



ANKASAM

bulletin

29 May 2022
ISSUE: 2022/21



**Turkmenistan,
the Address of
Continuity in
the Search for Peace:
“Dialogue is the
Guarantee of Peace”**

06

**Will Putin-Ukrainian War
Create a Domino Effect?
Who is Next?**

09

**NATO's Duty
Discussions and
Security of Pacific**

CONTENTS

ANKASAM OUTLOOK

03 Turkmenistan, the Address of Continuity in the Search for Peace: "Dialogue is the Guarantee of Peace"

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL

ANKASAM ANALYSIS

06 Will Putin-Ukrainian War Create a Domino Effect? Who is Next?

Samet İŞBİLEN

12 The Future of TAPI and the Taliban's Approach to the Project

Ahmad Khan DAWLATYAR

09 NATO's Duty Discussions and Security of Pacific

Cenk TAMER

15 China's Efforts to Expand the BRICS

Cenk TAMER

NEWS-ANALYSIS

17 What is the Future of the Ukraine Conflict?

Sibel MAZREK

ANKASAM IN PRESS

21 Media

JOURNALS

24 Journal of International Crisis and Political Studies

Journal of Regional Studies

ANKASAM OUTLOOK

Turkmenistan, the Address of Continuity in the Search for Peace: "Dialogue is the Guarantee of Peace"

The early elections held in Turkmenistan on 12 March 2022 in line with the goal of "Rejuvenation of Politics" have already taken its place in history as a great democratic maturity indicator of the former President of Turkmenistan, Mr. Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov. In this context, the elections resulted in the victory of the Turkmenistan Democratic Party and the Turkmen people elected Mr. Serdar Berdimuhamedov, whom they see as their new leader, as the President of Turkmenistan.

This new era in Turkmen politics has brought with it the question of whether there will be some changes in the foreign policy of the country. However, it is understood from the implemented policies and the messages given that Ashgabat adopts a peaceful approach that does not reject the accumulation of the past in its foreign policy approach. In other words, there is continuity in the foreign policy of Turkmenistan. Therefore, the transformation in Turkmenistan can



Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL
ANKASAM
President



Cankaya District, Cemal Nadir Street, No. 20.0680.
Cankaya - Ankara/Turkey
Tel: +90 312 474 00 46 | Fax: +90 312 474 00 45
Email: info@ankasam.org

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

Design-String: Esra Karadağ

be interpreted as the rejuvenation of politics and the addition of a new dynamism to the country. It can be stated that Turkmenistan will continue its peaceful and multi-vectored foreign policy understanding, which prioritizes the welfare of the Turkmen people and is based on cooperation with other states, in accordance with the "Status of Permanent Neutrality" adopted in 1995.

As it is known, Turkmenistan, by adopting the "Status of Permanent Neutrality", actually predicted the power struggles to be experienced in the Eurasian geopolitics in the first years of its independence and adopted a constructive foreign policy understanding based on cooperation, which is the most significant precaution against chaos scenarios. This peaceful approach, together with the active neutrality policy carried out under the visionary leadership of His Excellency Mr. Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov, who is currently the Head of People's Affairs of the National Council of Turkmenistan since 2006, brings Turkmenistan to be accepted as a respected state that promotes security and peace in the international arena.

Berdimuhamedov, who has a proactive approach in the face of crises and prefers to emphasize cooperation rather than looking at international politics as a field of competition, is making great efforts to build a more livable world. Because the Turkmen leader has not only revealed practical cooperation leading to peace but also brought a new theoretical approach to peace studies in the field of international relations, which is shaped by the slogan "Dialogue is the guarantee of peace" and prioritizes regional-global cooperation.

This theoretical perspective, which is based on respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of states, is based on the belief that a fairer and safer world can be created within the framework of good neighborly relations shaped by a multi-vector-directional foreign policy approach. His Excellency Berdimuhamedov formulates the roadmap to reach this belief with the phrase "Dialogue is the guarantee of peace", which is a call to all states.

In this sense, contrary to the perspective of realist thinkers such as Niccolo Machiavelli, Edward Hallett Carr and Thomas Hobbes, who regard human beings as evil by nature and therefore see wars as inevitable in the relations of states ruled by people; Mr. Berdimuhamedov stands out as a leader with an idealistic approach that puts humanity at the center, advocating that all countries can develop cooperation in line with a win-win understanding and in this context, regional and global peace can be established. In other words, Mr. Berdimuhamedov says "A man is a friend to another man", unlike Hobbes who says "A man is a wolf to another man". This idealist stance of Mr. Berdimuhamedov also contributes to the search for peace with a new theoretical perspective.

The perspective in question includes an interpretation of the words "Conflicts break the integrity of a city," used by the great Turkmen poet Mahtumkulu Firaki on the unity of the Turkmen, for universal peace. In other words, Mr. Berdimuhamedov is making great efforts for global peace in accordance with the embracing, tolerant and great civilization understanding of the Turkmen, who has assimilated the spirit of Firaki that represents peace.

One of the most concrete examples of the activities of His Excellency Mr. Berdimuhamedov for the construction of a peaceful world is the recognition of 2021 as the "International Year of Peace and Trust" thanks to the contributions of Turkmenistan. With its initiatives in this direction, Ashgabat has focused on raising awareness for the establishment of peace and security. Moreover, Turkmenistan has not only taken symbolic steps to instill this awareness. Ashgabat sets an example for the whole world with its constructive policies in the face of active crises. In this sense, the steps taken by Turkmenistan in its Afghanistan policy and public diplomacy activities that put people at the center clearly reveal that Mr. Berdimuhamedov is one of the architects of regional peace.

At this point, it can be said that although there are universal principles, Turkmenistan is in the position of a castle defending the values that humanity has forgotten and can be interpreted as the center of mediation diplomacy with its dialogue-based approach.

The importance of Turkmenistan, especially in the world situation we are in, is much better understood. Because Turkmenistan carries out a prudent policy that will set an example for the whole world, thanks to Mr. Berdimuhamedov's approach that invests in people and aims to live together in peace. It is clear that this approach will be continued by Mr. Serdar Berdimuhamedov, who was elected as the new leader by the Turkmen people.



In fact, Mr. Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov, with his approach that sees dialogue as a guarantee of peace, has succeeded in creating a road map for both the rulers after him and other states. As a matter of fact, during his speech at the conference titled "Peace and Trust Policy – Basis of International Security, Stability and Development" held on the occasion of the International Day of Neutrality on 11 December 2021, the President of Turkmenistan underlined that diplomacy should be given priority in solving problems. In this context, Mr. Berdimuhamedov's statement "Dialogue is the guarantee of peace" literally reveals the determination, continuity and consistency in the foreign policy of Turkmenistan. However, it is not limited to this. Because Mr. Berdimuhamedov reminds the whole world of a universal slogan that is about to be forgotten. Therefore, Mr. Berdimuhamedov's attitude, which sees dialogue as a guarantee of peace, is a constructive call to all humanity.

As a result, the international initiatives led by Mr. Berdimuhamedov, who is defined as the "Leader of the Nation" by the Turkmen people, and his foreign policy have made him the "Architect of Global Peace". Because, Mr. Berdimuhamedov has increased hopes that it will be possible to achieve peace at a universal level, both with the partnerships he developed in practice and with his theoretical stance built on the promise of "Dialogue is the guarantee of peace". Therefore, Turkmenistan adds new dynamism to the accumulation of the past. In this context, it is obvious that Ashgabat, the Ak City of Peace, has turned into a global mediation center.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Will Putin-Ukrainian War Create a Domino Effect? Who is Next?

Moldova, which was former Ukraine territory, was named as Moldova Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it declared independence and was named as Moldova and recognized by the United Nations (UN).

As it is known that, after the Cold War, around

25 million Russian citizens have remained outside Russian borders.[1] After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Moldova consisted Romanians, that remained in the region due to occupation of Romania, and Ukrainians living in that geography since the country was former Ukrainian territory. This also made Moldova the most conflictual country among the other who



Samet İŞBİLEN

gained independence in the post-Cold War period.

Moldova faced some problems since they do not have self management and sovereignty tradition, since there was not a leader, who is under the influence of Russia, since they struggled to transfer into free-trade economy, and discussions on separatist region.

After Moldova declared its independence, it was observed that Russia has influenced the domestic and foreign policy of the country through politics, economics, military and culture. Therefore Moldova, is the least developed country among the European countries. In the region, Russia and Belarus could not realize a significant democratic evolution, while Ukraine and Moldova tried a lot. This transformation caused the countries to be in between Russia and the West, and Russia's pressure on Ukraine and Moldova on the areas of politics, military, culture, historical, and economic has caused the development to slow down.

As it is remembered, it was bought by Viktor Yanukovich from the Former Ukrainian leader Olay, who could not resist the pressure of Moscow, who would enlarge their country with the economic and the future of Ukraine, the future of the European Union, the future of the Parliament, and it will be produced instead of creating Maidan Kiev on the streets of Europe. The decisions taken by Yanukovich, who wanted to suppress the protests, caused hundreds of Ukrainian citizens to be injured, dozens of people to die and public buildings to be occupied.

Pro-Russian protesters in Ukraine becomes more assertive in the Crimea; Unidentified gunmen; Simferopol and Sevastopol besieged airports, have occupied the Parliament building, and the pro-Russian Crimean MPs by dismissing the current government of the Russian Union Party leader Sergei Aksyonov was appointed as Chairman of the Crimea. Crimean Parliament referendum held in 2014, left the Ukraine took the decision to join Russia. In other words, Russia, the Crimea was annexed by resorting to military pressure elements in a manner contrary to international law. On the same day in Donetsk and the press and removal of internal turmoil pro-Russian person of public buildings in Luhansk, in this region and separatist referendum organized structures, declared their independence.

In 2019 the Ukrainian President Vladimir Zelens that laws have been enacted to reduce the influence of the oligarchs and gave weight to the pro-Western policies. The Russian President

Vladimir Putin on February 21, 2022 on recent developments had signed a decree recognizing the Donetsk and Luhansk independence and also on February 24, 2022 "Special Operations" gave the name has launched the Ukraine War.

During the Ukrainian War, the map behind Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko during his address to the Security Council showed planned troop movements that clearly included Moldova as the only non-Ukrainian target. It is thought that the target on the territory of Moldova will be Transnistria.

Transnistria's population; It consists of approximately 31.9% Moldovan, 30.4% Russian, 28.8% Ukrainian and 8.9% other identity groups.[2] There are 2 thousand Russian troops in the breakaway republic average. In addition, the pro-Russian paramilitary located in the area close to 10 thousand troops. In Moldova there are about 6 thousand civilian personnel, including military. Russia to launch attacks into the port of Odessa, will be held by the Russian military presence in Transnistria land invasion. This operation can lead to both living in the breakaway region of Moldova citizens of Ukraine and the Russian clashes between supporters of the war as refugees and people fleeing from the civil war there. Given the military presence in Moldova, it said that the absence of a power to prevent this confusion. In this sense, the fate of Moldova's separatist Transnistria and Russia to possible military moves in depends on the attack on the southern Ukrainian city of Odessa.

Constitution of Moldova is located neutrality phrase. Therefore, it is not expected to be a NATO member country. Ukraine NATO during the war, has refused to send troops to defend Ukraine. This is thus not expected to send troops for a possible invasion of Moldova to recover. But the current war, has pushed Moldova to become EU members. But the EU's criteria for democracy and democratization located on the "consolidation of democracy" is located. Transnistria's Soviet-era service in the village were excluded Cobas about 20 thousand tons of Russian ammunition and Russian troops protecting it is a serious obstacle to the ongoing peace talks. This also makes it impossible for the EU to ensure that consolidation is not a realistic goal.

Putin's article he wrote in 2021, "has a long history about the ethnic make claims on Russia's territory of Ukraine" expressed. [3] In other words, it can be said that the only way to end the Ukraine-Russia War is to establish a new regime with the decision of the Ukrainian citizens, as it did in the Crimea. If the new regime to be established here becomes a pro-Russian puppet



administration, it may spread to Moldova by creating a domino effect.

In conclusion, Moldova is a former USSR country. It is home to a Russian ethnic population and still weapons from the Cold War. Moreover, there are Russian soldiers in the country. Despite this, the Chisinau administration implements a policy that includes Westernization goals instead of pro-Russian policies. In fact, this was the main factor that led to the start of the Ukraine-Russia War. Because the basis of Russia's near-periphery policy is to prevent the regional states from turning to the West. While creating this expansionist thought, anti-Westernism; The Moscow administration has clearly demonstrated in Georgia and Ukraine that it will not hesitate to resort to the option of war in a situation that threatens its security. Therefore, if there is no change in the policies of Kşinev; The Transnistria Question may also result in the invasion of Moldova. So actually Ukrainians, not just for Ukraine; He is also fighting for the future of Moldova.

[1] Heliack Timothy, "Migration of the Russian Diaspora After the Breakup of the Soviet Union", *International Affairs*, 57(2), 2004, s. 99-117.

[2] "People of Moldova Ethnic Groups", *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Moldova/People>, (Date of Accession: 22.04.2022).

[3] Vilademir Putin, "On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians", *Official Internet Resources of the President of Russia*, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181>, (Date of Accession: 22.04.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

NATO's Duty Discussions and Security of Pacific

British Foreign Secretary Liz Truss, in her statement on April 27, 2022, said that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) should protect Taiwan. The British Minister emphasized the importance that NATO's mandate should not be limited to the Euro-Atlantic, but also included the security of the Indo-Pacific and mentioned the need for a "global NATO" in this sense[1].

Then she said "To ensure the Pacific is protected, we need to work with our allies like Japan and Australia to avert threats in the Indo-Pacific and ensure that democracies like Taiwan can defend themselves"[2]

The aforementioned statements have brought up discussions about NATO's mandate. In fact,



Cenk TAMER
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific Expert

NATO's 5th article clearly states how and in what ways collective defense will be made, and in article 6, the jurisdictions to which it can be applied. Before moving on to this, it is necessary to reveal the factors and developments that led the British Minister to talk about a "Global NATO". During the past year, both Taiwan's opening of representative offices in Europe and the UK's signing of the AUKUS defense alliance with Australia and the United States (USA) have led to tense relations between London and Beijing. After Lithuania allowed Taiwan's representation, China imposed an economic embargo on this country. They even declared that they would not accept products of Lithuanian origin coming from European countries. Thereupon, Truss called on the whole World to be vigilant against Beijing's "economic tyranny". In addition, the British Minister criticized China for establishing close relations with Russia.[3]

In this context, the Chinese policies of Britain and the USA began to resemble the Cold War period. These two Anglo-Saxon countries see Russia and China as the opposite pole of the West. Britain's priority is Russia; The United States' is China. However, it is estimated that both of them have a power alliance or sharing over the Ukraine and Taiwan issues. In other words, while England was more interested in Russia's attack in Ukraine; The USA takes the main responsibility for countering China's "aggression" in Taiwan.

It is easier for NATO countries to get involved in the Ukraine issue compared to Taiwan. To understand this, it is necessary to refer to Article 6 of NATO. According to the article, the following conditions are sought for an armed attack to be deemed to have been committed against all member states:[4]

"An armed attack on the territories of the parties in Europe or North America, the French region of Algeria, the territory of Turkey or the North Atlantic islands under the sovereignty of either party and located north of the Tropic of Cancer. Or an armed attack on any party's forces, ships, or aircraft on European soil or in the Mediterranean or the North Atlantic region, located in the north of the Tropic of Cancer."

If we start from the 6th article of NATO above; Attacks on the troops of NATO member states operating in the region to protect or defend Ukraine will be deemed to have been made against all member states. Here, there will be no problem in terms of NATO's duties and powers. However, the same cannot be said about Taiwan. According to this scenario, the USA and China will face each other in a possible war over Taiwan. Since the USA is a NATO

country, it will request the activation of Article 5, which envisages the collective defense of the organization. However, it may not be easy to put this on a legal basis. The United States has an example of intervention in Afghanistan. Similar intervention attempts will be made for Taiwan. It should not be forgotten that NATO's first overstepping of task was experienced in Afghanistan. Here, after the terrorist attack on its territory, the USA started an intervention in Afghanistan under the name of "pre-emptive strike" in order to eliminate this threat at its source. As the reason for this, the USA claimed the existence of a terrorist threat against her. In other words, despite NATO's 5th and 6th articles, the USA carried out an operation in Afghanistan based on the "Preventive Intervention Doctrine". But now in Taiwan, it is difficult to put NATO Articles 5 and 6 into effect. First, the United States has limited military advice in Taiwan. It seems unlikely that China will hit US troops and (if any) military equipment there. Second, although Taiwan is located on the Tropic of Cancer, it is not in the North Atlantic. In other words, it will not be possible to put NATO's articles 5 and 6 into effect. Therefore, the USA and the UK should find a solution similar to the one in Afghanistan regarding Taiwan. It should be noted that NATO's intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina is also controversial from a legal point of view. Here, the Srebrenica and Markale massacres of the soldiers of the Republika Srpska, which occupied the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, were cited as a reason.

At this point, it can be shown that international peace and security are in danger, as stated in the United Nations (UN) Charter, as a legal justification in Taiwan. This is where the idea of "Global NATO" arises. China, on the other hand, talks about the "Global Security Initiative". In short, the UK and the US are focusing on how they can use NATO on Taiwan. China, on the other hand, proposes alternative security platforms to prevent this. British Foreign Secretary Liz Truss said in her speech that "NATO needs to have a global perspective, ready to tackle global threats"[5]. Continuing her speech, she talked about the need to protect the Pacific. In other words, according to the UK, NATO's mandate can be extended to the Pacific. Even if it is not possible to do this under NATO Article 5, it advocates turning to the Pacific at least in terms of dealing with threats. Therefore, NATO's new concept may be "Global Security". Because the UN system is insufficient in crisis conflict resolution. For example, Articles 52 and 53 of the UN Charter stipulate that when there is a development threatening the international peace and security, regional agreements or organizations can be used to implement coercive measures. However, since China and Russia will use their veto power in the UN Security

Council (UNSC), it will not be possible to use the UN humanitarian intervention option in Taiwan.

NATO can now take action on its own in a crisis anywhere in the World, arguing that "global security is at stake" by forming a response force. Since China sees this danger, it says that NATO should return to its field of duty[6]. Britain, on the other hand, emphasizes that NATO can also be used for the security of the Indo-Pacific. The reason for this is the failure of the USA's plans to transform QUAD into NATO. London began to take more initiative in the Indo-Pacific after Washington's failure. The UK's establishment of the AUKUS defense alliance is related to this. However, both the USA and the UK have difficulties in transforming QUAD into a NATO-like structure. To get out of this stalemate, Britain talks about the idea of "Global NATO". Because it does not seem possible to persuade India to join such a structure. In addition, no country in the region (except perhaps Japan) wants to be included in such an organization at the expense of opposing China.

It is understood that unless a new collective security organization is established in India and Asia-Pacific, NATO's mandates will continue to be discussed further. In this context, NATO can develop a "Global Security Concept" in order to be involved in the crises in the Pacific. Existing explanations also point to this. However, even if such a thing is possible, there may not be any NATO member other than the UK and the USA who supports NATO's creation of a task force on Taiwan. Therefore, a new Pacific-based collective defense organization can be established between the Anglo-Saxon countries (USA, England, Canada, Australia and New Zealand). However, it will not be easy to include other Southeast Asian countries in this. Because these countries benefit greatly from China's Belt-Road Project. Unlike the USA, it is seen that the UK and Japan have taken on a separate responsibility lately, in terms of establishing the security of the Pacific. Because it is clearly seen that the USA is now failing in the Indo-Pacific. Britain is trying to penetrate not only the region but also the whole World with its "Global NATO" proposal. So the idea of "Global NATO" could be part of Britain's dream of a global empire.

[1] "UK's Liz Truss: NATO Should Protect Taiwan Too", Politico, <https://www.politico.eu/article/liz-truss-nato-taiwan-protect/>, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2022).

[2] "The Return of Geopolitics: Foreign Secretary's Mansion House Speech at the Lord Mayor's 2022 Easter Banquet", UK Foreign Office, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/foreign-secretarys-mansion-house-speech-at-the-lord-mayors-easter-banquet-the-return-of-geopolitics>, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2022).

[3] "UK Foreign Secretary Calls on Allies to Curb Rise of Russia and China", Financial Times, <https://www.ft.com/content/30a43d6a-4467-4bfe-9949-78d0dad4db4e>, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2022).

[4] "Collective Defence-Article 5", NATO, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_110496.htm, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2022).

[5] "The Return of Geopolitics: Foreign Secretary's Mansion House Speech at the Lord Mayor's 2022 Easter Banquet", UK Foreign Office, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/foreign-secretarys-mansion-house-speech-at-the-lord-mayors-easter-banquet-the-return-of-geopolitics>, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2022).

[6] "China Says Nato Has 'Messed up Europe' and Warns over Role in Asia-Pacific", The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/29/china-says-nato-is-messing-up-europe-and-warns-over-role-in-asia-pacific>, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

TAPI'nin Geleceği ve Taliban'ın Projeye Yaklaşımı

After 20 years of war, the Taliban has once again dominated Afghanistan. This situation has made the future of regional-global projects launched through Afghanistan controversial. Because the Taliban's approach is important in whether the projects are implemented or not. One of the projects put forward through Afghanistan is the "Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Pipeline" (TAPI). The project envisages the transportation of Turkmenistan's natural gas to Pakistan and India via Afghanistan.[1]

The line is planned to start from Galkinis Natural Gas Field of Turkmenistan and pass through Herat-Farah-Kandahar cities of Afghanistan and reach Fazilka city of India via Quetta-Multan cities of Pakistan. The project was conceived in 1997, signed between four states in 2010 and implemented in 2015. It is known that an average of \$8-10 billion is needed to implement the project.[2]

Afghanistan is one of the important partners of TAPI. Because a significant part of the pipeline passes through this country. The Turkmenistan



**Ahmad Khan
DAWLATYAR**
ANKASAM
AF-PAK Expert

part of the project has been completed and feasibility studies in Afghanistan have been started in 2018. However, the war and instability in Afghanistan have made it difficult to implement the project. According to the agreement concluded, under TAPI, Afghanistan will purchase cheap natural gas within the framework of the right of transit. In this regard, the right of annual transit of 500 million dollars to Afghanistan was recognized and it was envisaged that it would purchase 3 billion cubic meters of natural gas within 30 years. According to the agreement, Afghanistan will purchase 500 million cubic meters of natural gas in the first decade, 1 billion cubic meters in the second decade and 1.5 billion cubic meters in the third 10 years.[3] In October, the project will create employment opportunities for thousands of Afghan citizens and the country will be able to strengthen its industry with the cheap natural gas it has obtained.

Taliban officials declare that they want to turn Afghanistan into an area of cooperation, not competition, saying that they are pursuing an economically oriented foreign policy on every platform, and that economic projects involving regional states will be given importance. In this context, the most emphasized project of the Taliban is TAPI.

The implementation of the project will lead to an increase in the popularity of the Taliban both among the Afghan people and the international community. As a reminder, historically, the preparatory work of the TAPI began during the early period of the Taliban. Nowadays, the Taliban aims to implement this unfinished project and improve its relations with the regional states. Taliban leaders have been meeting with the authorities of Turkmenistan and Pakistan on TAPI and expressed their support for the implementation of the project. In December 2021, the Taliban Ministry of Internal Affairs shared a plan for the security of the project with the Embassy of Turkmenistan in Kabul.[4]

Turkmenistan is the state that attaches the most importance to the implementation of TAPI. Turkmenistan, which ranks fourth in the world in terms of natural gas reserves, considers TAPI a state project and makes maximum efforts to implement it. Because Turkmenistan can generate significant revenues by exporting 33 billion cubic meters of natural gas per year under TAPI. Because of this, Turkmenistan considers the Taliban to be an actor who can cooperate, albeit de facto. Although Turkmenistan does not officially recognize the Taliban Government, it maintains relations at the ambassadorial level.

The authorities of Turkmenistan often visit Kabul and Islamabad and hold talks on the implementation of the TAPI. September February 2022, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan, Vepa Hajiyev, during his visit to Afghanistan in February 2022, stated that the Afghanistan part of TAPI will be implemented from September 2022. In a message published on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with Pakistan, Turkmenistan President Serdar Berdimukhamedov called for the development of bilateral relations and the quick implementation of TAPI.[5] Pakistan and India are two states which aim to open to the Central Asian market via Afghanistan. The two countries are therefore seen to have an interest in TAPI.

The factors which contributed to the heavy lifting of the TAPI by Turkmenistan; The Taliban's reign of domination of Afghanistan, the Taliban's warmth of regional co-operation projects, and India's need for Turkmenistan's natural gas at the point of economic sustainability. Because the Mujahideen groups that seized power in 1992 failed to share power amongst themselves, and the Taliban were supported by Pakistan and Turkmenistan as a security-building actor. However, even though Ashgabat's leadership has made a number of attempts at implementing the project, it appears that there are still serious problems.

At the beginning of the problems is the increasing instability in Afghanistan, especially the activities of the so-called Khorasan Emirate (ISKP) of the terrorist organization State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Although the Taliban claims that security is maintained in all of Afghanistan, the ISKP attacks Shiite mosques, Taliban soldiers, and neighboring states from the territory of Afghanistan. For example, there have been reports of this organization attacking Tajikistan. In addition to the threat of ISIS, there is no consensus yet between the Taliban and the opposition. In this context, the opposition groups, especially the Panshir Movement, emphasize the military option. There have already been violent clashes between the Taliban and elements of the Panshir Movement.

The second challenge facing the project is the lack of recognition by the Taliban government and the financial challenge it faces. As a matter of fact, the Taliban government has not yet been recognized by any state or international organization. This makes it difficult for

world states to forge a formal agreement with the Taliban. It is also claimed that the project needs \$10 billion to be implemented, and that it has already withdrawn the support of banks that said it would finance the project. For example, the Asian Development Bank announced that it was withholding financial support for TAPI. The bank also cited the non-recognition of the Taliban government.[6]

Another of the challenges facing the project is India's and Pakistan's competition for Afghanistan geopolitics. Both of these states have occasionally sought to weaken the position of the other in Afghanistan through their administrators who have established close ties with the other.

Finally, Russia and Iran's approach can cause problems with the project. Because both Moscow and Tehran are not keen on Central Asian resources reaching South Asia. Both states export energy to South Asian countries. Iran wants to sell gas to Pakistan and India as part of the Peace Pipeline Project. Russia regards India and Pakistan as an important market in the face of Western sanctions. Russia and Iran are the states that have significant influence on developments in the region, particularly Afghanistan. The United States may, in turn, support the TAPI to reduce South Asian states' dependence on Russian and Iranian gas. In the 1990s, Unocal, the US energy company, was known to have invested in TAPI and supported the Taliban to provide security in Afghanistan.

As a result, TAPI can transform Afghanistan from a competitive area into a co-operation area. It can contribute to establishing peace and security in the country through mutual dependence of states in the region. But for that to happen, it is imperative that the interests of regional actors come to a reasonable position and that the parties start seeing each other as equal stakeholders rather than isolating each other.

[1] "دوشی می زاغ نی م کلمت اب ی بات ه زورپ: ناب لاط", Iribnews, <https://124.im/dm>, (Date of Accession: 10.05.2022).

[2] "دنک می زاغ رب م پس هام رد ار ی بات ه زورپ ی لم ع راک ناتس نم کرت: ناب لاط ه راج ترازو", DW, <https://124.im/Rw19KWN>, (Date of Accession: 10.05.2022).

[3] "دوشی می هت فرگ رس زا ناتس ن اغ فا رد ی بات ه زورپ ی لم ع راک ای آ", DW, <https://124.im/aRv>, (Date of Accession: 10.05.2022).

[4] "ن درک هی ارا ناتس نم کرت هب ار ی بات ه زورپ ی تی م ا ح رط ناب لاط", Etilaatroz, <https://www.etalatroz.com/137101/the-taliban-presented-a-security-plan-for-the-tapi-project-to-turkmenistan/>, (Date of Accession: 10.05.2022)

[5] "ی بات", Farsnews, <https://124.im/kG6U5F>, (Date of Accession: 10.05.2022).

[6] "دش فق و تم ناب لاط تم و کح «ن تخ انش تی م س ر هب» نام ز ات «ی بات» ه لول طخ ه زور", AL-Arabiya, <https://124.im/jvJRMd>, (Date of Accession: 10.05.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Çin'in BRICS'i Genişletme Çabaları

On May 19, 2022, at the BRICS Foreign Ministers' Meeting, held via video conference, officials from Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa gathered. In his opening address, Chinese President Xi Jinping called on the BRICS countries to "establish a global security community". [i] This call revived the "Global Security Initiative" and "Global Development Initiative" concepts Xi recently proposed.[ii] In response, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi proposed "starting the enlargement process of BRICS, exploring the criteria and procedures for this, and gradually establishing a consensus".[iii] In both Xi's and Wang's speech, the common emphasis was on refraining from the Cold War mentality, preventing interbloc polarization and building a multi-polar world within a global sense of security and development.

According to China, the security of one country or region affects the whole other world. This idea is in line with Russia's "indivisible-holistic security principle" for the West. In fact, China was influenced by the Russian theses. So Xi's ideas of creating a collective security community around the world were actually formed after the Russo-Ukrainian War. Moscow claims that the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) threatened Russia's security and made war inevitable. China has made similar claims, suggesting that further security-defense measures by NATO and the United States of America (USA), both



Cenk TAMER
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific Expert

in Asia and in the Pacific, are jeopardizing its own security. So if NATO comes to Asia or the Pacific, it's possible for China to launch an attack on Taiwan or on other Pacific islands. To prevent this, Xi proposed spreading multilateralism to BRICS countries, rejecting hegemonic approaches and building a collective security-development community based on a win-win.

In Beijing's view, the West's polarization politics pose a threat to the security of the world. In response, China claims that it poses no threat to the world. Wang stated that since the founding of his country, he never started a war, never invaded the territory of another country, never engaged in a proxy war, never joined the military blocs, and never set up any military blocs.[iv] For this reason, according to Wang, China has the best record in the world for peace and security issues. The main threats come from Western defense alliances.

In order to avoid this threat, China is working its thesis to unite the world's most biased nations in defense of multilateralism, thus resisting Western unilateral moves that have disrupted the status quo. To this end, China is seeking to create a global security-development platform through the expansion of BRICS. More specifically, the enlargement of BRICS will serve as a suitable basis for China's Global Security Initiative. China has called for a benchmark set of criteria needed to further expand this platform, which brings together the world's fast-growing economies. Turkey, Indonesia and Mexico, as well as many other fast-growing economies in the world, could therefore join the platform in the years to come. The common characteristic of these countries is their rapid growth and also a keen interest in building the multipolar world.

China appreciates BRICS in building the global security community, and in this sense, India's contribution. Because New Delhi is a country that can move around Washington in terms of security. India, for example, is a member of the QUAD. This is seen as a major security threat to China. Because there's a possibility that this structure could become a new NATO in the Pacific. And the actor who blocked it was India. The appearance of AUKUS can also be seen as a consequence. New Delhi, in particular, does not want relations with Moscow to deteriorate. In fact, with Moscow's encouragement and direction, New Delhi is approaching Beijing. In short, India serves as a "safety valve" to prevent the creation of an "anti-China" security-defense organization in the Pacific. In addition to refusing to take the stand against China, India also opposes discussing the Russian issue at QUAD meetings. That is why Russia and China will want to take full advantage of India's

neutral position to create a security platform in the world.

As a result, China's efforts to expand BRICS are being driven by increased security threats against it. NATO and the United States continue to pressure China in its immediate surroundings. Beijing has proposed Moscow's theses against the West. China may soon attempt to invade Taiwan if they come at it further. Whether China really wants to do that is the question mark. Developments, including the recent Taiwan Crisis, also point to Russia. Perhaps Putin has suggested to Xi the idea of creating a global security platform. Because Russia itself is in a war; it may not be very convincing for him to take a peace initiative. He could be making China do it for him. Here in Russia, if China considers its cheap and fast production capabilities, it is impossible to say that will have positive consequences for global politics and security. So much so that China might even consider using the BRICS platform to do it quickly. However, BRICS does not seem to be the right platform for building the security-development axis world that China aspires to. Because the world is becoming equally difficult to create a polarized, highly peaceful security architecture. In short, China's efforts to expand BRICS may be a polarization product.

[i] "Xi Calls on BRICS Countries to Build Global Community of Security for All", Xinhua Net, <https://english.news.cn/20220519/82a6dd1e9a324e7f821bdc1d2940f6b1/c.html>, (Date of Accession: 20.05.2022).

[ii] "China to Work with BRICS to Promote Common Development: Xi", Xinhua Net, <https://english.news.cn/20220520/68adbabe950f49f592bf48bd1b17c026/c.html>, (Date of Accession: 20.05.2022).

[iii] "China Calls for Expanding BRICS bloc of Emerging Economies", Nikkei Asia, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-relations/China-calls-for-expanding-BRICS-bloc-of-emerging-economies>, (Date of Accession: 20.05.2022).

[iv] "Chinese FM Elaborates on China-Proposed Global Security Initiative, Stresses Nation Will Always be the Backbone of Guarding World Peace", Global Times, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202204/1260149.shtml>, (Date of Accession: 20.05.2022).



NEWS ANALYSIS

What is the Future of the Ukraine Conflict?

As the Russian operation against Ukraine continues, during the Victory Day celebrations on May 9, Russian President Vladimir Putin said, "Just like in the Second World War, today we are fighting for the safety of the Russian people and Russia in the Donbas." During the first phase of the war, the Russian Army considered Kiev as its main target, and in the second phase of the war it turned its direction to the south and east of the country. Ukrainian President Vladimir Zelensky announced that Russian forces had been repelled in Kharkiv, one of the regions where violent clashes have tak-

en place. On the other hand, Zelensky called it "madness" that Russia is still trying to achieve victory in the Donbas region. The Head of Military Intelligence of Ukraine, Major General Kyrylo Budanov asserted that the war would end by the end of 2022.

Analyzing the current situation in the war with the Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM), experts said Russia is eager to gain control in the south of the country and in the Donbas.



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator



**Dr. Doğacan
BAŞARAN**
ANKASAM Inter-
national Relations
Expert

“Russia aims to turn Ukraine into a land state.”

Stressing that fighting in the ongoing war in Ukraine is concentrating in the country's east and south, ANKASAM International Relations Expert Dr. Doğacan Başaran asserted that Russia could organize a referendum in areas it controls, particularly in Kherson.

Başaran said, “Decisions on independence or attachment to Russia can be taken on the occasion of referendums to be held in Russian-controlled regions. In the process, it is understood that Moscow's goal is to establish a buffer zone between the cities it effectively controls, especially Ukraine, and the West in general. For Russia, the ultimate goal of the buffer zone creation would be Odessa. Russia thus wants to turn Ukraine into a land state. So, the Kremlin is trying to prevent Ukraine from reaching the Black Sea. That would mean consolidating Russia's influence in the Black Sea.”



Filip BRYJKA
International Se-
curity Analyst at
the Polish Institute
of International
Relations (PISM)

“Russia may soon take control in the south of Ukraine.”

“Russia has shown serious failures in the field of political leadership and intelligence in the face of the combat capabilities of the Ukrainian Army and its determination to fight,” said Filip Bryjka, an International Security Analyst at the Polish Institute of International Relations (PISM), noting that Russia has used insufficient military means in the occupation of Ukraine. Russia has temporarily reduced its military objectives, especially because of the high cost of the war and the failures it has experienced in the north, and has turned its eye to the Donbas and the south of the country.”

Bryjka noted that Ukraine has shown strong resistance and there have been violent clashes in the cities of Severodonetsk, Popasna and Rubizhne in the country, asserted that control of these regions may fall into Russia's hands within a few days. Bryjka said: “When Russia takes full control in Donbas, it can either make moves for a semi-state such as the ‘People's Republic of Donbas’, or for the illegal incorporation of occupied territories into Russia, as happened in Crimea in 2014. On the other hand, Russia will also try to control the situation on the Kharkov-Izyum axis, where Ukraine is showing great resistance.”



**Filippo Costa
BURANELLI**
Lecturer in Inter-
national Relations
at the University of
Saint Andrews

“The West stands behind Ukraine, even though it does not directly participate in the war.”

Highlighting the significant developments over the past two months of the Russo-Ukrainian War, Professor Filippo Costa Buranelli of the Department of International Relations at Saint Andrews University said that a full-scale war in Ukraine had been prevented and that it was a significant development. “Zelensky has partially succeeded in his policy on the war in the international arena. Although the West does not directly participate in the war, it stands behind Ukraine and maintains its political, military and financial support.”

Buranelli said that the prolongation of the war in Ukraine has negative consequences for the global economy, “Although the international community condemns the occupation of Ukraine, many states oppose the destructive effects of sanctions. This creates serious problems in terms of developing a unified approach to global governance and conflict resolution.”

South Korea and Japan, the West's closest allies in East Asia, support Ukraine and are firmly in the approach, Buranelli said. “We should not characterize the West as a uniform, perfect actor. Instead, we must take into account some diplomatic and rhetorical nuances in the West. There are different approaches and proposals, from how to deal with warring parties to a complete cornering of Russia. At this point, one needs military support and intelligence support for violating basic norms of international law and the international community. The West also continues to make efforts to find a way to bring Russia to the table and to develop solutions in line with the geopolitical demands.”



**Dr. Cüneyt
KÜSMEZ**
Retired Colonel

“Russia has a goal to recover in the south of Ukraine.”

Noting that Russia is moving to a second stage in the war in Ukraine, Retired Colonel Dr. Cüneyt Kösmez stated that Moscow had suffered a lot of casualties in Kiev, Kharkiv and Chernigiv. Kösmez said “It is obvious that the first phase of the war has failed for Russia due to impairments in the command structures of the troops and disconnections between each other, mispositioning around the residential area, failure of progression of vehicles within the city and failure to comply with the safeguards.”

Stating that Russia has withdrawn its forces to the Donbas, Kösmez said, “With the reorganization of the force in the Donbas, the north has been completely idle. The Russian forces wanted to encircle the Donbas from the Western line through the Izyum region. It had already suffered a partial failure in the South. They were especially troubled in Mariupol and in the Kherson region. We see that they have not been able to achieve complete superiority in Mariupol either. Therefore, Russia wants to gather its forces on the eastern side, that is, in the Donbas region, and achieve a final result there.”

Assessing the current situation in the war, Kösmez said: “During the time we have been in, there have been very small gains by Russian forces, especially north of Luhansk. Although certain parts of the city have been entered, it seems that complete control has not been achieved. There is an intention to restore order in Zaporizhia, in the southern part of Russia.” In addition, Kösmez said that Zelenskiy had taken the initiative in the war, and therefore he did not accept Russia's demands.



**Hüseyin
DIRİÖZ**
Retired Amba-
sador

“There could be a Crimea-like situation in Donbas.”

Claiming that the Moscow administration made a miscalculation, Retired Ambassador Hüseyin Diriöz said, “Russia came out of the Cold War economically weak. He had made a painful entrance from the communist economy into the market economy. He had also experienced a troubled process in foreign policy. Therefore, Russia wants to recover what it experienced after the Cold War with the war in Ukraine.”

Asserting that Russia is trying to create a buffer zone in Ukraine, Diriöz said, “The same way Russia annexed Crimea, a similar situation may occur in the Donbas. It is not known whether it will go beyond it, that is, it will come as far as the Black Sea border and isolate Ukraine from here. But if it does something like this, Russia will be unfairly treated in the world public opinion.”

Referring to the sanctions against Russia, Diriöz said: “Russia is not affected by sanctions in a day or two. It has a number of strategic opportunities at its disposal, and it cannot be weakened immediately. But Putin’s achievement of his goals does not seem very possible in the current circumstances.”



Elnur ENVEROĞLU
Journalist

“Russia could regain power and continue its offensive against Ukraine.”

Russia is battling both the West and Ukraine, journalist Elnur Enveroğlu said. Moscow has made huge losses in the war and is deploying its positions in the country’s southeast. “Russia knows it has suffered serious defeats both in the battlefield and in the international arena. Because the Russian Army, which attacked Ukraine from all directions at the beginning of the war, is happy to invade only the Herson and Zaporizhia regions of Ukraine at this stage. Russia’s behavior, however, could be a tactic. At some point, Russia can come back and continue its offensive against Ukraine.”

Noting that there are scenarios in which Russia will be able to ensure full control in the south of Ukraine and make it through the Transnistria region to the borders with Moldova, Enveroğlu emphasized that “in the process of discussing such scenarios, the negotiations between Russia and Ukraine do not seem realistic.”

ANKASAM IN PRESS

23 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran was the guest of the Mid-Day program hosted by Yeşim Eryılmaz on the National Channel.

23 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol comments on the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden were published on the National Channel Segirt news portal based in North Macedonia.

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan evaluated the issue of Greece and Syria in A News.

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan spoke to the Turkish Newspaper about the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden.

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan’s comments on the process of Finland and Sweden’s NATO membership were published on the Azerbaijan-based The Sound of the Day news portal.

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan’s assessments on the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden on TV Net were published in GZT.

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan made assessments about on the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden on TV NET.

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan spoke to the Yeni Akit Newspaper about the process of Finland and Sweden’s NATO membership.

24 Mayıs 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan made assessments about to TRT World regarding the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan evaluated the current developments in foreign policy in the TV 5 Ankara Bureau program.

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Asia Pacific Research Assistant Mustafa Cem Koyuncu made assessments to Haber Global on the Taiwan tension between the United States and China.

24 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the latest developments in foreign policy in the program on Bengütürk TV Political Notes.

25 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the latest developments in foreign policy on TRT Arabic.

25 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan evaluated Sweden and Finland's visit to Turkey on TRT Arabic.

27 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden on Voice of America (VOA Turkish).

27 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden to the Voice of America (VOA Turkish) Television were published on Mynet.

28 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden to the Voice of America (VOA Turkish) Television were shared in the Com News portal.

28 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden on Voice of America (VOA Turkish).

ANKASAM IN PRESS

28 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden to the Voice of America (VOA Turkish) Television were shared in the Ramedya News portal.

28 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the NATO membership process of Finland and Sweden to the Voice of America (VOA Turkish) Television were shared Haber.com News portal.

28 May 2022

Ankara Centre for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Ordinary Meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council (EAEU) to the Uzbekistan-based World News Agency.



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

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

JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES

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

ANKASAM JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES VOLUME VI, ISSUE I.

