90 billion a year in the region and that the disruption to be experienced due to an interruption in the sea routes passing through the region is a region that has the potential to have severe consequences remain as it is.

The growing interest in the Indo-Pacific region and the beginning to use this term as a geopolitical concept is an indication that the world's economic and political center of interest is shifting towards this region. Europe's interest in the region has increased after disruptions in the supply chain, which was also affected by the container crisis experienced during the Covid-19 pandemic. Efforts to reduce dependence on China and develop alternative trade partnerships with the region's countries, primarily through the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and then countries such as South Korea, New Zealand, India and Australia should also be regarded as a result of this development.

When the documents of the three EU members that have published a strategy document for the region are examined, the common points which is highlighted are; the importance of the region is increasing day by day, the need to develop and diversify relations, especially commercial ones, to cover the entire countries of the region, the importance of cooperation with ASEAN, multilateralism, adherence to the rules of the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Law of the Sea, especially Freedom of Navigation, and the willingness to send warships to the region to ensure the security of the Indo-Pacific maritime transport routes.

As the only EU member with territory in the Indo-Pacific (La Réunion and Mayotte Islands, New Caledonia and French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna Islands, and the French Southern and Antarctic Territories), France has 1.6 million citizens living in the region. For this reason, due to the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) formed by the islands under the sovereignty of France, France is the country with the second largest EEZ in the world with 100.2

million km<sup>2</sup>. In addition, France, which has about 8,000 soldiers in the region, has a constant presence in the region with elements of its naval forces. The comprehensive and based on four pillars (security and defence, economy, multilateralism, and commitment to common values) strategy document raised by French President Emmanuel Macron during his trip to the Far East in 2018 may be the subject of a separate review.

The first of the crucial points in Germany's strategy document published on September 1, 2020 is that “the policy towards the region should be formed in a structure in which no country will have to choose sides, as it was during the Cold War”. Another important matter is that the Strait of Malacca, the world's heaviest commercial traffic, is also the most affected by piracy in the region. Therefore, it is an emphasis on determining the need for additional protection in the region and being ready for tasks that will be given to control the United Nations (UN) sanctions imposed on North Korea.

The most striking element in the Netherlands' strategy document published in November 2020, most of which was written in the form of recommendations to the EU and frequently reminded that the EU should pursue its strategic interests, is that “most countries in the region will save the Indo-Pacific region from being a pawn of one of the great powers, or it is the conclusion that these forces are in a quest to prevent them from being harmed by the struggle among themselves.” Another noteworthy aspect is the statement that ways to reduce unilateral strategic dependencies should be explored by EU members or other like-minded countries.

Although the UK has left the EU and has a historical interest in the region, does not have a strategy document specifically for the Pacific. In the section of “The Shift to the Indo-Pacific: A Framework” of the report which was published on July 2, 2021, named “Global Britain in the Age of Competition: An Integrated Assessment of Security, Defense, Development and Foreign Policy”[6], stated that the naval presence, which is managed from the command center in Bahrain with elements of the Royal Navy, has been in the region since 1980 within the scope of Operation Kipion[7], which is a continuous patrol mission in the Gulf.

As far as it is understood from the lines of all three strategy documents of the three EU member states, the countries in question seem to be aiming to get rid of excessive dependence on the United States and stay away from the economic

war between Washington and Beijing. The shrinking economies after the epidemic, the increase in global inflation due to the increased energy prices after the Russian-Ukrainian War, and the concern about the recession in the economies as prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have forced Europe, which has already reached a breaking point with Russia, to look for an alternative to China. Cooperation with the Indo-Pacific countries, which stand out as the fastest growing countries in the world, stands out as an important alternative for Europe after the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian-Ukrainian War.

In addition, it should be noted that the competition between global powers in the region, which has intensified in the economic and technological fields, has recently shifted to the security field, and this has become more visible in the East and South China Seas. Although it is distant geography to Europe, conflicts in the region will have negative consequences for Europe's prosperity and security, and therefore the strategy documents state that Europe and Asia should work together on political and security issues as well as on economic issues.

In the EU's Indo-Pacific Strategy, which was prepared using the strategy documents of Germany, the Netherlands and France, the rationale for strengthening engagement with the Indo-Pacific was explained with economic data, and the importance of cooperation with ASEAN was emphasized in the documents of the countries. In this context, “sustainable and inclusive prosperity, green transformation, ocean governance, digital governance and partnerships, connectivity, security and defense, and human security” have been identified as seven priority areas. In the security and defense part of these areas; the security of maritime transport lines, the naval presence strengthened by capacity building activities in the Indo-Pacific region are mentioned. Regarding the naval presence, it has been stated that the EU Somali Naval Force (EUNAVFOR-Somalia/Operation Atalanta) is carrying out joint activities with Indo-Pacific partners such as Japan, Pakistan, India and Djibouti as part of the fight against maritime piracy and such activities will continue to increase. In addition, according to the evaluation of the “Coordinated Naval Presence Concept” developed within the scope of the fight against maritime banditry in the Gulf of Guinea, its applicability will also be evaluated in the Indo-Pacific.

Besides participating in the RIMPAC exercises, which some EU member states organize every two years in the region other than the Atalanta Operation of the US, the Indo-Pacific region has recently increased the national flag assignments. Moreo-

ver, this situation includes the UK leaving the EU.

On a country-by-country basis, the tasks were accomplished by the French Charles de Gaulle aircraft carrier, which started in September 2021 and lasted for ten months, by Germany's frigate Bayern between August 2, 2021 and February 18, 2022, and the British Queen Elizabeth aircraft carrier group between May 1, and December 9, 2021 can be given as an example for the Pacific group assignments.

Within the scope of the developments after the publication of the EU's strategy document for the region; The Russian-Ukrainian War broke out in February 2022; the “Strategic Compass” document, approved by the European Council in March and seen as an essential step in Europe's strategic autonomy in the field of defence and security, and the new North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Madrid Summit that took place at the end of June, when NATO's new Strategic Concept[8] has been published. Although the Russian-Ukrainian War among these developments seems to have strengthened the commitment of NATO members, its economic effects have been felt more staggeringly. With the economic dimension of the work coming to the fore, the “security” themed statements for the region, which are included in NATO's Strategic Concept, have also remained in the air, at least from the point of view of European allies. All these developments can be considered indicators that Europe's interest in the Indo-Pacific will continue to increase, primarily from an economic point of view.

Considering the statements about Indo-Pacific in the Strategic Compass[9] approved by the EU Council on March 21, 2022; it may be seen that the emphasis on the importance of the region for the EU has increased, and it has been stated that the geopolitical and economic interest in stability and security in the region is of “vital importance”. In the “partners” section of the document, it is stated that the exchange of information and awareness sharing with ASEAN will be improved on various issues in the Indo-Pacific region, which has become an increasingly important area. Moreover, according to the Indo-Pacific strategy, the presence of naval forces in the region will be increased, and constructive contacts have already been made with the region's countries in the field of defence and security with Japan, South Korea, India, Pakistan, and Vietnam.

In addition, EU marine elements; it is stated in the document that a series of joint naval exercises and port visits with countries in the region such as Japan, South Korea, Djibouti, and In-

dia has been achieved. Furthermore, the dialogue and consultations with China will continue on the issues such as respect for international maritime law, peaceful resolution of disputes, rule-based international order and human rights. The objectives section at the end of the document is aimed to “make more frequent port visits by EU naval elements in the Indo-Pacific by 2023 and to conduct actual naval exercises with partners in the region”.

Another development after the EU published the Indo-Pacific strategy is that the Indo-Pacific region, which was not included in the geopolitical struggle areas in the old concept, has been included in the new Strategic Concept of NATO. The concept emphasized the importance of the Indo-Pacific for NATO, considering the direct impact of developments in the region on Euro-Atlantic security, and stated that dialogue and cooperation with existing and new regional partners would be strengthened to resolve common security concerns.

The problems experienced in the force formation of the Permanent Naval Forces, which are currently participating in NATO's Operation Sea Guardian in the Mediterranean, it is considered that it will not be easy to have ships in the region with the NATO flag, due to the limited number of members who can transfer power to the Indo-Pacific region and provide their logistical support, financial difficulties, and the necessity of obtaining the approval of all 30 members for assignments to the region outside the NATO responsibility area.

As a result, in the statements contained in the EU Indo-Pacific Strategy formed by the three-member states, it is difficult for the cooperation to be developed with ASEAN to contribute positively to the development of regional relations to the expected extent due to the economic dependence on pro-western ASEAN members on China and their desire to remain neutral. It is foreseeable that the contribution of relations to be developed with regional countries that are not members of ASEAN, such as Japan, South Korea, India, Australia, New Zealand, or Taiwan, which is seen as a chick in China's armour, will remain limited or even have the opposite negative impact on the stability in the region. The maritime components of the EU member states are not considered to have a “game-changing” impact on the issues that may arise for maritime security due to the remoteness of the geographical distance, the influence of China and the lack of logistical infrastructure, which can support the military elements of countries other than France in the region.

The EU's new strategy shows that the union is re-aligning its interests with interests of pro-Western Indo-Pacific forces. As indicated in Germany's Strategy Document, it seems likely that Europe will follow a policy that will ensure a balance with a pro-US attitude in defence and security issues while keeping relations with China at the level they should be, considering its economic interests, as opposed to creating a “blockade” like during the Cold War. However, the point to be considered here is that in the name of balance, the warships to be sent to the region should avoid movements that will further increase the already existing tension in the region.

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[4] “A Very British Tilt”, Policy Exchange, <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/A-Very-British-Tilt.pdf>, (Date of Accession: 24.07.2022).

[5] “The EU Strategy for Cooperation in The Indo-Pacific”, European Commission, [https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/jointcommunication\\_2021\\_24\\_1\\_en.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/jointcommunication_2021_24_1_en.pdf), (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).

[6] “Global Britain in a Competitive Age: the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy”, Government UK-Cabinet Office, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/global-britain-in-a-competitive-age-the-integrated-review-of-security-defence-development-and-foreign-policy/global-britain-in-a-competitive-age-the-integrated-review-of-security-defence-development-and-foreign-policy>, (Date of Accession: 25.07.2022).

[7] “Operation Kipion”, Royal Navy, <https://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/news-and-latest-activity/operations/red-sea-and-gulf/operation-kipion>, (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).

[8] “NATO 2022 Strategic Concept”, NATO, <https://www.nato.int/strategic-concept/>, (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).

[9] “A Strategic Compass for Security and Defence”, The European External Action Service (EEAS), [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/strategic\\_compass\\_en3\\_web.pdf](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/strategic_compass_en3_web.pdf), (Date of Accession: 26.07.2022).



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Uzbekistan: Afghanistan's Gate to the World

Afghanistan is a country that has been associated with wars, regime changes, and occupations for nearly 40 years. In this process, various states tried to influence Afghanistan's politics with imperialist and colonialist policies. As a result of these aims and interests, the country has started to be mentioned for its regional and global problems. It has become a terror basis with the effect of proxy wars in parallel with the changing nature of the war. Because even the terrorist organization the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (DEASH), which has experienced war in Iraq and Syria, has tried to create a new

sphere of influence and life for itself through the so-called DEASH-Khorasan Province (ISKP) by taking advantage of the instability in Afghanistan. In particular, the terrorist organization DEASH, which tries to turn the power vacuum in Afghanistan into an opportunity, has become one of the most important sources of threat in the region because Afghanistan was evaluated as geography with significant opportunities by the terrorist organization in question.

In this process, the policies of various states toward Afghanistan caused the crisis in the



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country to deepen, and the threats increased. An example of this is the invasion of the United States of America (US) and its withdrawal from the country, leaving an administration that cannot stand by themselves.

It is known that the policies carried out against Afghanistan threaten this country and the states of the region. However, Iran, which follows an approach over Shiites/Khazars, seems to have prepared its proxy actor in the face of a possible problem. Because the group of Fatimiyyun, formed by the Shiite Afghans who gained war experience in Syria with the support of Iran, can be used by Tehran in Afghanistan in the future if needed.

On the other hand, it is known that Pakistan has close and deep-rooted relations with the Taliban. It can be said that Western actors, especially France, generally support the Panjshir Movement. Russia and China have also been getting closer to the Taliban at various times within their interests because there are strong claims that Russia and China supported the Taliban before the US withdrawal from Afghanistan.

At this point, the most important actors that draw attention are the Turkish states in Central Asia. It can be said that Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, which are neighbors of Afghanistan, do not follow a policy of supporting any actor because both states want their southern borders to be stable and to establish a strong bond between Central Asia and South Asia. Therefore, both Tashkent and Ashgabat choose to cooperate for a stable Afghanistan and the region, regardless of who the decision makers are in the capital Kabul. One of the most significant proofs of this is that Turkmenistan continued its humanitarian aid activities for Afghanistan in the pre and post-Taliban period. Similarly, Uzbekistan continued her negotiations to construct the Trans-Afghan Transport Corridor during the Taliban period.

The actors in question do not have imperial goals for Afghanistan. In particular, Uzbekistan thinks that she can realize joint projects with Afghanistan and thus support the country's development. Therefore, the Tashkent administration has focused on developing pragmatist relations based on a positive sum logic that will serve the stabilization of Afghanistan.

In addition to its stance, Uzbekistan works to announce the problems of Afghanistan to the world, finding realistic, logical, and suitable solutions for regional dynamics and creating awareness in the international public about Afghanistan. For this, Tashkent uses international conferences as a tool.

Looking historically, these are important examples that demonstrate the constructive efforts of Uzbekistan in the Tashkent Declaration on the peaceful resolution of the Afghan Question in 1999, in December 2017, the "Central Asia+Afghanistan" mechanism, "Tashkent Conference on Afghanistan" on March 26-27, 2018 and conference titled "Central and South Asia: Regional Connectivity: Challenges and Opportunities" on July 15-16, 2021[1]. Finally, the Tashkent administration organized the international conference titled "Afghanistan: Security and Economic Development" on July 26, 2022. The conference held in Tashkent was attended by representatives of states such as Türkiye, Central Asian countries, the USA, India, Russia, China, Iran, and Pakistan, as well as international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).

The conference, also attended by the Taliban Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaqi, was an important event in which the problems in Afghanistan and possible solutions were discussed. It can be said that the most crucial emphasis in Muttaqi's speech and statements to the press, who stated that they want to establish official relations with other countries, is the economic crisis in the country. Even though it is summer, for the time being, winter is coming. Afghanistan, which is struggling with a tremendous humanitarian crisis today, is trying to survive with foreign aid, and economic collapse brings social collapse.

As a result, Uzbekistan has officially turned into Afghanistan's gateway to the world with her conference diplomacy. In particular, bringing rival states to a conference reveals the diplomatic success of the Tashkent administration. In addition, the conference in question indicates how much importance Uzbekistan attaches to the problems in Afghanistan. Undoubtedly, ensuring regional stability and establishing an autonomous Kabul administration does not only concern Afghanistan, Central Asia, and South Asia. Because when the activities of actors such as DAESH are considered, it can be said that radical terrorism is still one of the biggest global threats. Therefore, condemning Afghanistan as an economic and social problems will deepen the terrorist threat rather than solve it.

[1] Mehmet Seyfettin Erol-Emrah Kaya, "Afganistan Barış Süreci: Küresel ve Bölgesel Aktörler", Uluslararası Kriz ve Siyaset araştırmaları Dergisi, 2021, 5(2), pp. 432-434.



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Nuclear Weapons of Russia-1: Satan II (Sarmat II)

The Cold War Era was shaped by nuclear weapons, and the nuclear weapons were in the hands of the United States of America (US) and the Soviet Union, who played an important role in preserving the peace that was ready to fail at any moment during the Cold War. The 1962 Cuban Crisis brought the world to the brink of nuclear war, but the danger was averted without resorting to nuclear weapons. The détente period that started right after led the US and the Soviet Union to a gradual process of limiting and reducing nuclear weapons, and nuclear weapons were limited by internation-

al and bilateral agreements such as Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), and Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT).

In the first phase of the post-Cold War era, efforts to further reduce nuclear weapons continued; cooperation between the US and Russia has been expanded to include tactical nuclear weapons. Although the US's withdrawal from the 1972 Missile Defense System Convention (1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile -ABM) in 2002 laid the



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foundations for the current crisis, nuclear disarmament was on the agenda frequently. So much so that President Obama started to talk about the dream of a “world without nuclear weapons” at the Prague Summit in 2009.

However, the Russian-Ukrainian War brought nuclear weapons and the nuclear armament process back to the agenda. The threat of “use of nuclear weapons” to prevent the intervention of any state or North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Russia’s invasion of Ukraine reminded once again that the danger of nuclear weapons is not far away.

Although other issues were more prominent on the world agenda, as mentioned above, nuclear armament has accelerated considerably since the US’s withdrawal from the 1972 Missile Defense System Convention in 2002 and the US’s construction of the national missile defense system. While the US is working on modern and new weapons such as Conventional Global Prompt Strike (CGPS), on the other hand, the US is also working to modernize the existing Minuteman III Intercontinental Ballistic Missile systems are named LGM-35 SENTINEL (or Ground Based Strategic Deterrence – GBSD). These studies are supported by studies such as the development of missile defense weapon systems, new tactical nuclear weapons, or new tactical nuclear warheads.

Russia, on the other hand, is responding to these efforts of the USA with revolutionary developments in nuclear weapons and launch vehicles. As a matter of fact, it has been announced that weapon systems such as the SARMAT missiles, which Putin describes as “invincible”, or the “ZIRCON”, which he describes as “unstoppable” or “KINJAL” hypersonic missiles, will soon be in the inventory. Even though they are less in number compared to the Cold War period, these weapons are much more superior in terms of quality, in fact, this situation shows that the New Cold War, which started in 2002, will be again based on nuclear weapons.

The SARMAT missiles, which were said to have passed the test successfully in April 2021 and are expected to enter the inventory of the Russian Army at the end of 2022, are the longest-range Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles in the world with a range of 18,000 km. These missiles, which weigh about 210 tons, have liquid fuel technology and are fast enough to hit London in 3 minutes, can carry 10-15 nuclear warheads, and one missile can destroy an area as large as England or France’s territory.[1] The weapon is also capable of carrying a large number of avangarde hypersonic cruise missiles. While introducing the weapon, President of Russia Vladimir Putin described it as “there is no such weapon in the world yet and it will not be in a long time”.[2]

SARMAT has considerably increased Russia’s strategic and political power; this is reflected in the discourses of Russia. As a matter of fact, Britain’s harsh rhetoric and support to Ukraine during the occupation of Ukraine attracted the attention of Russia, and Russia began to implicitly threaten Britain with nuclear weapons. For example, at the end of April, while a simulation of the SARMAT Missile hitting Britain was broadcast on a Russian channel, the host of the program went further and openly threatened Britain, claiming that a SARMAT missile would wipe the entire island off the map.[3]

After the publication of the simulation showing the complete destruction of Britain with the SARMAT missile on Russian TV, the news in the British media that Russia’s missiles will be hit with a Directed Energy Weapon or Laser Weapon[4] clearly shows what dimensions the arms race has reached. Russia’s declaration that the studies on the SARMAT missile correspond to the CPGS studies of the USA[5] also reveals the extent of the arms race. Again, Putin’s mention of the development of hypersonic weapons which is working with nuclear energy without a flight time limit[6] revealed a different dimension of the danger.

On the other hand, SARMAT’s ability to fly in different orbits prevents it from being neutralized by missile defense systems. As a matter of fact, Putin stated that the weapon was able to pass all existing missile defense systems.[7] This capability will require further devel-

opment of the Missile Defense Systems run by the US and will lead to an even faster repeat of the Cold War arms race.

As a result, the increasing crisis and global competition between Russia and the West encourage nuclear armament. In this context, the abolition of bilateral or international agreements on nuclear weapons, the foundations of which were laid during the Cold War, and the removal of legal obstacles to armament accelerate the arms race. As a matter of fact, Putin’s claim that “Russia developed these weapons after the USA’s withdrawal from the 1972 ABM Convention”[8] has once again revealed the importance of international agreements on nuclear weapons. Finally, on August 09, 2022, Russia’s suspension of control of the “NEW START” contract[9], which was not signed by the Trump Administration and was extended for 5 years after Biden came to power and signed it, has had negative effects of the fate of the last contract on the reduction of nuclear weapons. The abolition of the last nuclear weapons agreement in force between the USA and Russia in the near term will now end the quantitative limitation of nuclear weapons, and a nuclear armament that will not be included in the imagination, including strategic nuclear weapons, will become inevitable.

[1] “Putin Threatens to Deploy New Satan II Nuclear Missile – Which Can Reach Britain in Just Three Minutes–by the End of 2022”, Daily Mail, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10940009/Putin-threatens-deploy-new-Satan-II-nuclear-missile-reach-UK-just-three-minutes.html>, (Date of Accession: 10.08.2022).

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[3] “Putin Horror as Russian TV Shows Simulation of 3-Minute Nuclear Strike on UK”, Express, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1603743/ukraine-live-russia-vladimir-putin-sarmat-missiles-uk-nuclear-war-volodymyr-zelensky>, (Date of Accession: 10.08.2022).

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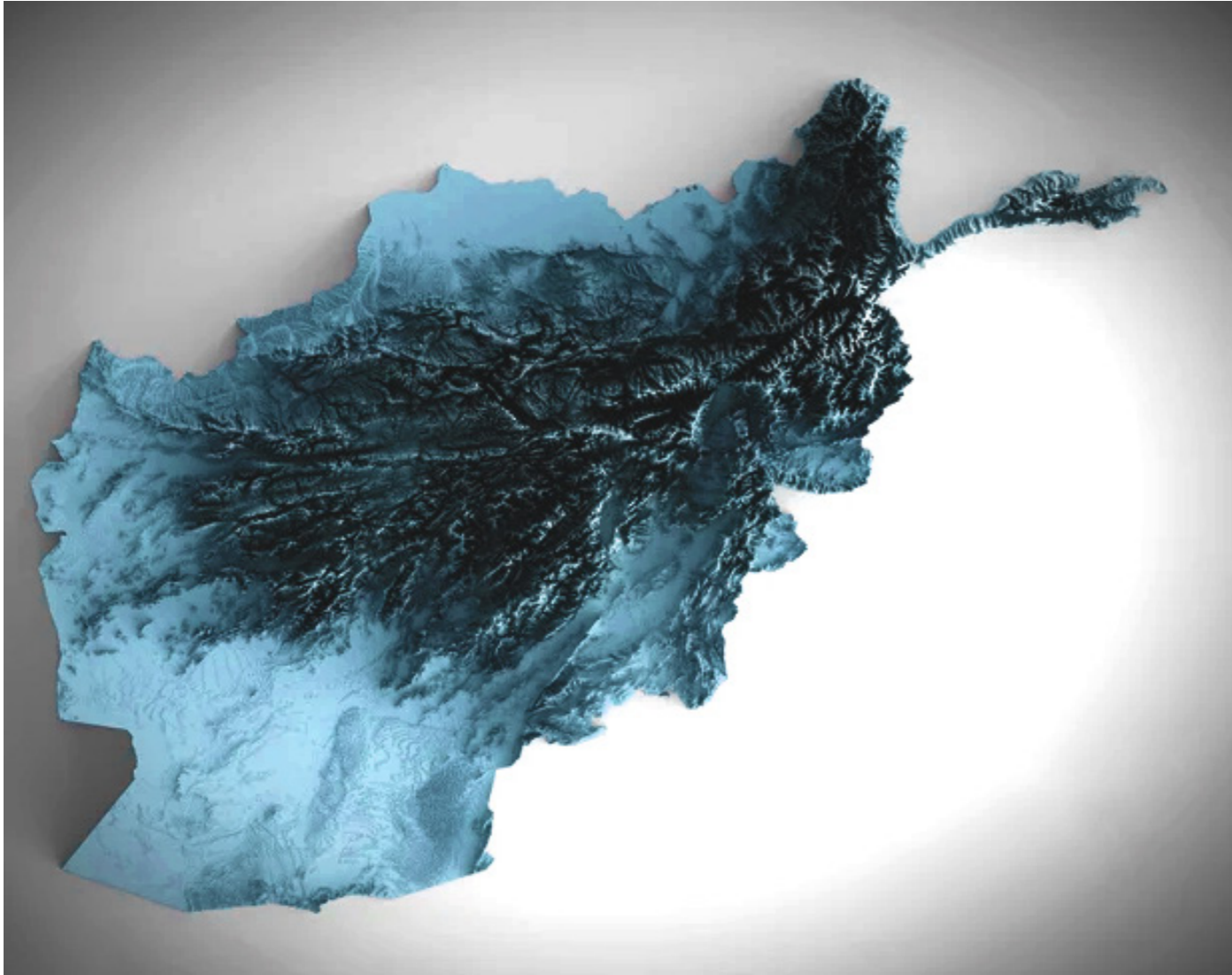
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## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# The Taliban's Capture of the Wakhan Corridor and Its Repercussions on Regional Geopolitics

At the end of last July, it was claimed that the Pakistani administration made an offer to Dushanbe to reach Tajikistan by cutting the Wakhan Corridor in a north-south direction. Abdul Karim Hurrem, known as "pro-Taliban" in this regard and who was the Private Secretary of Former President of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani, announced that Pakistan wanted to open a

transit route through Wakhan to trade with Tajikistan and warned the Taliban Government about the danger of isolation and fragmentation of Afghanistan.[1] Taliban Spokesperson Zabihullah Mujahid reacted to the allegations and said, "There have been no talks with Pakistan on the issue. Not one inch of Afghanistan's land will be compromised," he said.[2] Shortly after this, it



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was announced that the Wakhan Corridor had been captured by the Taliban.[3]

Pakistan's idea of connecting Tajikistan to the "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)" is not new. According to Hurrem, Pakistan also made requests from Afghanistan on this issue during the reign of Hamid Karzai, but this request was not accepted. The main concern of the Taliban here is that the Wakhan Corridor connecting Afghanistan to China will be cut in a north-south direction in such a way as to provide a connection between Pakistan and Tajikistan. The practical result of this is the disappearance of the dependence of the Central Asian countries on Afghanistan at the point of corridors. In other words, if the Taliban Government had turned a blind eye to this, it would have lost its own geopolitical importance. In other words, the Taliban would have lost a trump card (the economic corridor) that it could use against the Central Asian states and China.

It should not be forgotten that India also opposes the Pakistan-Tajikistan connection. In general, New Delhi is against the idea of a corridor connecting the Central Asian states to Pakistan. India's main objection is to the CPEC passing through the Kashmir region. The fact that the regional states, especially Afghanistan and Tajikistan, are strengthening their ties with Pakistan and participating in China's project is seen as a major threat to India.

More importantly, New Delhi thinks that in such a scenario, it will completely lose its influence in Afghanistan. Because Pakistan opposes a transit agreement that would allow India to reach Central Asia through its territory. Thus, it confines it to its limits. In this sense, Pakistan's effort to strengthen its ties with Tajikistan is also strategic. Central Asian states will either prefer the Afghanistan-Iran-India corridor or connect to CPEC through Tajikistan and China. All this geopolitical rivalry is stuck between Iran and Pakistan.

The central player of this rivalry is the Taliban. So much so that the moves made by the Taliban can break or increase the geopolitical effectiveness of India, Pakistan, and China. For example, on July 27, 2022, a group of armed Taliban members attacked the Wakhan Corridor Border Post near Lake Karambar in Pakistan and seized the area. Thus, the Taliban has dashed Pakistan's hopes of reaching Central Asia by using the Wakhan Corridor.[4]

The Taliban, which has secured control in Wakhan, has thus guaranteed the following:

- Tajikistan must first use Chinese territory to connect to Pakistan.
- The dependence of the Central Asian countries on Afghanistan continues at the point of reaching Pakistan.
- China will be forced to cooperate and compromise with the Taliban.

It is important to consider the effects of the process on Sino-Taliban relations. The Taliban is opposed to third countries, including Pakistan, setting up games, showing activity or making military-security moves in Afghanistan. This also includes China. The Taliban say yes on paper to Chinese offers to cooperate in the military-security field. However, United Nations (UN) reports reveal that the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) has increased its presence in Afghanistan.[5] In other words, it is seen that the Taliban, in fact, does not keep its promises to China, or that it cannot or does not want to fully control these organizations. The same goes for corridors. The Taliban wants China to remain dependent on it in every way.

In fact, Pakistan's offer to Tajikistan to join the CPEC is not a proposal that China supports or comes up with on its initiative. Because Beijing wants to connect Tajikistan to Pakistan more through its own territory. In this regard, the Beijing Government may plan to revive the transit transport agreement (QTTA) between Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-China-Pakistan and to include Tajikistan in this corridor. Therefore, we cannot say that China fully supports the north-south division of Wakhan and thus ensuring the connection between Tajikistan and Pakistan. Because China, as mentioned above, has alternative plans regarding Tajikistan.

In addition, China's project to connect Afghanistan to the CPEC is not working through Wakhan. In other words, the establishment of a bridge between Tajikistan and Pakistan over the Wakhan and thus Afghanistan's participation in CPEC is not an idea that is the initiative of China and is primarily supported by it. Because China supports the project that primarily connects Afghanistan to Pakistan by rail. In other words, it is weighing on Afghanistan's participation in CPEC via the Uzbekistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan (Trans-Afghan) railway.

In fact, the north-south cutting of Wakhan will increase free crossings from Pakistan to Tajikistan, so terrorism and security problems can easily be transferred to Tajikistan. China will not be able to control this. Therefore, the uncontrolled connection of Pakistan to Tajikistan and the possibility of the Wakhan Corridor turning into a hotbed of terrorism disturbs China. China's goal is to ensure the safety of Wakhan. In this context, China may have wanted the Taliban to make moves in this direction to ensure control of Wakhan. In other words, China may have supported the Taliban to prevent this project of Pakistan that pacified (bypass) itself. Because China is planning to connect Central Asian countries to CPEC through its own territory, and then its corridor to pass mainly from Kashmir to Pakistan. If we make the opposite reading, China supports the plan to leave its territory and use the Middle Corridor to reach Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, and from there to Afghanistan and then Pakistan. If the Pakistan-Tajikistan connection is achieved, then the importance of China's project of connecting to Afghanistan through Central Asia and from there to Pakistan will decrease. China will not want the project that disables Afghanistan either.

#### What Does the Killing of Zawahiri Mean?

The revelation that the Taliban has provided a safe living space to al-Qaeda will be a source of great concern for India. Because the Taliban are trying to get help from not only the international community, but also their neighbours China, India and Central Asian states by promising "fight against terrorism". Neither India nor China will be able to fully trust the Taliban's promise to fight terrorism and show solidarity with it. In this case, China's security concerns arising from Wakhan, and Tajikistan will increase. It is alleged that during the process of Zawahiri's assassination, Pakistan provided intelligence support to the US using the Haqqani Network.[6] The influence of Pakistan on other fundamentalist groups through the Taliban is also worrying for China. China, which cannot control Pakistan, will also oppose its connection to Tajikistan. Therefore, China will look more warmly at the fact that the Wakhan Corridor remains under the control of the Taliban.

#### Reflections of Recent Developments in Afghanistan on Regional Geopolitics

The Taliban's ties with terrorist organizations also deepen the competition experienced in the context of economic corridors. The Taliban rule in Afghanistan and the growing problem of terrorism and instability in connection with it cause India and

China to compete more, not to come together. India's trust problem with the Taliban is much greater compared to the problems China has with the Taliban. For example, during the last Afghanistan Conference in Uzbekistan, the Foreign Ministers of both Pakistan and China met with the Taliban Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaqi. However, the Indian Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar has not met Muttaqi.[7] This shows that India's ties with the Taliban are far behind compared to China.

This trust issue between the Taliban and India may lead to a further strengthening of China in Afghanistan in the regional rivalry. Because China can overcome the trust problems it has with the Taliban at the point of fighting against terrorism more easily compared to India. The issue that affects China's view of the Taliban is its ties to terrorist organizations. The trust problems it has with Pakistan stem from its ties with the US. Therefore, China may not allow Pakistan to establish a new geopolitical equation over Wakhan. China wishes to establish the regional geopolitics by ensuring the Uzbekistan-Afghanistan connection both within the framework of the CPEC and the Middle Corridor.

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#### ANKASAM ANALYSIS

## The Condition of Serbian People Living in Kosovo

Kosovo as the youngest country in Europe, who declared its independence unilaterally on February 17, 2008, just after many years of armed conflict, is dealing with a prominent issue under the shadow of the Ukrainian War. Kosovo, whose population is mostly Albanian, is one of the sides of the Albanian-Serbian ethnic tension that has been increasing in the Balkans in

recent days. Especially after the "Serbian Republic Day" celebrations led by Milorad Dodik, who is the highest political representative of Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to be celebrated on January 9, 2022, against the Bosnia and Herzegovina's laws, and the following American sanctions, the tension in the region continues to rise day by day. The organization



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of demonstrations for supporting territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the city of Prizren in Kosovo, which is the second country with the highest number of Serbian ethnicities on its borders after Bosnia and Herzegovina, shows that a possible ethnic tension will have some reflections on Kosovo. As a result of the increasing tension in the region, "identity and license crisis" emerged between Serbia and Kosovo on July 31, 2022. The background of the relations between the two countries points out that there may be new tensions in the upcoming period. This issue between Serbia and Kosovo is the biggest obstacle to obtain the full membership of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) for these two countries.

### General Condition of Kosovo Serbs

Although the borders of Kosovo and Serbia were separated with the declaration of independence of Kosovo in 2008, it was not possible to separate the Kosovar and Serbian people from each other, who lived together under the umbrella of Yugoslavia for many years. Today, on the one hand, there is an Albanian minority on the border with Serbia, on the other hand, there is a Serbian population within the territory of Kosovo, especially in the areas close to the Serbian border. As of 2014, approximately 100,000 Serbs live within the borders of Kosovo and approximately half of this population resides in the north of the country. [1] The Serbian population in the country constitutes the second largest ethnic community after Albanians and corresponds to approximately 5% of the general population.[2]

Local governments in Kosovo are organized according to the decision by United Nations Interim Administration Mission (UNMIK) on July 27, 2000. Within the scope of the decision, 30 local government units were established in the country. Among these local governments, there are 10 local government units formed by the Serbian numerical majority. These are the municipalities of Northern Mitrovica, Leposavić, Zvečan, Zubin Potok, Gračanica, Trpçe, Novo Brdo, Ranilug, Parteš and Klokot.[3] The functioning of municipalities in Kosovo is determined according to the European Charter of Local Self-Government.[4] In September 2012, a new process started under the leadership of EU representative Catherine Ashton and an agreement was signed between the two countries on April 19, 2013. As a result of the agreement, broad rights were granted to the Serbian-dominated municipalities.[5]

### The Issue of the Union of Serbian Municipalities

The Serb-dominated municipalities within the borders of Kosovo

continue to be a major prevention to the relations between the two countries. In the past days, such an intense diplomatic traffic on this issue has been managed between the two countries under the leadership of Miroslav Lajcak, the EU Special Representative for the Belgrade-Pristina Dialogue. While Serbia is trying to establish a "Union of Serbian Municipalities" consisting of 10 municipalities held by the Serbs in Kosovo, Kosovo opposes this with the concern that it may lead the country to division in the future. While supporting the establishment of the Union of Serbian Municipalities, Lajcak stated that they would oppose this situation evolving into a possible Serbian Republic within the borders of Kosovo.[6] Kosovo President Vjosa Osmani clearly expressed his opposition to any autonomy given to Serbs living in the country, including the establishment of the Union of Serbian Municipalities. According to Osmani, a "Union of Serbian Municipalities" to be established within the borders of Kosovo will not serve any purpose other than the "Bosnianization" of the country.[7]

With the diplomatic talks between the two countries are ongoing, especially the Mitrovica region on the Kosovo-Serbia border is like a bomb which is ready to explode and hosts various provocations. In the past days, approximately a 250-meter Serbian flag was unfurled by demonstrators in that area.[8] Despite the peaceful dispersal of the demonstrators, tensions continue in the region. Again, in this area, a series of security cameras were detected that are not under the control of the Kosovo police. Some claims were put forward that these cameras belong to Serbian municipalities. However, the mayors of Zvečan, North Mitrovica and Zubin Potok denied these allegations.[9]

### Cryptocurrency Raids

Computers used for crypto assets, which became widespread after the 2008 global crisis, have started to become a huge burden for countries in the days when we are going through a global energy crisis. In these days, when the rising energy prices and global climate change continue to increase their impact, the prohibition of crypto mining by countries such as China has led some who want to exist in "the market" to new searches. In this framework, the region where Serbs live in Kosovo has become one of the new bases of crypto currency mining due to its unstable geography and the illegal use of electricity by the local Serbs. However, Kosovo's infrastructure is not ready to handle it. Struggling with the deepest energy crisis of the last decade, Kosovo declared a 60-day emergency in December of the last year due to the energy crisis. Unable to sustain this situation any longer, the government resorted to banning crypto-asset mining across the country.[10]

The Kosovo police, which carried out simultaneous operations on crypto asset mining addresses, captured a huge number of devices. The fact that the region where the operations were carried out is populated mainly by Serbs ignited a new debate. The Kosovo police, which carried out two different operations in the municipalities of Mitrovica and Podujeve, confiscated 70 devices. Chairman of the Economic Committee of the Kosovo Parliament, Ferat Shala, stated that a significant part of the activities related to crypto-asset mining is carried out in the regions where Serbs live in the northern region of Kosovo. Crypto asset mining using illegal electricity in places such as attics, basements and garages in this region has resulted in an establishment of a strong market by taking advantage of the Albanian-Serbian tension in the region. A local crypto-asset miner told Reuters that he pays around 170 euros per month for electricity and earns an average of 2400 euros per month from crypto-asset mining.[11] Cryptocurrency operations in Kosovo show that there is a remarkable potential for various problems between the Serbian minority living in the country and the central government in the coming period.

### Increasing Influence of Serbia in the Region

With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Serbia, which regards itself as the heir of this country, continues to put effort to increase its influence in the region. The Serbian administration, which manages the pandemic period well, is implementing a "food diplomacy" towards other Balkan countries by stocking up on basic foodstuffs, especially wheat and corn, during this time. As a result of these policies implemented, other Western Balkan countries are becoming more and more dependent on Serbia in terms of food. With the onset of the Ukraine Crisis, bipolar world diplomacy was revived in the countries of the region, and this resulted in the siding of Russia and Serbia together, whose historical codes overlapped each other. Aleksandar Vucic administration, which did not take part in the sanctions which are implemented against Russia, reassured by getting 60% of the votes in the elections held on April 3, 2022.[12]

The factors of Russia and China played a very important role in Vucic's winning the elections. Although there is no definite information, there are some allegations that these two countries provided financial support to Vucic before the elections. It seems that the Belgrade administration will continue to support these two countries, which have an impact on their success in the elections. As a matter of fact, Serbian Prime Minister Ana Brnabik has already expressed her support for China's possible intervention, stating that they support China's "One China" policy and taking Taiwan as a part of it.[13] Russia's attempts to establish the Iskender-M tactical ballistic missile system in Serbia may come to the fore more in the coming days, despite the United States' (US) increasing military presence in Albania and Kosovo, which used the Ukrainian War as an excuse. In addition, the statements of the Russian Ambassador to Belgrade, Aleksandar Botsan Harchenko, that his country could establish a military base in Serbia, are also developments that came to the agenda in parallel with this process. Pointing out that Russia also provides Serbia's energy security, Harchenko stated that the cooperation between the two countries will increasingly continue in the coming period.[14]

Serbia has some advantages in natural gas because of its close relations with Russia. In the upcoming period, many European countries are expected to experience serious difficulties due to Russia's natural gas restrictions. Serbia will be in a more advantageous position compared to other European countries due to the dependence of the countries in the region in Russia in terms of natural gas. Serbian President Vucic has announced that the country's natural gas reserves have increased to the highest level in history.[15] Although it is emphasized that the reserves are stocked only for Serbia's use, Serbia has a very high potential to use its natural gas reserves as a diplomacy instrument, especially for the Western Balkan countries, in the coming winter months, like it has turned its food stock into food diplomacy. In the Open Balkan Initiative, which initially included North Macedonia, Albania and Serbia, and whose last meeting was attended by Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, aiming to remove borders between member states, the Open Balkan Initiative, which looks like a miniature version of EU, has been influenced by Serbia in parallel with current developments is increasing day by day. This initiative which increases the interdependence of the Western Balkan countries with each other, may eventually result in the isolation of Kosovo in the region and having stricter policies of Serbia on Kosovo.

### License Plate and Identity Crisis

The energy wars in the region lie behind the tension between Serbia and Kosovo on July 31, 2022. Three days before the tension arises, an investment agreement of 236 million was signed between the two countries in the field of renewable energy during the visit of the

Kosovo delegation, which includes the president and the prime minister, in the US. Kosovo's Prime Minister Albin Kurti underlined that the entire amount will be given as a grant. The Kosovo Assembly signed the agreement with the US the next day, ratified by 89 out of 120 deputies.[16] In the session held in the afternoon of the same day, the Government of Kosovo, in a statement in Albanian and Serbian, announced that as of August 1, people who are entering Kosovo will have to carry temporary documents instead of their Serbian identity cards during their stay in the country. On 31 July, there were reports that sirens sounded in the evening hours in the city of Mitrovica, where Serbs are majority. Hours before August 1, Serbs began sounding alarms and setting up barricades in northern Kosovo. According to the announcement made by the Kosovo Police, it was reported that the border gates between Serbia and Kosovo were closed to vehicle traffic, but there was no information about any injuries so far. Kosovo Government announced that it has postponed the reciprocity decision for license plates and IDs, which it planned to put into effect on August 1, to September 1 due to the latest crisis.[17] Many times before, the region in question hosted various crises between the two countries over license plate and identity. Even though the recent events have flashed and ended like a straw flame, it is among the possible possibilities that new crises will occur in the coming period.

### Conclusion

The tension in the Balkans, which started with cryptocurrency operations in Kosovo and continued with the US sending troops to Albania and Kosovo, was also reflected in the diplomatic field. The motivation of European Union membership constitutes an important driving force for countries to resolve such disputes. However, the fact that the election law negotiations in Bosnia and Herzegovina carried out under the leadership of the US and the EU did not yield any results and the uncertainty in the situation of the Serbs in Kosovo shows that the Western alliance is insufficient to solve these two problems. Parallel to this situation, there is a risk that the situation of Serbs in Kosovo will evolve from a political crisis to a rapidly deepening security crisis. If Bosnian Serbs unilaterally declare independence, there is a possibility that a pro-Russian state let like Abkhazia will form on the borders of two NATO countries, Croatia, and Montenegro. The same is applicable for Kosovo. In such a case, the tension between the two countries will not only be a problem for the countries in the region, but also for the NATO alliance. NATO's regional influence and problem-solving ability will be questioned in terms of the countries in the region, and the psychological superiority will pass to the Serbs and therefore to Russia.

The "Association of Serbian Municipalities" planned to be established in Kosovo will create a space that could lead to the division of Kosovo and result in the enlargement of Serbia. The reason why the US and the EU, which are against Serbian expansionism in every aspect and see Serbia as a front post of Russia in the region, act softly on this issue is an element that needs to be examined separately. In the event of a possible separatist movement in the future, it is highly likely that these forces will play the heroic role to maximize their activities in the region, claiming to protect the integrity of Kosovo. Although the "identity and license plate crisis" between Serbia and Kosovo is not different from the conflict routine that Kosovo is regularly exposed to, the Kosovo-Serbia conflict is seen as Russia's new confrontation with the West, since it took place in the shadow of the Ukraine Crisis. In this way, Russia can pursue a strategy of putting the quagmire in Ukraine off the agenda and establishing the front as far as possible in its struggle with the West.

Given the historical background and current political stalemate, the license plate issue will not be the last conflict between Kosovo and Serbia unless the status issue is addressed. In this context, the vicious circle of repeated tensions in Kosovo will not be broken anytime soon. Even if there is a potential here, the smallest conflict that may arise can be reflected in the Sanjak region of Serbia, first of North Macedonia, and then to Serbia. The population living in Serbian municipalities has lost one of its most important sources of income, with the government's operation against crypto currency miners in the region where Serbs live in Kosovo and banning crypto currency mining in the whole of Kosovo. This reason alone gives us an idea that in a period when global recession expectations continue to increase, the discomfort in the region may come to the fore with different variations. In the same period as the recent tension between the two countries, Serbia's announcement that it stocked natural gas and Kosovo's grant agreement with the USA on renewable energy set an example for the ethnic and political consequences of energy struggles.

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# ANKASAM IN PRESS

## August 8, 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Advisor Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik, evaluated the latest developments in foreign policy on Bengütürk TV.

## August 8, 2022

ANKASAM AF-PAK Expert Dr. Doğancahan Başaran, evaluated the latest developments in foreign policy on Bengütürk TV.

## August 8, 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's assessments about the Sochi Summit and the Taiwan Crisis were broadcasted on Kanal B.

## August 8, 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Advisor Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik's article titled The Expansion of Russian Geopolitics from Land to Sea: "The Russian Naval Doctrine" published in Kırmızılar.com.

## August 8, 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's assessments about the Erdogan-Putin Summit were shared in A Haber.

## August 9, 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Advisor Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the latest developments in foreign policy at TRT Arabi.

## August 11, 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's analysis titled "Ukraine to Taiwan: "Pole Wars" or "Order of Chaos" was published in Anadolu Agency.

## August 11, 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Expert Dr. Doğancahan Başaran 's assessments of Japan's foreign policy in the context of Taiwan-based developments were shared on Haber Global.

## August 12, 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Advisor Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik, evaluated the latest developments in foreign policy on Bengütürk TV.

# ANKASAM IN PRESS

## August 13, 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Advisor Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated Turkey-Russia relations and the Taiwan Crisis in his Kanal B Weekend program.

## August 13, 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's analysis titled "Ukraine to Taiwan: "Pole Wars" or "Order of Chaos" was published in m5 Journal.

## August 13, 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's assessments to Ihlas News Agency (IHA) about the Taiwan Crisis were published in Haberler.com.



*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.*

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