



ANKASAM

bulletin

27 March 2022
ISSUE: 2022/12



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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Muttaqi's Messages from Antalya to the International Community

Many heads of state, prime ministers and foreign ministers attended the Antalya Diplomacy Forum hosted by Turkey. One of the invited officials was the Taliban Foreign Minister Emirhan Muttaqi. Muttaqi met with representatives of many states and international organizations within the framework of the Antalya Diplomacy Forum. He gave important messages to the West, the regional states and the Afghan people, especially the United States of America (US), by speaking at the panel held under the title of "Afghanistan: How to Deal with New Realities?"

At the beginning of his speech, Muttaqi has expressed in the beginning of his speech that, Taliban's founding leader Mollah Mohammad Omar

is on the side of diplomacy after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, yet the US and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has chosen the war and occupied Afghanistan. Muttaqi has claimed that "Diplomacy can be a tool for preventing wars instead of legitimizing the wars." and by saying that diplomacy has a crucial role for Taliban to take over Afghanistan again. In that sense, Taliban's Minister of Foreign Affairs has said that they are right on war against the invasion and therefore the US had to choose diplomacy. According to Muttaqi, on February 29, 2022, the US has signed Doha Agreement and from August 21, 2021, she has withdraw from Afghanistan due to that Agreement. Muttaqi, with his explanation, has claimed that 20-year-war happened due to US



Ahmad Khan DAWLATYAR
ANKASAM AF-PAK
Expert

and Taliban is right to be a hegemon in Afghanistan again. As it can be understood, Foreign Minister of Taliban has highlighted that they are not the aggressive one and they are defending their countries.

Muttaqi has also made a call to the international society. International society has demanded that an inclusive government should be established, the human rights and women's rights should be respected, and Taliban should be stand away of the terrorist groups. In response, international society has claimed that they will recognize the Taliban government. In his speech, Muttaqi has responded the demands in his speech. He said that in the Taliban Government, there are people from every ethnicities and everywhere of Afghanistan, and he said that 500 thousand workers remained in their jobs. Besides, Muttaqi has claimed that nowhere in the world, the governments came into power with revolutions did not give place to the opposition, and he claimed Taliban has an inclusive manner.

On women's rights, Muttaqi has said that the women which are public employees are given their wages, the universities are open to the women and the schools will be open to them soon. In that sense, Taliban has highlighted that there are not any limitations over Islamic measures. On the other hand, Muttaqi has claimed that the US and NATO cannot beat Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) so-called Khorasan Emirate (ISKP), yet Taliban has defused it in a short time. In those explanations Muttwi has pointed out that the conditions for recognizing Taliban has been completed.

Besides, Muttaqi has given different messages to the states of the region. In that sense, Taliban's Foreign Minister has expressed that "Afghanistan is the heart of Asia. If this country loses power, all of the states in the world will be on trouble, especially the states of the region." In that sense, Muttaqi has claimed that the territories of Afghanistan will not be used against anyone and neighboring states should give up the policy of weakening the Taliban Government. In addition, he said that the countries of the region will be effected most from the Afghanistan's problems and they should act accordingly. According to Muttaqi, the increase of instability in Afghanistan will make all of the region be threatened from terrorism and migration problems. Undoubtedly, Foreign Minister of Taliban has given the messages that they want to develop the relations based on cooperation with the region's states.

Another group that Muttaqi addressed during his speech was the Afghan people and the opposition of the Taliban. Muttaqi mentioned the successes of the Taliban, stating that the de-

posed regime was a puppet government that was disconnected from the people, involved in corruption and managed to survive with foreign aid. Muttaqi said that despite the cessation of foreign aid and the blocking of Afghanistan's reserves, the Taliban created the state's budget with their own means and saved the country's economy from collapse.

However, Muttaqi stated that the Taliban ensured security throughout the country and put an end to corruption and local armed groups. In this sense, the Taliban Foreign Minister, rather than an inclusive government that his country needs; stated that it is a stable and safe environment. Thus, he emphasized that it would be possible to create a prosperous society.

In his message to the opposition, Muttaqi stated that the Taliban has a tolerant structure and stated that they are trying to make the government more inclusive with various reforms.

In his speech, Muttaqi also talked about the foreign policy approach of the Taliban. In this context, the Taliban Foreign Minister, claiming that their foreign policy understanding is based on the principle of neutrality, stated that they want to remove Afghanistan from being a place of competition between regional and global actors, and talked about their desire to transform into a trade and transit junction that provides Central Asia-South Asia-Middle East connectivity. With this statement, Muttaqi gave the message that they are open to cooperation that will be shaped in line with a mutual win-win understanding with all states, without being a part of regional and global power struggles.

Referring to the economic situation of the country, Muttaqi stated that no significant investment was made in Afghanistan's infrastructure during the 20-year occupation and drew attention to the need for support in this sense. In addition, Muttaqi wanted the international community to take responsibility for the creation of a self-sufficient Afghanistan and stated that they expected the international community to put pressure on the release of Afghanistan's national reserves.

After all, the Taliban are aware of the power of the international community, as can be understood from the messages given by Muttaqi in Antalya. Therefore, it takes care not to be isolated from the international community by taking part in diplomatic events. Thus, the Taliban officials talk about the situation in their country with their interlocutors, convey their demands and expectations, and better understand what is expected of them. In other words, unlike the 1990s, the New Taliban favors dialogue with the international community.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Detections Regarding the Military Operation Carried Out by Russia in Ukraine

Russian President Vladimir Putin has been unable to acquire the requisite assurances from the United States (USA) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on essential issues related to the security guarantees he wanted (NATO). On February 22, 2022, Russia recognized the separatist Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics as independent from Ukraine, and on February 24, 2022, Russia initiated a military assault against Ukraine. However, the military operation in question has moved beyond the areas controlled by pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine's Donetsk and Luhansk provinces since

2014 and has turned into a military operation conducted from the north, south and east and targeting the whole of Ukraine. Russia's operation has identified substantial security dangers at all levels and in all industries. Moscow's action, on the other hand, caused a significant breach in the international security system and revealed information about Russia's foreign and security policy.

The first is that, although abandoning ideological opposition during the Cold War, Russia was unable to overcome its predisposition to per-



**Dr. Ahmet
SAPMAZ**

ceive the United States in particular, and the West in general, as the other. In this atmosphere, any development that favored the United States and the West was interpreted as a setback for Russia. Moscow reacted to colorful revolutions in former Soviet geography, as well as NATO and the European Union (EU) enlargement efforts, with political, military, economic, and cultural measures, and periodically pushed its nuclear deterrence to the fore. However, blaming Moscow alone for the current state of affairs is ridiculous. The expansion of NATO and the EU by the United States and the West without providing Moscow with a sense of security has also played a role in the current events. Due to the perceived danger from Russia, the Baltic and Eastern European nations have turned increasingly towards NATO, the EU, and the United States as a result of Moscow's understanding of events in Europe within the context of military security and historical developments. As a result, these countries were fast to join NATO and the EU. Furthermore, these advancements have highlighted a security conundrum that feeds on itself.

Second, Russia's engagement in Ukraine has shown inconsistencies in its previous use of armed force. Unlike prior military operations, the political goal of the Ukrainian operation is clear: NATO and the United States. Because, before starting the military operation against Ukraine, Moscow conducted the negotiations regarding its political and military demands with the USA, NATO and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The draft agreement terms seeking security assurances from Moscow proclaimed the policy of opposing NATO's growth in Ukraine to the whole world, and it was indicated that if these guarantees were not supplied, military-technical actions would be implemented. In other words, Ukraine has become a chessboard for Russia and the West's power battle. In this scenario, Ukraine finds itself in the position of a country occupied by a state such as Russia, which possesses the world's biggest arsenal of nuclear weapons and the largest conventional army on the European continent, in the context of national interests in a struggle between great powers.

Third, Russia has launched military operations in disputed areas in the past, claiming to be protecting its own residents or local people of Russian ancestry, being welcomed to the country under international law, or being sent as a peacekeeping force. The overall approach used by Moscow in these military forces is to secretly support the present Russian origin/pro-conflict conditions, to support and recognize the governments' assertions of independence in conflict zones, and to ensure integration

through increasing relations in all spheres. The Russian Army's advance on Tbilisi in the 2008 Russia-Georgia War was brief and focused at getting the ceasefire terms adopted. Despite the fact that the Moscow administration is not recognized by several countries in Syria, it maintains a military presence at the Assad regime's request. However, beyond the aforementioned concerns and contested territories, Russia sought to occupy the territory of another state for the first time. Furthermore, pursuant to the Budapest Memorandum signed in 1994 by Russia, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Ukraine, no country will use or threaten to use force against Ukraine in exchange for Ukraine's nuclear weapons being transferred to Russia, and the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity will be respected. In this approach, the Kyiv government was confident. Moscow, on the other hand, has blatantly violated the pact by annexing Crimea in 2014, offering assistance to separatist territories in eastern Ukraine, recognizing separatist regions' independence in 2022, and conducting military operations against Ukraine.

On the other hand, the fourth paragraph of Article 2 of the United Nations (UN) Charter contains the following statement regarding the issue:

"All Members shall refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations, either against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other state, or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN."

Without a doubt, the aforementioned article prohibits UN members from using or threatening to use force in international relations. Simultaneously, Russia is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which is the primary authority for ensuring international peace and security, according to the UN Charter. Moscow is blatantly violating the UN Charter, which it is required by international law to uphold and safeguard.

Fourth, till now, all national power components, particularly political, military, economic, and cultural, have carried out Russia's foreign military operations using hybrid war tactics in an unexpected and rapid impact. This position has resulted in impasses and hesitations, both in terms of the party targeted for use of force and the political and military strategies to be pursued in response to Moscow's regional and global movements. This made it impossible to respond in a coordinated and integrated manner. However, Russia's involvement in the attempted inva-

sion of Ukraine prompted the Western world to respond unilaterally to Moscow. In the current circumstances, the Western World, which had previously diverged in its approach toward Russia, was able to adopt an integrated policy. The majority of these actions targeted Russia with economic and financial penalties.

Despite the fact that NATO and other nations did not send military forces to Ukraine, Ukraine received a considerable amount of essential weaponry, ammunition, and equipment, including anti-tank and air defense missiles. The war has already devolved into a proxy war. On the other hand, several new components have been included into the war's evolving face. Citizens of third parties voluntarily took part in the war on the side of Ukraine against Russia. Ukraine was also in favor of this.

Fifth, Russia utilized military action against a state with relatively high national power elements for the first time. Ukraine, which has a greater degree of national power elements than Georgia, boosted its military preparations after the takeover of Crimea in 2014, and, contrary to predictions, it eventually shown strong opposition to Russia's military operation. The President of Ukraine, Vladimir Zelensky, in particular, took a firm stand in defense of his country, which bolstered domestic resistance while gradually increasing international support for his country. In the Ukrainian terrain, which lacked difficult terrain for defense, Russian armed troops were unable to maneuver as swiftly as predicted. Conflicts and bombs in residential areas resulted in the consolidation and growth of anti-Russian public sentiment generated through the media across the world.

One of the most significant outcomes of the operation is Moscow's position in international affairs. Power is the most important fact in world politics now, as it was yesterday. Hegemony or great power policies, which were formerly attempted solely on the basis of military force or ideology, are now developed within a framework based on consent and principles, with economic connections playing a major role. In this framework, the major powers seek to justify their policies by expanding their alliances and increasing the number of friendly nations. States aim to limit the number of unfriendly nations in this scenario. This is accomplished by the application of smart power, which combines hard and soft power.

With its military intervention against Ukraine, Moscow eschewed soft and thereby smart power aspects in favor of hard power. This position has the potential to have significant ramifications for Moscow's ability to operate effectively in all sectors, both regionally and globally. Despite Putin's claims that there is no ethnic divide between Ukrainians and Russians and that it was intentionally manufactured by the West, he began a military campaign in Ukraine, earning the moniker of occupier in the eyes of the Ukrainian people. Furthermore, despite the fact that Moscow has built regional coalitions under its own leadership in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), it operates inside the post-World War II international order. The Western World imposes sanctions and pressure on some governments, international organizations, international credit and financial institutions, international enterprises, and international organizations to remind Moscow that it is a part of this system.

A major power's influence in international affairs is primarily determined by its relationships with other great powers. It should be underlined that by maintaining a status quo attitude until 2008, Russia enhanced its political, economic, and military might. Its military might, which is based on nuclear weapons, which Moscow regards as a significant advantage, and its economy, which is dependent on the energy industry, are both flaws. Russia is attempting to accomplish objectives in international politics using its military force that it could not achieve with other national power elements, and the international community is reacting as a consequence. On the other hand, in the sphere of energy, which accounts for the majority of economic power capacity, EU nations, in particular, are currently attempting to lessen their reliance on Russia by diversifying their energy supply choices and utilizing renewable energy sources.

The Russian-led changes in world politics since 2008 are the late repercussions of the fall of a major superpower, such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), whose origins and implications are yet unknown. Russia, as the successor to the Soviet Union, is attempting to establish and cement its position in the international system in all areas. This is the biggest source of conflict in the international security system that stems from Russia. The Ukrainian operation, on the other hand, refers to a long-term process that will wear Moscow down. Moscow may suffer severe losses in its great power policy as a result of several military stalemates in Afghanistan and Chechnya during the USSR period.

On the other side, with the aforementioned operation, NATO's post-Cold War legitimacy issue was resolved, and the political-military alliance reverted to its primary mission of protecting Europe from Russia, as it had been throughout the Cold War. The advances in Germany, particularly in order to boost Europe's defense capabilities outside of NATO, indicate to the rise of new international security players. On the other hand, certain European countries with a reasonably independent foreign policy have a pro-Russian stance. China is Russia's most important trading partner. Beijing is affected in two ways by the present process. The first is the United States' return to a Pacific-European orientation as a result of Russia. The second is that in an environment where all international security-oriented attention is directed to Russia, room for maneuver has been opened for his cautious policy towards unification with Taiwan.

The military activity of Russia against Ukraine provides for key inferences regarding the nations' security policy. The most essential responsibility of state leaders is to assure the state's survival as well as the welfare of the country. Leaders must choose whether or not to pursue a certain policy in order to attain this aim. The most essential thing is to arrive to a conclusion without arguing. In this context, while Zelenskyy's willingness to defend his country is lauded, it is thought that the military actions carried out by Russia in the past, as well as the broader tendency of Russian foreign and security policy, were not adequately evaluated by Zelenskyy, resulting in present events. International law, which is a political law, is not in Ukraine's favor right now. NATO, which Zelenskyy believes would safeguard his nation from Russian aggression, does not give genuine military help to Ukraine, and the weapon systems it sends will worsen the damage in Ukraine. As a result, states attempt to achieve a balance between short, medium, and long-term objectives in order to preserve their existence.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Armenia's New President and Its Effects on Foreign Policy

On March 3rd, 2022, the National Assembly of Armenia has elected the new President of the country. The newly elected President of Armenia is Vahagn Khachatryan, former Minister of High Technology, and Industry. Khachatryan has officially nominated the ruling Civil Contract Party of Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan.

Khachatryan, who is coming to the fore as the only candidate for the Presidency, could not

reach the required 81 votes in the first round of the elections with receiving just 69 votes. Although at least 65 deputies' votes were required for Khachatryan to be elected, in the second round of the elections process, he became the President with 71 votes.

As it may be known, the former President of Armenia, Armen Sarkissian has announced his resignation from his duty on January 23, 2022.



Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU
ANKASAM Eurasia
Expert

He demonstrated the main reasons for his resignation, as the lack of capability of his office which will affect the foreign and domestic policy, by underlining difficulties in defence of Armenian national interests. Sarkissian also declared that such constitutional restrictions could lead to a "national crisis" and stated that the President cannot affect the situation of war and peace and does not exercise his veto power against the laws enacted in the country.[1]

Sarkissian, who has of diplomatic origin, served as Prime Minister in 1996-1997. In April 2018, he was proposed as a presidential candidate by the Armenian Republican Party and its coalition partner, the Dashnaksutyun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) Party, and was eventually elected as the President.

With respect to this, Pashinyan who led the uprising in the country became Prime Minister in April 2018. Thus, the balance has been built between the pro-status quo and the pro-change.

Sarkissian has only a symbolic status in the country; Although he had to play a balancing role between the government and the opposition, both his election by the government before Pashinyan and his unsuccessful criticism of Pashinyan during the Second Karabakh War, which lasted for 44 days, has revealed that Sarkissian was on the side of the opposition. Therefore, Sarkissian's resignation and then a minister from Pashinyan's cabinet becoming President means that the political balances in Armenia have changed in favour of Pashinyan.

Further, Sarkissian was the last representative of "Old Armenia" in a symbolic sense. Despite the old political actors who have fallen into opposition positions in Armenian politics still exist, Sarkissian's departure and Khachaturyan's becoming the new President are concrete indications that the Pashinyan Government has gained superiority over its rivals.

Khachaturyan, who was the Mayor of Yerevan from 1992 to 1996, has begun his political career with the team of the first President of Armenia, Levon Ter-Petrosyan and he has also served as Advisor to the President between 1996 and 1998. When Ter-Petrosyan has left his office in the late 1990s, Khachaturyan resigned together with him, even though he could take part in the newly formed government.

Khachaturyan supported the "peaceful coexistence with Azerbaijan" approach along with the Ter-Petrosyan and more, during his political career, he has advocated improved Armenia-Azerbaijan relations. He did not support the movement by

the supporters of the Karabakh War, who took power in Armenia in 1998, nor did he have any relations with the Karabakh Clan. He continued to be a member of Ter-Petrosyan's Armenian National Congress until he joined Pashinyan's squad. It is stated that Haçaturyan, after serving as the Minister of State for Technology and Industry on August 4, 2021, had not made any statement that he was a Pashinyan supporter. However, as a member of the ruling party, it could be said that the party supported Pashinyan and contributed to the activities of the Civil Contract Party.[2]

According to Armenian media, Khachaturyan has participated in the "Evaluation of Relations between Turkey and Armenia" event at Çukurova University, Adana, in 2011 upon the invitation of Turkey. According to the report, Khachaturyan has added that Armenia had no intention of looking back and that the two countries should be able to resolve their problems among themselves.[3]

With reference to the 2015 constitutional amendment in Armenia, the President has limited powers and has no significant influence on domestic and foreign policy. This was the reason for his predecessor Sarkissian's resignation. However, when we analyze the past political stance of Khachaturyan, and, in general, the foreign policy of Pashinyan, it can be said that Armenia would like to advance the "normalization processes" in its foreign policy more rapidly. The former President Sarkissian was mainly attempting to strike a balance in Armenian foreign policy by promoting relations with Russia. The new President, Khachaturyan, will focus on improving the relations with Azerbaijan and Turkey, on the condition that remains loyal to the military alliance with Russia which is the fundamental principle of Armenia.

The foreign policy objective would be to open Armenia to the West. The success to be achieved in the normalization processes will also allow the country to provide uninterrupted access to the West. As a result, it can be predicted that Armenia turns into an actor that develops more constructive relations in foreign policy with the Khachaturyan period.

[1] "Президент Армении Саркисян объявил об отставке", *Izvestiya*, <https://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/2022/01/23/906031-sarkisyan-podal-v-otstavku>, (Date of Accession: 05.02.2022).

[2] Сова Рустамова, "Новый президент Армении: кто такой Ваагн Хачатурян", *News.Ru*, <https://news.ru/world/kto-takoj-novyj-prezident-armenii/>, (Date of Accession: 05.02.2022).

[3] "Армения получит президента, готового извиниться перед турками за «АСАЛА»", *Erkramas*, <https://yerkramas.org/article/186669/armeniya-poluchit-prezidenta-gotovogo-izvinitnya-pered-turkami-za-%C2%ABasala%C2%BB>, (Date of Accession: 05.02.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Reflection of the Growing Insecurity on the Moscow-Tehran Line: Vienna Crisis

On February 24, 2022, the Russian military operation against Ukraine drew international reaction and Russia was subjected to severe sanctions. The sanctions put the country at risk of a fast-track isolation from the international community. There have been several problems in relations with allies with whom Moscow has cooperated under "The Other Alliance." The most discussed issue in this context was China not to confront Russia; The abstention of Ukraine also emphasizes its territorial integrity. Moreover, Iran's stance revealed certain problems on the Moscow-Tehran line after an unanimous

objection to the resolution in the United Nations (UN) General Assembly to reproach Russia.

In fact, disagreements between the two countries are hardly new. Because Moscow was disturbed by Iran's influence obtained through Shi'a militias during the Syrian Civil War. The positive content of Russia-Israel relations is also influential in this disorder. As a matter of fact, the failure to activate the Russian S-300s was repeatedly debated in Israel's air strikes against Shiite militia groups, particularly in the Golan Heights.



Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
International
Relations

A similar situation occurred in the Second Karabakh War, when Iran backed Armenia. She has also been seen in shifting away from the traditional Russian policy towards a more neutral position and acting as a mediator. Likewise, there are conflicts in the Caspian territories between the parties. Also, the policy towards Afghanistan of the parties differs substantially.

Currently, Moscow and Tehran stand out as two capitals that cooperate against the pressure of the United States of America (USA) and speak of a multi-polar world. However, despite expectations to extend the term of the 10-year agreement signed with Russia in March 2001, which had been extended until 2021, this agreement has not yet been signed. In a sense, the Moscow leadership demonstrated Tehran's unease with the 25-Year Extensive Cooperation Agreement with Beijing.

In fact, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ibrahim Reisi, visited Moscow on January 19, 2022 and there was no explanation regarding the agreement that was supposed to be signed during this visit. Moreover, Russian President Vladimir Putin's approach to his regime established a body language that stated serious problems in bilateral relations.

On the current level, a new crisis has occurred in Iran's negotiations with P5+1 countries on returning to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) in Vienna. As is known, Iran has been subject to serious sanctions since the unilateral withdrawal of Donald Trump, the former U.S. President, from the JCPOA. Meanwhile, U.S. President Joe Biden raised many accusations during the campaign, saying Trump's stance undermined U.S. credibility. In this context, negotiations in Vienna began shortly after Biden's election victory. Although the eighth session of the negotiations suggested that a text of agreement was forged on the return to the JCPOA, the requests by the Moscow administration blocked the announcement of the agreement.

Accordingly, Russia requested written guarantees from the US that the sanctions imposed on it in relation to the Ukrainian War will not harm its cooperation with Iran. To that demand, the French, UK and German administrations said, "No one should try to take advantage of negotiations to obtain additional guarantees from the Iran Nuclear Agreement. This increases the risk that the agreement will collapse." [1] US Secretary of State Antony Blinken stressed that Moscow's demands were irrelevant to the contents of the conversation.[2] All this means that Moscow's demands were not accepted by the Western actors who were parties to the negotiations. In this environment, the foreign ministry of Iran indicated[3] that it would not accept imposition of external factors in the negotiations, claiming that the Moscow-Tehran line

was extremely difficult to repair. In fact, Iranian Foreign Minister Hüseyn Emir Abdullahiyan stressed that no foreign actor would be allowed to harm Iran's national interests. [4] The West's and Iran's view of the treaty must be mentioned here. This would also make it more difficult for Russia to reach an agreement.

As will be remembered, before the JCPOA was signed in 2015, Iran was facing heavy sanctions from the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) concerning its program to acquire nuclear weapons. In 2014, these sanctions were lifted and the JCPOA was signed by Russia's intervention in Ukraine, annexing Crimea in violation of international law. The West chose to sign the JCPOA with Iran to diversify its energy suppliers when it was sanctioning Russia. Although Iran is not currently subject to UNSC sanctions, U.S. sanctions make it difficult for many Western companies to do business in the Iranian market. However, Russia once again intervened in Ukraine by 2022. Moreover, this time there is a more comprehensive military operation. For this reason, Western governments, believing that Russia's actions might threaten the European security architecture, again impose heavy sanctions on Russia. This means that the West once again needs to increase the number of energy suppliers.

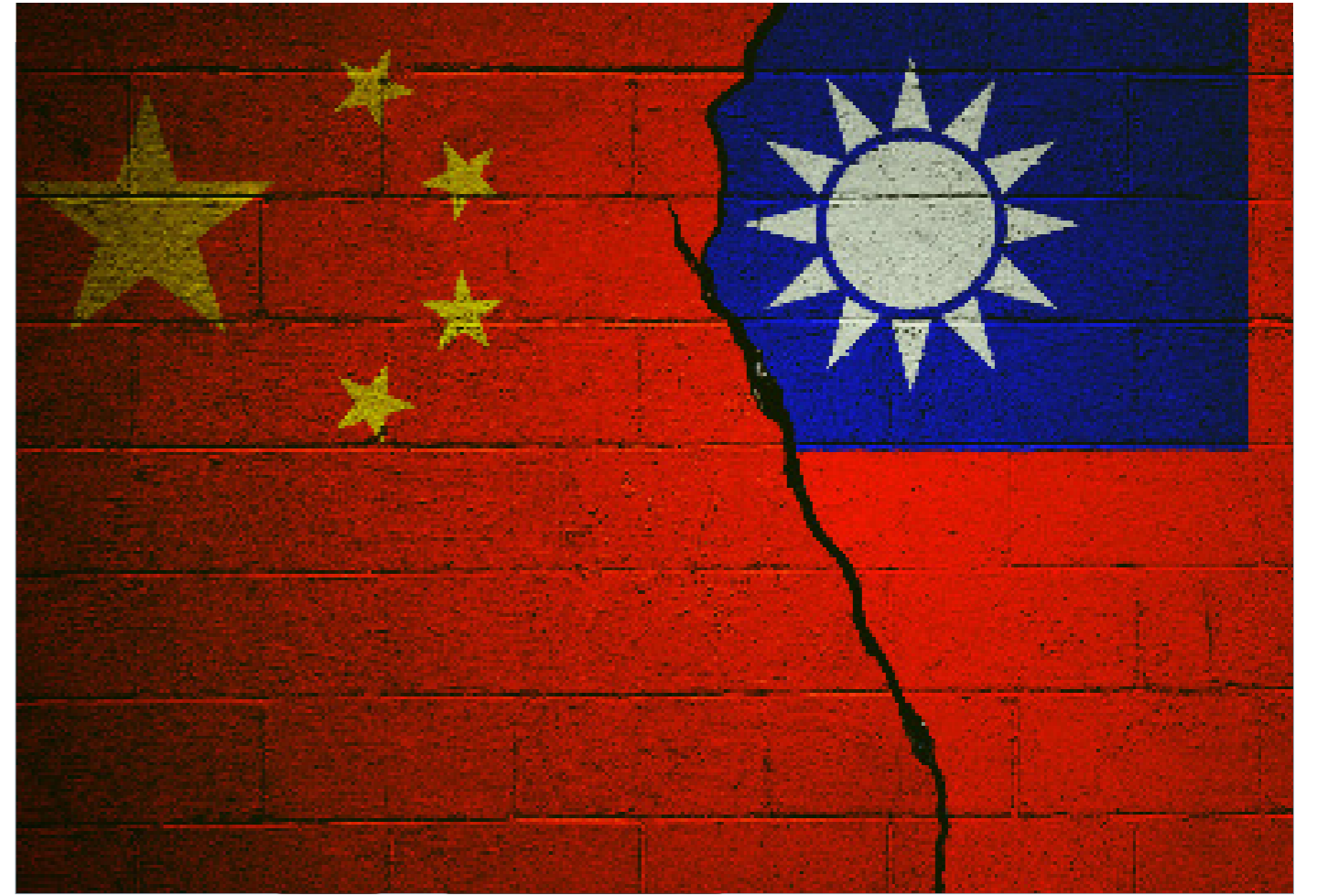
In this sense, Russia and Iran are in alliance due to the marginalization policy of the USA; however, there are two competing countries for the supply of energy. While the West cut back the pressure on Russia during the periods sanctioned by Iran, the pressure on Tehran was also decreasing when the name of Moscow was written on the target board. Thus, the sanctions faced by Russia due to the war in Ukraine present a serious opportunity for Iran, which is struggling with serious economic problems. The opportunity, however, shows that the friendly discourse on the Moscow-Tehran line was a rhetoric and both sides were acting in their own national interests. At this point, the Vienna Crisis in Russia-Iran relations seems to harbor more critical tensions in the future.

[1] "Rusya'nın Müzakere Dışı Talepleri İran Anlaşmasını Tehlikeye Soktu", Euronews, <https://tr.euronews.com/2022/03/12/rusya-n-n-muzakere-d-s-talepleri-iran-anlasmn-n-tehlikeye-soktu>, (Date of Accession: 14.03.2022).

[2] "İran Nükleer Müzakerelerinde Rusya'nın Talebi Belirsizlik Yarattı", TRT Haber, <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/iran-nukleer-muzakerelerinde-rusyanin-talebi-belirsizlik-yaratti-661663.html>, (Date of Accession: 14.03.2022).

[3] "Rusya Viyana'da Güvence Talebinde İsrarcı, İran 'Dayatmaları' Reddediyor", Şarkul Avsat, <https://turkish.aawsat.com/home/article/3518436/rusya-viyana-e2%80%99da-g%C3%BCvence-talebinde-%C4%B1srarc%C4%BI-i%CC%87ran-%E2%80%98dayatmalar%C4%B1%E2%80%99-reddediyor>, (Date of Accession: 14.03.2022).

[4] Ibid.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Why China Cannot Intervene in Taiwan?

Russia's intervention in Ukraine, which began following Russian President Vladimir Putin's address to the country on February 23, 2022, brought global attention to the region. Many analyses and remarks are made on the war in issue, which has caused a new geopolitical turbulence, and future forecasts are stated. On the one hand, Russia's intervention in Ukraine has generated a security crisis in Europe; on the other hand, the spotlights are on Taiwan, thousands of kilometers away. At this point, the question arose as to whether China would

launch an operation against Taiwan in a manner similar to the Russian intervention in Ukraine.

Some experts claimed that the situation between Ukraine and Russia has similarities with the relationship between Taiwan and China, and suggested that the aforementioned region would also be exposed to war. As a matter of fact, before Russia's intervention in Ukraine, Vladimir Putin's visit to Beijing for the Olympic Games held in China on February 4, 2022, and during this visit, publishing a comprehensive



Mustafa Cem KOYUNCU
ANKASAM Asia Pacific Research Assistant

declaration titled "Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on the International Relations Entering a New Era and the Global Sustainable Development" has been interpreted as a development that raises suspicions. Simultaneously with the Russian military activity, the Taiwan Ministry of Defense announced 8 J-16 fighters and 1 Y-8 reconnaissance aircraft of the Chinese People's Liberation Army violated in the southern ADIZ of Taiwan, which is seen as another suspicious event.[1]

Without a doubt, the Taiwan Problem, which began in 1949 with the communists' victory in the civil war between the communists and the nationalists on China's mainland, and resulted in the nationalists' move to Taiwan Island, has caused the island to be viewed as one of the regions where a hot conflict in international relations could occur. According to Beijing's "One China" doctrine, which is one of the pillars of its foreign policy, the island has its own territory, and the mainland and the island will one day be united. So, is a military intervention in Taiwan, which is part of China's historical memory and foreign policy plan, possible?

It is possible to say that Beijing's intervention plan in Taiwan will be a mistake in the short term and that this possibility is not possible, when viewed from a more realistic and deeper perspective, leaving the hot conflict in Ukraine and China's violation of ADIZ aside. First of all, the thesis that China's violation of Taiwan's ADIZ region is a signal of an operation is an erroneous approach. Because China has been violating on Taiwan's ADIZ territory on a regular basis in the past. It may be said that the violation on February 24, 2022 is no different from previous violations and that Beijing is engaged in broad attrition warfare against Taiwan.

One of the arguments supporting the claim that China would make a mistake in invading Taiwan at this period is the timing. China and Russia have been acting jointly against the hegemony of the United States of America (USA) for years. China has always been considered as a stronger country in this alliance, and it has positioned itself as the strongest alternative to US hegemony in the global system. For this reason, China first has been seeking to emphasize the superiority of its ideology in order to become the dominant actor in the current system and then establish its own Sinocentric order. However, China's intervention in Taiwan in the current conjuncture will be seen as an "opportunistic country" under Russia. Undoubtedly, it would not be an image that China, which wants to transform the global system, desires to attract the people of the world

to its side and defends the "Community of Common Destiny for Mankind" ideology in this direction, to be seen under Russia or to be labeled as opportunist country, would want to carry. Furthermore, a possible intervention in Taiwan will strengthen the global leadership image of the USA, as seen in the example of Ukraine. Considering that the countries of the region also have sovereignty problems with China, it can be predicted that strong anti-Chinese rhetoric will rise in the Indo-Pacific.

Another reason to keep China from invading Taiwan is its military operational capacity. Making a military operation in a region and conquering that region permanently is getting harder day by day. Factors such as breakthroughs in communication technologies, war experience, increasing war costs, the use of social media as a disinformation instrument, metropolitan areas entering the battlefield, asymmetrical elements becoming more effective, the development of unmanned combat aerial vehicle technologies, and logistics costs are preventing today's decision to go to war. As a matter of fact, the effectiveness of these elements in Russia's intervention can be seen as tangibly. The most recent example of this situation is Russia's military weakness that has been displayed during the war, which has a border with Ukraine and is regarded as the world's second strongest force.

Taiwan presents a greater challenge to China in addition to the difficulties Ukraine poses for Russia. Taiwan is an island. When compared in the light of historical examples (England, Portugal, USA, Spain, etc.), actors who dominate the seas are more successful in defense. The main reason for this situation is the necessity of the attacking force to conduct amphibious operations. This kind of operation has to require advanced technology, coordination, combat experience and favorable geographical conditions.

Since Xi Jinping became President of China, Beijing's increasing economic power has also been boosted its military capacity. The modernization process of the Chinese People's Liberation Army led to the development of both ground, sea and air power. In particular, The People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) has shown a great increase in terms of high-tech arsenal and numerical. However, Beijing's growing military power has yet to be tested and its ability to use these weapons and equipment remains unclear. China has no combat experience except it engaged in a minor naval skirmish with Vietnam over the Johnson South Reef in 1988 and a war with the Vietnamese Army in 1979. For these reasons, despite the fact that China's air and naval arsenals are becoming increasingly stocked with the so-

phisticated weapon, it is unclear how effective a terrestrial area control capability will be. Moreover, mountains rising from the coasts of Taiwan on the Chinese side make any amphibious operations less likely to succeed. Those who compare Ukraine and Taiwan are missing a point regarding military aspects. While the possibility of Ukraine's intervention has been a controversial issue until the last moment, Taiwan has been acting with an expectation in this direction for years and has been designing and training all its elements (civil-military) that will affect the war according to the threat in question. When other factors such as the presence of US troops in Taiwan,[2] and the US and its allies' growing military capabilities in the Pacific are considered, it is possible to conclude that Beijing's chances of success in such an intervention are weak and that it will suffer a negative consequence that will damage its own image.

Economic concerns are the last, but likely most crucial factor that will affect the decision of China's intervention in Taiwan. Because economic growth has been Beijing's greatest achievement from the past to the present. China's economic and cultural reforms, which began in 1978, allowed it to integrate with global markets and generate an export-based growth opportunity. Beijing's economic growth has helped 748.5 million people out of extreme poverty and reduced this rate from 66.3% to 0.3%. With the Belt-Road Project launched in 2013, China has invested in all parts of the world, created new markets and gained diplomatic and cultural power accordingly. Under these circumstances, the most destructive situation for China will be a wave of economic sanctions that will exclude China from foreign markets. Despite the fact that Russia was less integrated into the global system, it began to experience economic difficulties during the Ukraine Crisis. Moreover, the USA and European Union (EU) countries, which have the power to impose sanctions, constitute China's largest markets. U.S. goods and services trade with China totaled an estimated \$615.2 billion in 2020. Exports were \$164.9 billion; imports were \$450.4 billion.[3] European Union goods and services trade with China totaled an estimated €646.5 billion in 2019.[4] Furthermore, China has a trade surplus between U.S-China as well as EU-China trade.

Under the current circumstances, China cannot afford to risk being isolated from such an advantage. It should not be forgotten that China has to feed 1.5 billion people every day. The starvation and famine experienced in the past are full of pain that China's decision makers cannot get out of their memories. For this reason, a wrong calculation to be made against Taiwan will open the doors of an irreversible challenge against Beijing.

Another economic component is the semiconductor crisis that China may cause as a result of likely Taiwan intervention. Semiconductors and its supply chain have become increasingly significant as it has been integrated into almost every industry across the world. During the Covid-19 outbreak, the shutdown of semiconductor-producing companies, in particular, caused a shortage of semiconductors and a domino effect in nearly all sectors of the world, disrupting global trade. According to the data of 2020, Taiwan alone accounts for 63% of the world's chip production. It has earned an income of \$85.13 billion from this production.[5] Considering the possible operation of China, the world will face a worse supply shortage than in the Covid period, and this will cause the West to respond to China with a harsher version of the sanctions imposed on Russia. This is the worst-case scenario that China would want to see.

In terms of its effects, Russia's intervention in Ukraine will result in a variety of consequences. In the case of China, Moscow's intervention made it more difficult for China to plan attacks on Taiwan rather than making it easier. Stating that "No war plan survives contact with the enemy. War has the ability to produce results on all rules and processes" by Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke former Chief of Staff of the Prussian General Staff, was once again confirmed by the Russia-Ukraine War. Undoubtedly, China's plans to intervene in Taiwan are in the archives of the People's Liberation Army. The main concern here is the timing and the will to implement this plan. However, in the light of recent events, China's implementation of an operation plan will give the impression that rationality has been lost. The interesting question here is whether the US provoked Beijing to intervene in Taiwan. In truth, the answer to this question may be found in the events that followed Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

[1] "Air Activities in the Southwestern ADIZ of R.O.C.", Ministry of National Defense, <https://www.mnd.gov.tw/English/Publish.aspx?title=News%20Channel&SelectStyle=Military%20News%20Update%20&p=79597>, (Date of Accession: 04.03.2022).

[2] "Taiwan President Confirms U.S. Troops Training Soldiers on Island", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/taiwan-president-confirms-us-troops-training-soldiers-island-cnn-2021-10-28/>, (Date of Accession: 05.03.2022).

[3] "The People's Republic of China", Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/china-mongolia-taiwan/peoples-republic-china#:~:text=U.S.%20goods%20and%20services%20trade,was%20%24285.5%20billion%20in%202020>. (Date of Accession: 05.03.2022).

[4] "China", European Commission, <https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/china/>, (Date of Accession: 05.03.2022).

[5] Yen Nee Lee, "2 Charts Show How Much the World Depends on Taiwan for Semiconductors", CNBC, <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/03/16/2-charts-show-how-much-the-world-depends-on-taiwan-for-semiconductors.html>, (Date of Accession: 05.03.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Afghan Policy of the European Union

Following the 11 September 2001 attacks, the European Union (EU), one of the Western powerhouses, moved in together with the United States (US) to start their activities in Afghanistan. During this process, the EU has made significant contributions to the implementation of US national creation and democratic order building policies. In the last 20 years the EU has stated that it has spent €4 billion on social and economic issues in Afghanistan.

In 2018, the US, like the Government of Afghanistan, disabled the EU in the Doha Talks with the Taliban. This attitude of the Washington administration has been repeatedly criticized by EU officials and has established close ties with the successive regime in Afghanistan, unlike the US. In 2019, the EU

defrayed the costs of the Presidential Elections in Afghanistan against the policies of the White House. When the US decided to withdraw from Afghanistan, the EU claimed, "We came together, we'll go together." logic.

After the Taliban became a hegemon again in Afghanistan, European states evacuated their diplomats from Afghanistan. After the Taliban established control in every region of the country, in particular the capital, Kabul, the EU High Representative for Foreign Relations and Security Policy Josep Borrell also said that what was happening in Afghanistan was a catastrophe, that no one expected the Taliban to rule in Afghanistan at this pace and that the EU had failed as part of the West to establish a democratic order in Afghan-



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

istan. However, this explanation could not hide the EU's failure. President of the EU Commission Ursula Von Der Leyen also paid a visit to Madrid, Spain, where Afghani asylum seekers were considered temporary and said: "The EU will keep up its links with the Taliban at technical level, but it won't have any political talks with them and won't recognize that leadership." [1] However, in the fourth month of the Taliban administration, the EU issued a statement announcing that it would open its office in Kabul and send its diplomats back to Afghanistan. The Taliban also welcomed the reopening of that office and said it would be of mutual benefit. Since then, direct talks between the Taliban and the EU have started to take place in Doha and Oslo, the capital of Norway.

During the negotiations, EU officials recognized the Taliban and laid out five conditions for establishing diplomatic relations. These are: The Taliban respect human and women's rights, form an inclusive government, the rule of law, the Taliban's failure to provide humanitarian aid and Afghanistan's status as a terrorist hideout. [2]

In another statement, Borrell also indicated that he was in favor of the opening of the EU office in Afghanistan, saying they were in dialog with the Taliban because of the situation in Afghanistan, and that he had no other options to build a relationship. In the talks with the Taliban, the EU delegation requested that private security companies or the security forces of the Member States ensure the security of the EU's representative in Afghanistan. The Taliban states that they shall provide the security of all diplomatic missions. As a result of these discussions, the EU is convinced that the Taliban want to ensure the security of its representation. The Taliban Foreign Ministry has announced that the EU office in Kabul has officially started operating. [3]

"If the Taliban take over power by force, they'll be isolated from the world," Borrell said in a speech before the Ashraf Gani administration was toppled. However, at this point, the Association activates its representative office in Afghanistan and accepts the Taliban as an addressee. There are a number of reasons why the EU has backed down this way. These reasons must be addressed.

The main reason for the EU's association with the Taliban is its intention to solve the problem of immigrants and drugs originating in Afghanistan. For many EU states perceive migrants as a threat to national security and border security.

As it is known, many Afghans left the country during the second Taliban rule and went to the neighboring countries. Their goal is to travel to EU countries as the weather gets warmer. Indeed, it is known that 750,000 people have officially sought asylum from EU states since 2015. The Afghan-based drug trafficking association is also concerned with the problem of migrants.

Drugs are harming the health of people, as well as financing terrorism. Due to illegal migration, the transportation of drugs to EU countries has become easier. The EU, therefore, striving to protect the interests of European states, works with the Taliban to stop Afghan-based migration and drug trafficking. Afghanistan, on the other hand, is improving its relations with its neighbors.

In this context, the EU has made statements over the past 20 years stating that it cannot accept other Afghan immigrants except those who work with them and that Afghans who left Afghanistan to neighboring states should stay in their countries. Because the EU attaches importance to regional co-operation, it intends to work with the countries next to Afghanistan to find a solution to the problem. In fact, the fact that the EU Commission took a decision in September 2021 to set up a regional platform with Afghanistan's neighbors to help Afghanistan is a confirmation of this.

The second reason for the reopening of the EU's representation in Kabul was to protect investments in the last 20 years and to closely monitor the Taliban's behavior. Unlike the US, the EU believes it can maintain its gains by developing a proper relationship with the Taliban.

Another reason for the restart of the EU representation in Kabul was the desire to avoid the economic and humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan and to contribute to the resolution of the crisis. The economic and humanitarian crisis is the main reason for migration and drug production.

As it would be remembered, the EU froze €1 billion of funds allocated for the development of Afghanistan after the Taliban ruled the country. But it soon announced that it would provide €1.2 billion to Afghanistan over the next three years. "We must do our utmost to prevent a collapse of the social and economic space in Afghanistan," Leyen said and explained the association's aid package at the G-20 meeting. The described

package foresees providing aid to the Afghan people and to Afghanistan's neighbors. In addition, the EU has sent 60 tons of food to Afghanistan as a humanitarian aid.[4]

Finally, it could be argued that the EU maintained its presence in Afghanistan, thereby preventing the anti-Western actors from filling in the power vacuum that followed the US withdrawal. Because the EU is uncomfortable with China and Russia bridging the power vacuum created in Afghanistan by the US withdrawal, and they are trying to balance their competitors by staying in Afghanistan for whatever reason. In this context, European Parliament Member David Mc Allister called for the common stance of the US to prevent Russia and China from bridging the vacuum in Afghanistan. Furthermore, during his visit to Doha, French President Emmanuel Macron stated that he was working on opening a joint representation in Afghanistan without acknowledging or establishing political relations with the Taliban. Indeed, the EU states are striving to secure their interests in Afghanistan through the representation of the EU.

As a result, the EU, together with the US, failed in Afghanistan but stayed in the country to ensure close monitoring, as much intervention as possible and international opinion. This also illustrates that communication channels with the Taliban are desirable to be open.

[1] "نابلطاط هطلس زا سپ ناتسناغفا و اپورا هیداجتا طباور هدنیآ زادنامشچ", Independent, <https://l24.im/ny>, (Date of Accession: 01.03.2022).

[2] "دندرک نییعت نابلطاط اب طباور یارب ییاهرایعم اپورا هیداجتا هجراخ یارزو", Euronews, <https://per.euronews.com/2021/09/03/eu-foreign-ministers-set-standards-for-relations-with-the-taliban>, (Date of Accession: 01.03.2022).

[3] "لپاک رد اپورا هیداجتا ترافس ییاشگزاب", Tolo News, <https://tolonews.com/fa/afghanistan-176392>, (Date of Accession: 01.03.2022).

[4] "دندکی کمک ناتسناغفا هب وروی درایلیم کی اپورا هیداجتا", 8am, <https://8am.af/the-european-union-is-providing-e-1-billion-in-aid-to-afghanistan/>, (Date of Accession: 01.03.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Increasing Strategic Importance of Gwadar Port: Will It Become China's New Military Base?

President Xi Jinping of China introduced the Belt-Road Project in 2013, which aims to connect China to Africa, Europe, and beyond. Gwadar Port is an essential component of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which is the project's focal point. The corridor, which spans billions of dollars in infrastructure developments and includes road and transportation linkages, connects China and Pakistan. Gwadar Port is strategically and militarily important for both Beijing and Islamabad in this regard. Furthermore, Gwadar Port is a strategic location in Pakistan's Balochistan Province that can serve as a geostrategic hub for China's commercial, political, and military activity in the North Indian Ocean.

China's major motivation for wanting to build a port in Gwadar is not commercial. The port is

crucial due to China's internal and foreign security policy. Furthermore, the port is situated at the mouth of the Strait of Hormuz, on the Arabian Sea's shore, and close to the Persian Gulf. It is also a crucial location since it is the world's third biggest port.

Given China's desire to improve its access to the Indian Ocean, Gwadar Port is becoming increasingly important in Beijing. Furthermore, because it is adjacent to many vital maritime routes via which the great majority of oil shipments in the globe travel, the expansion of this port appears to be particularly essential for the storage of oil from the Middle East. The Port of Gwadar, for example, is barely 400 kilometers from the Strait of Hormuz, which transports nearly 40% of China's imported oil.[1]



**Göktuğ
ÇALIŞKAN**

The port is also beneficial to Beijing since it diversifies oil delivery lines, spans tight sea passages in South Asia, and reduces shipping time significantly. China sends commodities made in the interior to the rest of the world via Kashgar, a land and seaport. There are significant benefits for Pakistan as well in this scenario. When it comes to assuring national and regional prosperity, the Gwadar Port is vital for the Islamabad administration. The port, on the other hand, advantages Pakistan in terms of improving relations with China as well as having Chinese goodwill with India. Gwadar Port is also seen by China as a surveillance post for nautical activity in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Despite the fact that there are several infrastructure projects associated with CPEC, the Beijing administration appears to be primarily reliant on the Gwadar Port project. The fact that China changed a 230-million-dollar loan into a grant in 2015 as part of the building of Gwadar Airport demonstrates the strength of this connection.[2] In addition, China has converted a \$140 million loan for a highway project connecting Gwadar to Pakistan's coastline route into an interest-free loan.[3] Beijing, on the other hand, has taken a different approach to other CPEC projects. In this scenario, it is reasonable to conclude that China places a high priority on Gwadar. Gwadar Port will also become an important commercial hub for China's economic links with North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East if the corridor in question is built as part of the Belt-Road Project.

In August 2017, China's sole military post in the world, Djibouti Installation, became operational; the base was built in response to economic developments in the region. Gwadar Port differs from Djibouti in a number of ways. The port, for example, is a departure point for China. It is not, however, confined to providing a direct link between China and the Indian Ocean. Because the growth of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region is also being considered at this time. While Djibouti is an essential stop on China's Belt-and-Road Initiative, Gwadar is in a far more crucial location than Djibouti. Because China is expected to offer transportation to the aforementioned oceans via Gwadar. Gwadar Port can accommodate three ships with a combined weight of 50 thousand tons and a length of 200 meters.[4] The port's anticipated yearly capacity is 137 thousand container cargoes and 868 thousand general cargoes; the Islamabad management has indicated that %91 of the port's income would go to China Overseas Ports Holding Company, which will also run the port's commercial activities.[5]

Due to the mentioned characteristics and geostrategic position, Gwadar is a pivotal point in China-Pakistan ties. It's also a pos-

sible location for China's next overseas military facility. The port, which is geographically near to China, is also adjacent to the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Persian Gulf. It also plays an important role in providing military security for China's commercial interests.

Furthermore, Gwadar is a fantastic choice for China to improve its connections with Pakistan and build a regional balance, in contrast to India's increasing relations with the United States and its proximity to China. As a result, the US government believes Gwadar will be China's new military base.

According to the research conducted by Pentagon named as Military and Security Developments Including the People's Republic of China: "A more robust military basis would enable China to extend its military might and capabilities to farther areas,". As a result, China's military logistical demands are met by access to commercial ports throughout the world and the restricted number of People's Liberation Army (PLA) supply facilities at commercial ports." has been summoned.[6] As can be deduced from this, Gwadar is one of the bases China is expected to establish, alongside the base in Djibouti, as part of its good relations with Pakistan and shared strategic goals.

As a result, Gwadar Port's prominence is growing by the day. As a result of this circumstance, Gwadar will be in the forefront of the military outposts that China plans to build. Gwadar might be a viable replenishment and transfer destination for PLA equipment and people if the relevant infrastructure improvements are completed. In this sense, the geographical advantage of Gwadar is also essential for Beijing in lessening its reliance on the Malacca Strait. Furthermore, the aforementioned port can serve as a strategic location for monitoring the activities of the Quadruple Security Dialogue (QUAD), which was formed by Japan, India, the United States, and Australia. The port's importance will grow in the coming years as China seeks to weaken the power of India and the United States in the area and more readily open up to the Middle East, Africa, and the West. As a result, Gwadar Port might become China's new military base.

[1] Isaac Kardon et al, "China Maritime Report No. 7: Gwadar: China's Potential Strategic Strongpoint in Pakistan", CMSI China Maritime Reports, 7, 2020, p. 12-13.

[2] Nader Habibi-Hans Yue Zhu, "What CPEC Means for China's Middle East Relations", The Diplomat, <https://thediplomat.com/2020/01/what-cpec-means-for-chinas-middle-east-relations/>. (Date of Accession: 05.02.2022).



NEWS ANALYSIS

Has the Russia-Ukraine War Changed Germany's World Policy?

After 16 years of Angela Merkel's term in Germany, a new era was entered with the election of Olaf Scholz as Chancellor on December 8, 2021. Scholz, who has held various positions as Minister of Labor and Social Affairs and Prime Minister of the State of Hamburg, has faced numerous regional and global crises since taking over from Angela Merkel. On the day he took office, Scholz stated that he would be in favor of continuity in foreign policy, and became one of the most talked about world leaders due to his stance in the Russia-Ukraine War.

Announcing that they will invest more in defense than before and reduce dependence on Russia for energy, Scholz announced that 100 billion eu-

ros of financial resources will be allocated for the modernization and strengthening of the German Army. The statement was interpreted as a signal that Germany, which pursued cautious and passive policies after the Second World War, would undergo radical changes in world politics. Therefore, Russia's attack on Ukraine has increased security concerns. While this situation is described as a turning point in Germany; it is expected that new applications will be implemented in many areas in the country, from defense to energy. In this context, the experts evaluated the policies that Germany will implement during the Scholz term to the Ankara Crisis and Politics Research Center (ANKASAM).



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator



Dr. Emre OZAN
ANKASAM Advisor

“Russia’s attack on Ukraine has changed Germany’s foreign policy.”

Dr. Emre Ozan, advisor to ANKASAM, pointed out that Germany’s foreign policy has always been cautious and balanced, and that Russia’s attack against Ukraine has led to radical changes in German foreign policy. Ozan stressed that Germany would take measures to reduce energy dependence from Russia and make a serious move to take arms. “This move arises from the need for Germany to be stronger in the face of conventional military threats. Russia’s aggression was the underlying development that generated this need. This is why Germany’s relations with the United States (USA) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) will become more important. However, this armament effort should not be seen only as a measure against Russia. Overall, in the face of multipolarity in the international system, Germany will want to redefine its position. In this regard, military force is of great importance. Military capacity is also considered necessary for more balanced relations with the United States when it comes to it.”



Prof. Dr. Uğur ÖZGÖKER

“Germany will emerge as a military power in Europe.”

Stressing that the comments that Scholz drew a weak profile after Merkel were not true, Prof. Dr. Uğur Özgöker said that Germany has a strong state tradition. Özgöker said, “Germany has aimed at economic development so far and has turned from a rockless Germany in 1945 into a country that has become the second largest economy in the world.”

Emphasizing that the Berlin administration began to change its passive policy after the Russian-Ukrainian War, Özgöker said, “In fact, Germany had to follow a passive policy because it was suppressed after the Second World War. Otherwise, Germany has always pursued an interventionist policy in Europe and Eurasia throughout its history. However, after the Second World War, it had to keep a low profile because its armament was banned. But now we have seen that it has begun to invest even more than Russia in defense, allocating 100 billion euros of financial resources for armament.” said.

Özgöker said, “The Ukrainian War was the last straw for Germany. Germany saw that the United States and its allies should not be trusted too much. The conditions of the world have changed. The ban on armaments has also been lifted. Germany was giving money to the United States. It says that now I will give my own money and make my own weapons. Therefore, Germany has begun to emerge as a military power rather than a political power in Europe.”



Avni KARSLIOĞLU
Retired
Ambassador

“Scholz’s decision to increase defense spending is a sign of a change in Germany.”

Expressing that Germany’s foreign policy is based on trade, former Ambassador to Berlin Avni Karslıoğlu stressed that the Russia-Ukraine War has changed Germany’s policy, noting that it is difficult to predict in which direction the changes will take place. Karslıoğlu said, “Germany had a policy of ‘changing it by trading’. They have tried it with many countries, especially China and Russia. The goal here was to make countries dependent on them through trade. But the decisions made so far are very recent, it is difficult to predict exactly what will happen.”

Karslıoğlu said, “Scholz is someone who knows about trade with the whole world because he was the Mayor of Hamburg. He can look at things from a wider angle. Until two weeks ago, Scholz was the same as other Chancellors, but now there are changes in policy. The fact that he said that he would spend 100 billion euros on defense and decided to help Ukraine is a sign of change in Germany, but we don’t know how sustainable this is.”



Coşkun BAŞBUĞ
Retired Colonel

“Germany can take the stage as a military power.”

Stating that Germany is in a position that stabilizes Europe and keeps it economically afloat, and that it wants to bring a new status to Europe in a military sense, retired Colonel Coskun Başbuğ said, “The European Army idea is given by French President Emmanuel Macron, but Germany is the main financier. It has allocated 5 million euros for this, but the United States has blocked this project. Why? Because NATO is the most useful tool used by the United States. The USA sells weapons over it and designs politics on it. They’re all Trump cards for the United States. Therefore, the establishment of the European Army would mean the brain death of the USA. That idea was suppressed during the time of the former USA but it never got on shelf.”

Başbuğ, who interpreted Scholz’s allocation of 100 billion euros for the development of the German Army knowing the chaos environment as an important development, suggested that the new world order was going to a multipolar process, and in this system, Europe would be a pole, and Germany and France would lead it.

“If new steps towards defense come from Scholz, Germany can seriously take the stage as a military power in the world.” Başbuğ said. Therefore, we can say that Germany has moved from a passive policy to an aggressive one. In doing so, Germany is also in search of conducting a good balance policy. This is also indicative of Scholz’s visit to Turkey.”



**Hüseyin
GÖKÇE**
Journalist

“Germany is preparing for the worst-case scenario.”

Stating that Scholz’s statement on increasing defense spending points to a paradigm change in Germany’s foreign policy, Hüseyin Gökçe said, “Increasing sanctions against Russia and instead playing Russia’s energy card led Germany to a new direction.”

“The Scholz administration, which has allocated 100 billion euros of funds for defense spending and also takes into account the energy threat of Russia, aims to reduce the level of dependence by increasing the share of renewable energy sources in total energy consumption. All these developments show that no matter how the Russian-Ukrainian War ends, Germany is preparing itself for all kinds of scenarios.” Gökçe said.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

21 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on Bengütürk TV.

23 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL evaluated the current developments in foreign policy in TRT Ankara Radio Agenda program.

24 March 2022

The article titled “The Indo-Pacific Strategy of the European Union”, written by Mustafa Cem Koyuncu, Expert at Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM), was shared on the International News Agency (UHA).

24 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol’s article titled “Turkmenistan: From the Accumulation of the Past to the Dynamism of Youth” was published in the International News Agency (UHA).

24 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol’s congratulatory message on the Turkish World’s Nowruz Festival was featured on the Uzbekistan-based Dunyo news portal.

24 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on Bengütürk TV.

26 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğacan Başaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on Kanal B.

26 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in the TRT Avaz Economy Policy program.

27 March 2022

Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, Chief Advisor of the President of ANKASAM, evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on Habertürk TV’s “Nedir Ne Değildir?” program.



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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