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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

European Partnership in Air and Missile Defense: European Sky Shield

On October 13, 2022, fourteen of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member countries (Germany, Great Britain, Slovakia, Norway, Latvia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Belgium, Czechia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Romania, Slovenia, and Finland, agreed to develop a joint air and missile defense system. The European Sky Shield Initiative, led by Germany, seeks to establish a European air and missile defense system through

the joint acquisition of air defense systems and missiles by European countries.

The European Sky Shield Initiative is viewed by NATO as a program to strengthen NATO Integrated Air and Missile Defense, which was established to protect its members against all forms of air and missile threats or attacks during peacetime, crises, and conflicts.[1]



Gamze BAL

The European Sky Shield Initiative signing ceremony took place at NATO's Brussels headquarters. During the ceremony, German Defense Minister Christine Lambrecht said, "With this initiative, we are living up to our joint responsibility for security in Europe- by bundling our resources."^[2] In other words, it was emphasized that all European countries should work together to ensure European security in the face of Russian aggression.

As is well known, the Russian-Ukraine War forced Germany to undergo a military transformation, after which it resolved to increase its military expenditure. The choice to expand military spending, as well as the supportiveness of the United States of America (US), has made Germany the engine power of Europe's defenses. Germany's leadership in the establishment of a joint air defense system with fourteen nations' participation is attributed to NATO's European leadership; this may be interpreted as a reflection of the desire to reinforce this leadership.

The Russia-Ukraine War demonstrated the importance of controlling and protecting the country's airspace against potential threats from air-to-ground, sea-to-land, or land-to-ground aircraft, helicopters, unmanned aerial vehicles, various types of missiles, and rockets, as well as the ability to respond to preventively in the event of a threat.

The Russian-Ukrainian war has made it clear that air superiority is one of the most important factors that affect new-generation warfare since it affects the course and the outcome of the war. In truth, the Moscow administration, which has a big air force, anticipated that it would conclude the Ukrainian incursion quickly; nevertheless, the duration of the conflict was prolonged owing to Russia's incapacity to maintain air dominance in Ukraine, which received Western support. The inability to foresee when the conflict would conclude makes Europeans increasingly concerned about the Russian threat.

The perception of threat provides a solid basis for both arming Europe and legitimizing Ukrainian aid in the eyes of the public. For example, following the explosion on the Kerch Bridge connecting Crimea to Russia on October 8, 2022, Russia launched missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles at many locations in Ukraine. Ukrainian forces were unable to shoot down missiles and required further air defense capabilities.

Air defense is effective yet costly. Due to the economic woes of Europe, no one expected Europe to help Ukraine. However, the Berlin administration promised Ukraine four IRIS-T SLM Air Defense Systems and decided to deliver the first one.^[3] On the other hand, support for enhancing airspace defense has grown in European nations to defend populations, cities, vital structures, and ground soldiers from airborne attacks, and Germany has been able to respond swiftly to the establishment of a joint European air defense alliance.

Three air defense systems are mentioned in the European Sky Shield Initiative in the fight against Russian air power. These are Israel/Arrow 3, the US/MIM-104 Patriot, and the German/IRIS-T SLM. The first thing to note about the Arrow 3 Anti-Ballistic Missile System is that it is financially and otherwise supported by the US. The system's initial trial was completed in Alaska in 2019 with a US-Israel collaboration. Arrow 3, which defends the atmosphere against all forms of ballistic missiles traveling at high altitudes and speeds, provides a long range due to its hypersonic capabilities. In addition to its multi-target acquisition and tracking capabilities, it can perform preemptive intervention by processing radar data.^[4]

The US Patriot system is a long-range air defense system that can be used at all altitudes and weather conditions to counter tactical ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, and advanced aircraft.^[5]

The German IRIS-T SLM is capable of destroying any form of aircraft, helicopter, cruise missile, guided weapon, air-to-surface missile, anti-ship missile, anti-radar rocket, or large-caliber rocket. At very short and medium-range distances, it also has a high possibility of destroying unmanned aerial vehicles, unmanned combat aerial vehicles, and other small maneuvering threats.^[6]

When all of these features are considered, as well as the continued Russian threat, Europe will receive a robust air defense system with these systems. This may persuade European nations who are hesitant to invest much in the development of military capabilities to join the European Sky Shield.

The economic burden of countries will be reduced as the number of participants increases, and an edge will be gained in the positioning of geographical expansion systems. It can also serve as a deterrence for all nations or groups that represent a danger to the European continent and Russia.

A final issue that needs to be mentioned regarding the establishment of Europe's joint air defense system is the signatory states. While France, one of Europe's most powerful countries, is not among these nations, Finland, which is not a NATO member, is counted among them. Finland is awaiting the conclusion of its membership processes to be included in NATO's security umbrella against the Russian threat. Thus, Finland's geographical location, which shifted its neutrality in favor of the Atlantic alliance during the Russia-Ukraine War, is significant. Russia has nuclear facilities in some locations close to the Finnish border. In recent years, when discourse about Russia planning a nuclear strike has intensified, Finland stands out in European security from a geostrategic standpoint.

The fact that France is not involved in the European joint air defense system is explained by the fact that it relies on the deterrent effect of its nuclear arsenal rather than traditional anti-ballistic missile systems.^[7] However, France's absence from the European Sky Shield Initiative might be due to other factors. Paris had already devised various concepts for the development of an autonomous European defense and wished to assume leadership of such an alliance. The fact that Germany has increased its military capacity has been treated with caution for historical, psychological, and political reasons.^[8] Therefore, France's non-participation in a defense alliance led by Germany coincides with its traditional policies.

In conclusion, as a result of Russia's intervention in Ukraine, European nations have begun to strengthen their military capabilities. The course of the war has shown that European air defense is essential for ensuring European security against the Russian threat. In this context, Germany's European Sky Shield Initiative has made a major step forward in the enhancement of European air and missile defense. The West has fortified its European flank with the European Sky Shield, which is not an alternative to NATO, but rather complementary to NATO.

[1] "14 NATO Allies and Finland Agree to Boost European Air Defense Capabilities", NATO, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_208103.htm, (Date of Accession: 15.10.2022).

[2] Sabine Siebold, Germany, "NATO Allies Aim to Jointly Procure Air Defense Systems", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/germany-13-nato-allies-aim-jointly-procure-air-defence-systems-2022-10-13/>, (Date of Accession: 15.10.2022).

[3] "Germany to Deliver Air Defense System to Ukraine Within Days -Defense Ministry", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/germany-deliver-air-defence-system-ukraine-within-days-defence-ministry-2022-10-10/>, (Date of Accession: 15.10.2022).

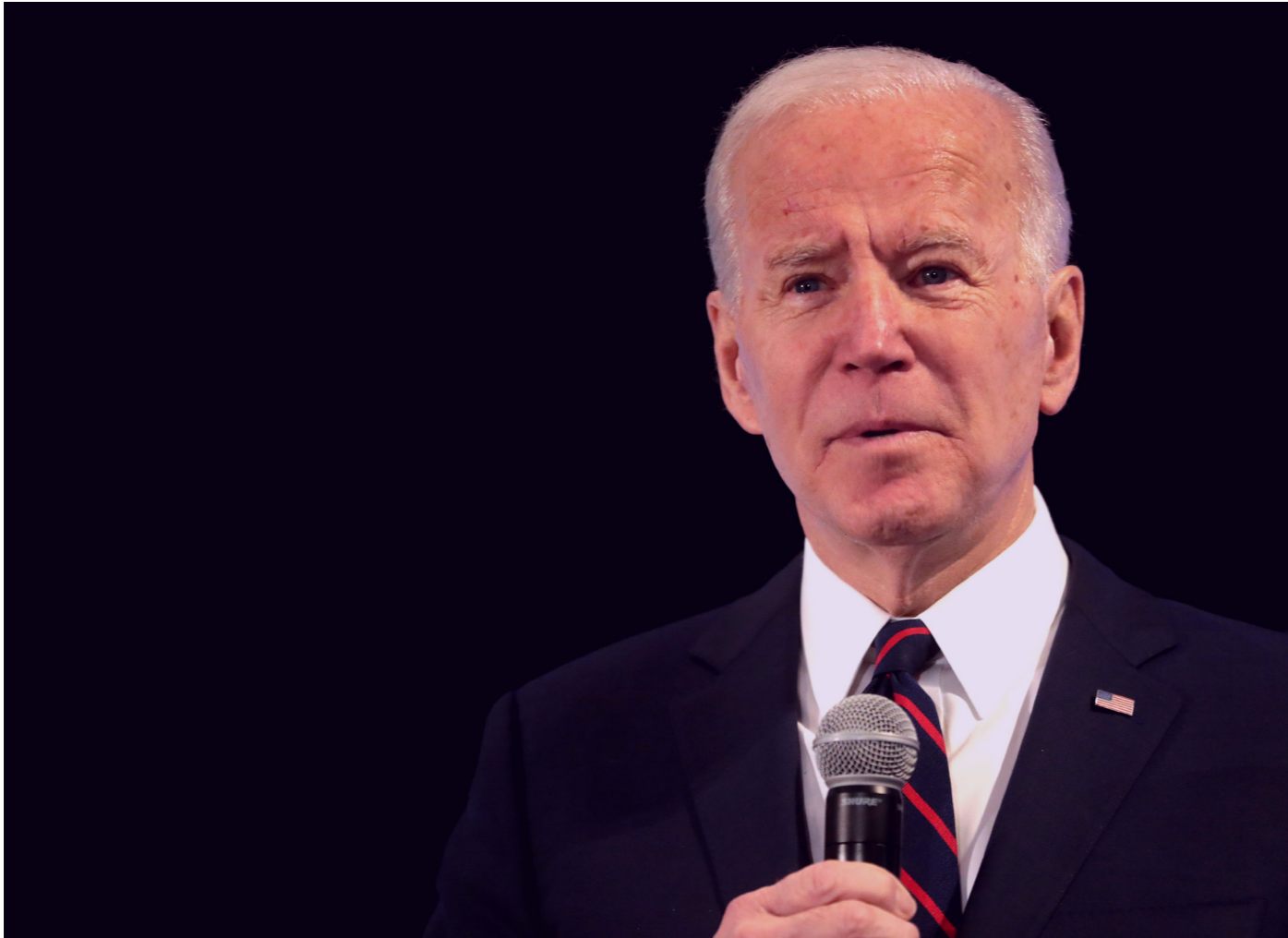
[4] "Arrow 3 Air Defense Missile System, Israel", Airforce Technology, <https://www.airforce-technology.com/projects/arrow-3-air-defence-missile-system-israel/>, (Date of Accession: 15.10.2022).

[5] "Patriot Missile Long-Range Air-Defense System", Airforce Technology, <https://www.army-technology.com/projects/patriot/>, (Date of Accession: 15.10.2022).

[6] "IRIS-T SL Surface-to-Air Guided Missile", Airforce Technology, <https://www.airforce-technology.com/projects/iris-t-sl-surface-to-air-guided-missile/>, (Date of Accession: 15.10.2022).

[7] Martin Herrera Witzel, "Twelve European States Poised to Join Scholz's Anti-Missile Shield", Euractiv, https://www.euractiv.com/section/all/short_news/twelve-european-states-poised-to-join-scholz-anti-missile-shield/, (Date of Accession: 15.10.2022).

[8] Gamze Bal, "France's Attitude towards Germany's Decision on F-35 Purchasing", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/frances-attitude-towards-germanys-decision-on-f-35-purchasing/?lang=en>, (Date of Accession: 15.10.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Central Asia and the Caucasus in the Biden Administration's National Security Strategy Document

The United States of America (US) published its National Security Strategy Document on October 12, 2022.[1] After the publication of the document, the Washington administration's approach to various regions and issues has been the subject of discussion. In the document, the approach of the USA towards Central Asia and the Caucasus was also revealed.

In the article published with the signature of US President Joe Biden in the introduction part of

the document, it is claimed that the need for American leadership is increasing all over the world.[2] In this respect, various criticisms can be brought to the White House's approach to both the world and the regions. Because international relations are basically about the ties established between equal states. Central Asian states have also developed a multi-vector foreign policy understanding within the scope of mutual interest and respect with the idea of strengthening their independence,



Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM Central
Asia Expert

sovereignty, territorial integrity, and unitary structures. However, it can be said that the approach of the US will cause disturbance in different regions including Central Asia and the Caucasus.

The notion of "Central Asia" was firstly mentioned in the chapter related to Russia. In the chapter where Russia's attack on Ukraine was examined, the White House claimed that Moscow follows an imperialist foreign policy for the last ten years, and the Russian-Ukrainian War has started respectively. However, it is emphasized that the attack did not occur suddenly and that the imperialist foreign policy had also been claimed to have had several clues in the past. It is noted that Russia created instability in various geographies, especially Syria, and undermined democratization processes in various regions, including Central Asia.[3]

In the document, the second place that the notion of "Central Asia" was mentioned was in the part where Eurasia was highlighted. This chapter emphasizes that the Washington administration supports the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the countries in the region. However, the Washington administration has said it would encourage efforts to improve the democratic development and resilience of states in the region.[4]

Another issue that mentioned in the document is the C5+1 meetings between the US and the Central Asian countries. Four main objectives are noted in this context. They include climate change compliance at the periphery, energy and food security at the regional level, enhanced integration in the region, and greater engagement of Central Asia with global markets.[5]

These topics are the recent importance of Central Asian capitals. In particular, the impact of global warming on economic development, the transition to a green economy, and deepening water problems are closely related to the stability and the future of the region. In addition, this issue makes food security a serious issue. In addition to all of these, Central Asian states want to speed up integration processes by improving their relations with both regional and international organizations. This in particular helps to stabilize Central Asia, and Eurasia in general and serves the interests of both the US and Eurasian states.

On the other hand, Central Asia's connection with different markets is in harmony with the interest of the US, which is one of the centers of the capitalist economic system. Because, the US will be able to reach new markets, and in addition, will strengthen its relations with Central Asian states over trade relations.

In the case of the Caucasus, the United States emphasizes that, in the case of Ukraine, it will increase the stability and resilience of democracies in other countries. In response, Washington said it would support Georgia's bid for European integration and its commitment to significant institutional reforms. Because strong ties will be established due to Europe's close relations with Georgia, the US influence in the Caucasus will increase.

In the document, another term for the Caucasus is related to the normalization process between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Because the Biden administration has underlined that they will support diplomatic efforts to solve conflicts in the Southern Caucasus.[6] Certainly, the stability of the region will facilitate the relations between Western states and capital.

As a result, the main aim of the US to prepare the National Security Document is to make its influence permanent by alienating different countries such as Russia. The importance of the Washington administration to these regions is well understood, especially given that Central Asia and the Caucasus are post-Soviet geographies. Thus, the US seeks to enact the threat perceptions of the states in Central Asia and the Caucasus, thereby damaging their relations with Russia. This policy, however, is not driven by an approach that recognizes common interests and is implemented to reinforce Washington's leadership globally.

[1] "National Security Strategy", The White House, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>, (Date of Accession: 18.10.2022).

[2] "National Security Strategy", op. cit, p. 2.

[3] "National Security Strategy", op. cit, p. 25.

[4] "National Security Strategy", op. cit, p. 39.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

The Risk of Polarization Within NATO and the Importance of Multipolarity

On 13 October 2022, The European Sky Shield Initiative was approved by fourteen member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Finland to strengthen air defence. [1] Meanwhile, a military agreement was also signed between Washington and Stockholm to protect Sweden's borders.[2] As Finland and Sweden's NATO membership processes have not yet been completed, Europe is trying to establish regional alliances within itself. However, Finnish President Sauli Niinistö assured that they would not form a regional bloc against Russia if they joined NATO.[3]

That said, European states want to have the Baltic Sea as NATO's territorial sea to encircle Russia. Before, Finland and Estonia announced their readiness to integrate coastal missile defence systems that would allow them to close the Gulf of Finland to Russian warships if necessary.[4] Regardless, Finland has decided to avoid such polarization against Russia as it is not yet a member of NATO. Therefore, Helsinki voices that it is against political polarization. Scandinavia, the Baltics, and Eastern European countries strengthen their self-defence against attacks from Russia and increase their military-defence support to neighbouring states.



Dr. Cenk TAMER
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific Expert

To respond to Russia after the Ukraine War, NATO members have begun to increase their military power through regional alliances. In this context, power centres such as "the Scandinavian Pole", "the Baltic Pole", "the Eastern European Pole" and "the Balkan Pole" are likely to emerge within the organization. This is because each region faces different security threats, and states seek to form defence alliances in line with their interests. This is called "Regional Security Complexes" in the discipline of international relations. According to this discipline, it is necessary to divide the world into different security zones to ensure global security. In this case, the security threats to each region will be different from each other. For example, while the primary security threat for Eastern Europe and the Baltics is irregular migration originating from Ukraine and the increasing Russian threat; factors such as increased Russian military activities in the Arctic will be the case for Scandinavia; and for the Balkans, irregular migration will stand out.

As the threats to European states grow and diversify, it becomes difficult for NATO to achieve common security interests. For example, the security needs of Sweden and Finland, which want to join the alliance, are also different. Finland needs membership more than Sweden because it is neighbouring Russia. Until it acceded to NATO, Helsinki decided to receive air defence support from NATO countries. Sweden, on the other hand, is focused on cooperating with NATO on air surveillance capabilities in the Arctic as it is advanced in this field.

In this sense, NATO's perspective on Sweden and Finland is distinctive too in terms of its own security needs. The alliance, which wants to benefit from the capabilities of the Swedish Army to observe Russian military activities in the Arctic, also aims to support Finland's air defence. To cope with the changing security threats, NATO aims to solve problems through task sharing within member states. Recently, Europe is turning to alternative collaborations to strengthen its defence. Thus, the risk of polarization increases within NATO.

On the other hand, Russia and China mention the dangers of Western political polarization and emphasize the importance of multipolarity in Asia. According to this concept, establishing a collective defence organization to ensure the security of all states in Asia means forming a block against the West. The bigger risk of this is that it would push Asian states to divide or polarize.

One of the most discussed issues today is the benefits and disadvantages of the Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). For example, despite the request of Arme-

nia, Russia and Kazakhstan refused to send troops to Armenia within the scope of the CSTO. This is a clear indication that the CSTO member states do not have a common security interest. This situation applies to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as well. It cannot be said that Pakistan and India share a common security interest within the scope of the SCO, although they are members of the organization. When countries such as Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan and Afghanistan are included, it can be seen that it is quite difficult for Asian states to share common security interests.

Contrary to the multipolarity approach in Asia, Western political polarization extends to Asia and the Indo-Pacific. China argues that initiatives such as AUKUS, QUAD, Partners in the Blue Pacific, and the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework are by-products of the US' polarization politics and point out its risks. While NATO turns to polarization within itself, it also establishes new blocs in Asia. According to Russia and China, this policy is unlikely to succeed. Therefore, both Moscow and Beijing are striving to establish multipolarity rather than creating a new pole in Asia.

If Asian states, especially Russia and China, come together around common security interests, this will create a block against the West. It is advantageous for European countries to share similar or overlapping security interests, even if these are not common interests. However, NATO members turn to compete with each other and divide within the alliance when their interests do not match. Thus, Asia's concept of multipolarity and NATO's political polarization even out one another. The actual risk posed by this situation is that "countries that advocate multipolarity" rise as a block against the West without noticing it.

[1] "NATO Üyesi 14 Ülke ile Finlandiya 'Avrupa Sema Kalkanı' İçin Anlaştı", AA, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/nato-uyesi-14-ulke-ile-finlandiya-avrupa-sema-kalkani-icin-anlasti/2710414>, (Date of Accession: 18.10.2022).

[2] "Sweden, US Sign New Military Cooperation Agreement-Reports", Urdu Point, <https://www.urdupoint.com/en/world/sweden-us-sign-new-military-cooperation-agre-1579389.html>, (Date of Accession: 18.10.2022).

[3] "Finland Rejects NATO's Ambitions of Creating A NATO Sea Against Russia", TFI Global News, <https://tfiglobalnews.com/2022/10/11/finland-rejects-natos-ambitions-of-creating-a-nato-sea-against-russia/>, (Date of Accession: 18.10.2022).

[4] Ibid.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

China's Arctic Policy: Stakeholder or Shareholder?

While the North Pole Region (Arctic), which has gained an important place in international politics for reasons such as climate change, environmental problems, and the discovery of energy resources, was the subject of China's growing interest as a non-regional state; it also poses some opportunities and challenges for the Beijing administration. Within the framework of the White Paper published in 2018, China bases its Arctic

policy on research activities, maritime transport, and cooperation developed with the countries of the region.[1]

The Arctic Region, known as the North Pole, has been gaining importance in recent periods due to the rapidly melting glaciers creating new sea routes with the intensification of global warming and the energy resources they contain.



Şule GÜZEL

The region has been the scene of the Cold War between the two neighboring superpowers across the sea, the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and in this period, it was believed that the one owns the North Pole will rule the world.[2] The Arctic region is still considered one of the areas where a third world war is likely to break out. According to a study conducted by the US Geological Survey (USGS) in 2008, there are 90 billion barrels of oil (13% of undiscovered oil reserves) and 44 billion cubic meters of natural gas at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean.[3] In addition, the Arctic is becoming more important day by day due to its mining and mineral resources and fishing activities are intense.

Russia, Canada, the USA (Alaska), Denmark (Greenland) and Norway have coastlines in the Arctic region. The formation of new sea routes with melting glaciers offers cost and time savings for global trade. Apart from the riparian countries, this situation also attracts the attention of global actors such as the European Union (EU), Japan, China, and India. China has stated that it will base its Arctic policy on the principles of respect, cooperation, mutual interest, and sustainability.

Although China is a state outside the Arctic region, it considers itself a global power and "near Arctic state" that has a say in Arctic issues, and in this sense, it shows an enthusiastic outlook in the areas of cooperation. The basis of the Beijing administration's interest in the Arctic forms the energy and mineral resources and maritime trade routes owned by the region. In addition, China emphasizes that beyond scientific research, it aims to achieve a level of cultural exchange in areas such as the environment, climate change, and economic development through global governance, regional cooperation, and building bilateral and multilateral relations.

Accordingly, it is aimed to improve the economic and social sustainability of the region and create a shorter and more reliable shipping lane through the "Polar Silk Road", which was created by including the Northern Sea Route (NSR) in the Belt-Road Project. At this point, Russia, which has the longest coastline, is an extremely strategic actor due to its existing natural gas infrastructure, icebreaker fleet, and liquefied natural gas (LNG) facility located in Yamal.

In 2019, Russia and China made their intention clear to cooperate on the development of the Northern Sea Route and the search and management of energy resources. China is a major shareholder of the LNG enterprise in Yamal and invests in oil and gas exploration in the Black Sea. Thus, Beijing is becoming the main foreign partner of Moscow in the Arctic territories and intends to increase its participation in the exploration and management of the Northern oil deposits belonging to Russia.[4] In this context, the region comes into prominence as an area where China's competition with Russia can be tested.

China is a country that needs an energy resource supply to maintain its economic growth. For this reason, the Arctic has the potential to provide long-term economic benefits to China with its energy and mineral wealth. Moreover, compared to regions of the world that are rich in natural resources but have conflicts, such as Africa and the Middle East, which are unstable and where external actors are more involved, the Arctic poses fewer geopolitical risks.

On the other hand, the North Pole brings with it some challenges as well as the opportunities mentioned above. Firstly, as at the South Pole, no agreement has been reached between the countries of the region at the North Pole. However, China makes an intensive academic effort regarding the legal status of the region and conducts studies on the geostrategic importance of the Arctic.

In this context, the Beijing administration proposed in 2010 that the marine areas beyond the EEZs should be included in the common heritage of humanity and has received support from the Western World in this regard.[5] Another challenge is climate change and the consequences that it brings. While climate change offers the opportunity to create new maritime trade routes, it also causes some environmental problems that negatively affect the regional ecosystem.

In this sense, the extraction and transportation of energy and mineral resources harm the environment. The risk of oil spills, environmental pollution, and the impact of local people on these activities are the main problems that may arise. Based on climate change and its effects, the Beijing administration bases the justifications for its Arctic policy on economic sustainability in the context of energy and

maritime trade routes. China emphasizes that the ecological changes in the region have a transboundary nature, drawing attention to the fact that the bad course may lead to mass migration from Asia to the Northern and Western regions.

China's focus on issues such as economic efficiency, product quality, environmental protection, energy, and social security within the framework of technological innovations means that China can lead the development policies of the countries in the region on environmental and energy issues. In this context, while Beijing is developing solutions for local problems such as food production and energy security; in return, China gets the chance to import food resources such as Arctic seafood and oil and natural gas extraction.

The Chinese Government uses its investment capacity and the bilateral and multilateral cooperation it has developed within the framework of the Arctic Circle as the best way to engage in the region. The Arctic Circle was established by the Ottawa Declaration in 1996 by Russia, Canada, the USA, Greenland, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, and Finland. The Council operates as an intergovernmental forum aimed at promoting cooperation, coordination, and interaction between Arctic states and their indigenous peoples on sustainable development and environmental issues. China joined the Council with observer status in 2013.

While China is applying more proactive diplomacy through its investments in Arctic maritime projects towards Iceland, Greenland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; it exhibits an appearance that is prone to cooperation and working in harmony with countries such as Canada, the USA, and Russia.[6] Because countries with relatively less access to local resources can benefit more from bilateral and multilateral partnerships than large states. For instance, Greenland, which is small in terms of its population and economy compared to other Arctic countries, is heavily home to Chinese investments.[7]

The Beijing administration sees particularly Russia and Canada as having a say in the region. Canada is an important position for China with its market opportunities and mineral wealth in the energy sector. Moscow, on the other hand, is Beijing's main ally in the Arctic in the context of the joint polar partnership, intensive cooperation in the field of energy, and the pursuit of multipolarity. China also began to establish a mutual dialogue with the United States on maritime law and polar issues in 2010. There are partnerships between Washington and Beijing on the Alaska Gasline Development Corporation, Sinopec, Bank of China, and China Investment Corporation collaborations on the Alaska Natural Gas Project.[8]

China is developing its trade relations with the states of the region within the framework of bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms in many investment areas, including foreign direct investment. In addition, it creates a dependency relationship with the states it invests in through the Belt-Road Project. In other words, the situation means that the debtor countries becoming dependent on Beijing, and important trade areas in which China is a stakeholder and investor are forced to be transferred to China.

Such a scenario will ultimately increase China's involvement in decision-making processes related to the Arctic and will allow China to establish hierarchical relations in geopolitical competition using soft power elements. It is seen that China's activities towards the Arctic region, which it considers a common heritage of humanity, are evolving towards becoming a shareholder rather than a stakeholder, especially when considering its investment areas and company positions.

[1] "China's Arctic Policy", The State Council of the People's Republic of China, http://english.www.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2018/01/26/content_281476026660336.htm, (Date of Accession: 17.10.2022).

[2] David Curtis Wright, "A Dragon Eyes the Top of the World: Arctic Policy Debate and Discussion in China, China Maritime Studies Institute", U.S Naval War College, <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/cmsi-red-books/2/>, (Date of Accession: 17.10.2022).

[3] "Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle", ABD Jeolojik Araştırma Kurumu, <https://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2008/3049/fs2008-3049.pdf>, (Erişim Tarihi: 17.10.2022).

[3] Aki Tonami, "China's Arctic Policy", Springer Link, https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/978-1-137-53746-1_2, (Date of Accession: 17.10.2022).

[4] Aki Tonami, "China's Arctic Policy", Springer Link, https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/978-1-137-53746-1_2, (Date of Accession: 17.10.2022).



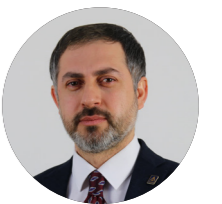
ANKASAM ANALYSIS

New Security Approach of Kazakhstan: Asia Society

The conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) Summit was held on 12-13 October 2022, in the capital of Kazakhstan, Astana. The meeting was led by Kazakhstan, due to the 30th anniversary of CICA.

In 1992, CICA is a cooperation platform based on regional security, with the initiative of Ka-

zakhstan. CICA aims to create a dialogue environment on providing security in Asia and prepare for applicable situations to have necessary measures to be applied. CICA, which has 27 members, received Kuwait's application to join the meeting in Astana. Nine countries and five international institutions have observer status. Since 2014, CICA's headquarter is in Kazakhstan.



Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU
ANKASAM Eurasia Expert

The countries that attended the meeting had the opportunity to express their concern and the needed steps to improve the world. One of the key statements marking the meeting was made by the President of Kazakhstan, Mr. Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. Mr. Tokayev has proposed that CICA be transformed into a full-fledged international organization. In this context, Mr. Tokayev stated the following:[1]

“We see our organization as a key component of the Asian security system, based on the principles of respecting mutual interests. Security in Asia underlies global security ... We are not establishing a new organization; I would like to emphasize that we are moving to a new phase in our institutional development. Increasing the status of the conference will strengthen Asia’s increasing role in world issues and will bring the interaction of member states to a new level. I am convinced that all these steps will contribute to the intensification of cooperation and development in the Asian continent and strengthen its potential to address the challenges and threats that are changing rapidly.”

The Kazakh leader’s idea of turning CICA into an organization was adopted by the final document signed after the meeting. The following are the statements in the document:[2]

“We are launching a comprehensive and transparent negotiation process that is structured on transforming CICA into a gradual, consensus-based, full regional international organization.”

The document also explains the process of transforming the organization. The meeting of heads of state, government, and ministers of foreign affairs will now be called the “Council of State and Heads of Government” (Summit) and the “Council of Foreign Ministers”, respectively.

The position of executive director of the CICA Secretariat was redefined as “General Secretariat.” In 2023, it will be considered by the participating states to create the necessary roadmap for the implementation of the transformation process.

A statement issued at the end of the summit by the participating states stressed the importance of regional security and cooperation:[3]

“To ensure the security and prosperity of the region, to find common solutions to the common problems of the 21st century so that disputes can be resolved peacefully by the United Nations Charter, we will intensify the internal effort.”

Undoubtedly, the transformation of CICA into an international security organization is Kazakhstan’s diplomatic success. In addition, it meets a critical need. Because the international environment entails rapid and significant change. That brings with it new challenges.

As predicted, Kazakhstan’s geopolitical position requires it to be more proactive in foreign policy. Since it borders Russia and China, the two major powers, Kazakhstan has developed long-term projects to ensure its national security. In this sense, the concept of multi-vector and multi-dimensional foreign policy adopted from the independence of Kazakhstan has made it easier for it to over-

come the problems it faces. But in the new era, the continent of Asia faces two major challenges. The first is the problems in the global economy and the health and food crises that evolve in this context. The second is a renewed power struggle in Asia.

These two problems directly affect Kazakhstan. There is also the possibility of a third security problem, which impacts the security of the country indirectly, but is related to developments centred on Afghanistan. Because the Afghan Problem has the potential to create regional instability. This would lead Kazakhstan to search for cooperation, which would increase regional security measures.

Kazakhstan’s desire to see CICA transformed into an international organization is based on the principle of “indivisibility of security.” Because the problem in Afghanistan is not just Afghanistan’s problem, and it’s not just threatening Central Asia. The resolution of these crises requires a joint effort by the states. As President of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev put it during the Astana meeting, the country could boost the fragility of the international security situation if the Afghanistan problem is not solved and a peaceful order is not established there.[4]

It should be noted that Mr. Tokayev’s proposal to transform CICA into a full-fledged international organization is also an attempt to build an “Asia Community” on the Asian continent. As it is known, the European Community (EC), established in Western Europe with the support of the United States of America (US) after the Second World War, was the guarantee of security and prosperity on the two sides of the Atlantic.

After the Cold War, a “peace and security” zone was built in the Euro-Atlantic region to include Eastern European countries. In effect, some differences of opinion and short-term problems occurred within the EC, but no major armed conflict occurred.

Unlike Europe, however, the countries of the Asian continent have different historical backgrounds, political structures, and cultures. Despite this, Kazakhstan’s main proposal for CICA is to establish an Asia Community, which includes different Asian countries, cares about mutual interests, and tries to solve problems by negotiating.

As a result, the Astana administration’s goal is not to develop an alternative or a rival organization for different geographical formations, but to resolve the problems facing Asian countries. Therefore, Kazakhstan is spearheading the creation of an international organization that will solve the continent’s problems within the continent. But this process will take time, one might say.

[1] “Президент Касым-Жомарт Токаев принял участие в VI саммите СВМДА”, akorda.kz, <https://www.akorda.kz/ru/prezident-kasym-zhomart-tokayev-prinyal-uchastie-v-vi-sammite-svmda-1391219>, (Date of Accession: 14.10.2022).

[2] “Какие документы приняли президенты на саммите СВДМА в Казахстане?”, Central Asia Media, <https://centralasia.media/news:1810688>, (Date of Accession: 14.10.2022).

[3] Ibid.

[4] “Мирзиёев предложил урегулировать ситуацию в Афганистане, чтобы страна не превратилась в «террористический хаб»”, Central Asia Media, <https://centralasia.media/news:1810603>, (Date of Accession: 14.10.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Are Western Speeches a Deterrent for North Korea?

North Korea's first missile test over Japan after five years was responded to by the United States (USA), South Korea, and Japan with many reprimands and joint exercise moves.[1] But all these answers did not deter the Pyongyang Government; on the contrary, it has led North Korea to make tougher moves.

As it will be remembered, on October 4, 2022, US President Joe Biden and Japanese Prime Min-

ister Fumio Kishida made a phone call for 25 minutes, after which Biden described Pyongyang's missile test as a serious and imminent threat to Japan's security and as a serious challenge.[2]

"The United States and Japan will implement their immediate and long-term responses in coordination with both the international community and South Korea," the White House said



**Zeki Talustan
GÜLTEN**

in a statement.[3] After the meeting, Kishida said, "we want to send a serious and harsh message to North Korea, along with the United Nations (UN) approaches." [4] It is unclear how the USA, Japan, and South Korea will respond to North Korea's nuclear tests, which United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Antonio Guterres calls "reckless activities," and what steps the UN will take.[5]

The Pyongyang administration has faced harsh sanctions from the UN Security Council (UNSC) at various times due to its nuclear programs and tests. However, in the face of these sanctions, it was able to establish a balance with the support of Moscow and Beijing. However, the current situation is different from the past. Because it is very difficult for North Korea to get support from Russia due to the war in Ukraine and from China due to the Taiwan Crisis. US President Biden, on the other hand, is busy with issues such as the Ukraine War, inflation, and midterm elections. It is therefore unlikely that North Korea's nuclear tests will become a priority for Washington. As a result, it can be said that North Korea is alone in the international arena in terms of acquiring both allies and enemies, and its actions only have a regional effect.

Washington tries to deter North Korea by making military alliances with its allies; it also resorts to diplomatic means to rein in Pyongyang's nuclear program. As a matter of fact, on September 9, 2022, White House Press Secretary Karine Jean-Pierre stated that the USA does not have any hostile intentions towards North Korea and that Washington is seeking diplomatic solutions with Pyongyang.[6] Despite this, Pyongyang does not hesitate to take steps that will endanger the stability of the region.

On the other hand, Tokyo is one of the regional capitals that are disturbed by North Korea's missile tests. Because in the last attempt, Japan became a target. In this context, Defense Minister of Japan Yasukazu Hamada said that the missile is a long-range intercontinental ballistic missile called Hwasong-12 and has a range of 4,600 km.[7] This makes the current test the longest-range test a North Korean missile has ever traveled in a standard orbit. Because in the past, Pyongyang's long-range nuclear missile tests were generally carried out using high orbits so that they would not fly over neighboring countries. However, the fact that the final test is carried out by targeting Japan, albeit implicitly, shows that tests are not deterrent for North Korea and also, they are being provocative.

North Korea has conducted more than twenty tests involving more than forty missiles so far this year.[8] However, the unannounced launch over Japan is a much harder and more serious move than other tests involving shorter-range missiles and not targeting any country, both in terms of endangering the people of the country and the use of a long-range intercontinental ballistic missile. This situation reveals how much North Korea can raise the threat level and that the moves against Pyongyang are far from deterring the Kim administration.

At the same time, North Korea's latest nuclear moves are not a surprise or an unexpected event. Indeed, in January 2021, in a statement ahead of the 8th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea revealed its intention to produce and test advanced new weapons, including smaller tactical nuclear bombs, longer-range, solid-fuel and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and weapons that can carry multiple warheads.[9] Later, North Korea started to test intercontinental ballistic missiles and the new components it produced. This situation gave a clue that Pyongyang would accelerate its trials when it had the opportunity and the environment was suitable. The Kim administration seized this opportunity due to the internal problems of the USA, the Ukraine War, the Taiwan Crisis, and the UNSC's lack of consolidation. The current nuclear tests and their successes are therefore not surprising.

In addition to all these, that situation shows that North Korea did not try to attract the attention of the USA and that it was working on the goals of the Labor Party in the 8th Congress, regardless of the stance of the international community.

Strong messages for the United States and its allies can create a sense of unity; however, it does not seem possible to militarily deter North Korea from continuing its nuclear tests. After the test carried out by Pyongyang over Japan, South Korea, and the USA hit the fake targets in the Sea of Japan with surface-to-surface missiles, the armies of both South Korea and Japan held a joint air exercise with the USA.[10] Later, the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS Ronald Reagan was deployed to the waters east of the Korean Peninsula.[11]

Considering the past precedents, it can be expected that North Korea will perceive all these actions as a rehearsal for the occupation and feels more provocation. In other words, North Korea will continue to test the activities of Washington and its allies.

As a result, it does not seem possible for any move or discourse of the West to deter North Korea. Especially as the West's preoccupation with different crisis areas continues, it can be predicted that North Korea will continue to benefit from this gap.

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[2] "Kishida, Biden to Boost Japan-U.S. Deterrence Over North Korea Launch", Kyodo News, <https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2022/10/0ffb6afebddd0-urgent-kishida-biden-to-hold-phone-talks-tues-over-n-korea-missile-source.html?phrase=entry%20ban%20&words=>, (Date of Accession: 05.10.2022).

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[4] "Kishida, Biden Eye Stronger Deterrence After Missile Launch", The Asahi Shimbun <https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14735420>, (Date of Accession: 05.10.2022).

[5] "China, Russia at Odds with US over UN Meeting on North Korea", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/article/northkorea-missiles-un-idAFKBN2QZ17>, (Date of Accession: 04.10.2022).

[6] "U.S. Seeks Diplomacy with North Korea, White House Says", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us-seeks-diplomacy-with-north-korea-white-house-says-2022-09-09/>, (Date of Accession: 04.09.2022).

[7] "North Korea Fires Ballistic Missile over Japan for First Time Since 2017", Japan Times, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2022/10/04/national/north-k/>, (Date of Accession: 04.10.2022).

[8] "North Korea's Arsenal Has Grown Rapidly. Here's What's in It", NY Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/article/north-korea-arsenal-nukes.html>, (Date of Accession: 04.10.2022).

[9] "Kim Jong Un Declares North Korea Will Advance Nuclear Capabilities", The Diplomat, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/01/kim-jong-un-declares-north-korea-will-advance-nuclear-capabilities/>, (Date of Accession: 12.01.2022).

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[11] "US To Redeploy Nuclear-Powered Aircraft Carrier in South Korean Waters", Anadolu Agency, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/us-to-redeploy-nuclear-powered-aircraft-carrier-in-south-korean-waters/2702821>, (Date of Accession: 05.10.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

The Effect of the Drought and Floods in China on Food Security

According to the data from the Chinese Meteorological Centre, this summer remarked the hottest summer in the country since 1961.[1] The drought emerging from the increasing temperatures negatively affects many regions and cities in China. In some parts of the Yangtze River Basin (YRB), which is one of the most important and large rivers in the country, the temperature has risen above 40 degrees, with the water level decreasing in certain parts of the river consecutively.[2] While the precipitation rate in the southern region of China has decreased in the last few months due to the negative effect of the heat waves, frequent rainfall was observed in the north and northeast regions, and as a result, floods and floodings have occurred. Drought and floods are of great importance regarding China's food security. As Beijing became concerned about water and food safety, they went for a great decrease in hydroelectric production. This situation has led to power outages and has increased the problems of the country regarding energy security.

The issue of food safety in China has been regard-

ed as a critical priority for thousands of years by the rulers of the country. China, led by Xi Jinping, has taken steps in this direction in recent years by closely associating food security with national security. In an international environment where there are tensions between China and the United States (USA), as well as various conflicts, the country's food security is as important as its energy and economic security. The statement made by the President of China Jinping in April 2021 that "food security is an important basis for national security" shows that this issue is important for Beijing.[3]

Moreover, the addition of grain and food safety issues to the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025) once again reveals the importance given to food safety, as problems may occur in food production due to the recent drought and floods. Within the scope of this plan, China is expected to produce more than 650 million tons of grain every year.[4]

After the emergence of Covid-19 pandemic, China's food insecurity concerns have also increased.



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In addition, it has brought along problems such as power cuts in the national policy, and an increase in vegetable and food costs in the winter season of 2021. As a result of the Russia-Ukraine War, problems around the supply of grain and corn also emerged. In addition, droughts and climate changes have affected China as well as many other states. The Beijing administration also announced an emergency budget of 10 billion Renminbi to combat the drought in the city of Sichuan and the Yangtze River.[5] This reveals the severity of the situation.

China is estimated to have 2.2 million hectares of agricultural land, and the negative impact of droughts on these lands is reflected in more than 900 million citizens in 17 different cities.[6] Therefore, the continuation of heat waves points to a troubled future in terms of China's food and energy security. It is noteworthy to mention the importance of YRB for this. This basin is responsible for almost half of the grain production in the country. The question of how the continuation of the drought in this basin will affect grain production causes serious concerns in the country. Apart from this, the energy potential of the basin is significant as well. Within the scope of its last development plan, the Beijing administration has started to ditch coal for renewable energy sources such as hydroelectricity and wind to meet its energy needs. However, the city of Sichuan and YRB in general is one of the important hydroelectric power plants in China, providing approximately 80% of the province's electricity.[7]

The province delivers some of this electricity to Zhejiang and Jiangsu, which are industrial power centers. However, nearly half of the reservoirs in Sichuan have dried up due to the drought.[8] This has led the Sichuan province administration to make power cuts in several cities and to receive electricity from other regions in the country. State Grid Corporation of China, a state-owned electricity company, declared they would supply electricity to Sichuan regarding this case. Factories operating in Sichuan also had to shrink their businesses or temporarily close them to ensure household electricity use. It can be said that the effects of the drought will continue for a while due to the low precipitation rates and the low water levels of the reserves in Sichuan.

Droughts and reduced water levels in parts and several tributaries of the Yangtze River also affect local markets in the region. Because the decrease in the local production level of fresh fruits and vegetables indicates that food must be transported to these regions from distant cities. Thus, the products coming from other regions will rot on the road altogether, or there will be higher rates of rotting within the amount of product. In addition, generally, these concerns remain at the local level and can be resolved in some way within the country. Although this situation,

which emerged due to droughts, is not yet large enough to affect global markets, the prolonged effects of the Russia-Ukraine War and the pandemic may change this situation. Because of the war, the supply of products such as corn and grain has decreased in the global markets. If this situation persists along with the drought, both China and the world will have difficult times.

Although the birth rate in China is low, about a quarter of the total amount of food consumed needs to be imported due to the large population size. For this reason, China is taking steps to improve food security and sustainable food supply by increasing its imports and making purchases in other countries/regions.

If the effect of such droughts and floods on the country's food production continues or intensifies, China's overseas initiatives such as foreign land acquisition or land leasing will also increase. In this context, China's success in the agricultural sector is important not only for the food security of the country but also for the food supply and security of the world. Because, if China increases imports from international markets, this will reduce the world's supply and may lead to an increase in food prices. Furthermore, the reduction in the international food supply and the increase in food prices are evident by the fact that China continues to stockpile food. Covering about 23% of the world's population and 7% of the arable land in the world, China's policies to ensure and maintain food security are significant in terms of increasing self-sufficiency and having lesser effects on the world. At this point, it can be seen that China is at the heart of the global food security problem.

China is trying to diversify its supply markets to not be dependent on a few countries, along with its efforts on ensuring sustainable food supply and increasing the supply of this field. Within the scope of the Belt-Road Project announced in 2013, more than one hundred agricultural cooperation agreements were signed to import food from many regions such as Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Beijing leased or purchased agricultural lands from many states such as Pakistan, Egypt, Tanzania, and Uganda through the Belt-Road Project. Beijing is trying to improve its food supply chains this way.

Lastly, agricultural activities and production are likely to be severely affected by droughts in China. Food inflation that is observed for the last two years, which started with the Covid-19 pandemic and was followed by the Russia-Ukraine War, seems to be prolonged adding up the effect of high input costs. Whether it be drought or floods, their hazard to agriculture is a vital concern for policymakers. A decrease in harvest may result in increased imports. This may affect global markets shortly.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Russia in the Biden Administration's National Security Strategy Document

The White House released its new national security strategy document on October 12, 2022. [1] The document, which bears President Joe Biden's signature, focuses on the traditional danger that the Western World perceives as a result of the Ukraine War. Thus, it provides vital messages regarding Russia.

Since the Truman Doctrine, which was implemented during the Cold War, Washington has pursued a strategy focused on containing the Soviet Union. The main pillar of this policy has been the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Although the Soviet Union dissolved after the Cold War, the United States of America's (USA) strategy to contain Russia did not

change that much. The NATO accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, in particular, made the Moscow government feel besieged by the Black Sea. The circumstances in question also gave Moscow the notion that the containment policy had been expanded due to Tbilisi and Kyiv's Western orientation, and that the Black Sea was to be converted into a "NATO heaven."

Russia, on the other hand, engaged militarily in Georgia in 2008, as well as in Ukraine in 2014 and 2022. Despite the Russia-Ukraine War, which has been ongoing since February 24, 2022, NATO appears to be expanding its containment strategy against Russia. The accession process of Sweden and Finland indicates



Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
International
Relations Expert

that the containment strategy will also be expanded to include the Baltic Sea. In this context, understanding the White House's perspective of Russia is critical, particularly while the Washington-Moscow and the West-Russia conflicts continue. The document also distinguishes itself as a text worth investigating in this regard.

In the document's preface, the US President notes that Russia's participation in Ukraine has destroyed European peace and drawn attention to nuclear concerns, while also accusing the Moscow administration of undermining democracies.[2] In this regard, Biden described Russia as a state that undermines the international system's framework and breaches fundamental principles of international law.[3] Moreover, Biden recalled that Russia joined the G8 and G20 in the 2000s, suggesting that this country owes its current achievements to the international system that it destroyed.[4] Furthermore, the document depicts Moscow, along with Beijing, as an actor that should be contained and devoted an entire heading to the issue. It is understood that the nuclear threat, as well as food and energy security, will be utilized as a key argument by the US and that it will be used as a weapon to unify the allies against Russia.

The document, which claims that the armament of Moscow, particularly its nuclear weapon blackmail, endangers world peace and security, also criticizes Moscow's initiatives on the energy issue and emphasizes the need for energy security. Here, Biden's goal may be defined as devising multiple formulae ranging from the shift to renewable energy to alternate gas and oil providers, as well as eliminating his partners' reliance on Russia.

In this context, one of the most startling parts of the document, which contends that Moscow's actions undercut the goal of a wealthy world, is that it alludes to a United Nations (UN) resolution of an inclusive world while denouncing Kremlin. This points out that Russia has no place in the inclusive world goal of the US. Hence, this symbolizes the continuance of policies aimed at isolating the Moscow government from the international community. That is why, under a separate heading, Russia and China are characterized as two countries that should be contained.

The document, which claims that the Kremlin administration has fundamentally violated the UN Charter, emphasized Moscow's rejection of Washington's cooperation efforts and draws attention to Russia's military presence in Ukraine and Syria, as well as its influence in the post-Soviet space, especially in Central Asia. [5] In the Central Asian dimension, the US has stated its support for the C5+1 platform and demonstrated its desire to enhance relations with the governments in the region.[6] In addition, the US highlighted to the destabilizing influence of the Russian private

military company Wagner, essentially sending the message that it would continue waging proxy wars.[7]

The statement, which also addressed Russia's Arctic strategy on a regional level, emphasized that the Kremlin's actions endangered the US aim of peaceful, prosperous, and stable Polar Regions.[8] This demonstrates that the White House will pursue Arctic Expansion and boost its actions in the area in light of Sweden and Finland's NATO bid. In other words, Washington's position on expanding its containment policy toward Russia to encompass the Baltic Sea is clear and concise. Undoubtedly, one of the purposes here is to hinder the development of the Northern Sea Route strategies.

The document, which argues that the Moscow administration pursues an imperialist agenda,[9] states that the USA should act in cooperation with its NATO partners to defend the Ukrainian people since Russian aggression must be halted immediately. [10]

On the other hand, on the occasion of the document in issue, the Biden administration stated that the Moscow government also threatens global food security. Within this framework, the document states, "The food insecurity crisis has become particularly dangerous because of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, which took much of Ukraine's grain off the market and exacerbated an already worsening global food insecurity problem." [11] Thus, Washington intends to intensify the international community's response to Russia through concerns such as energy and food security.

The document, which classifies Russia as an authoritarian regime, claims that the nation is a threat to cyber security and that there are breaches of human rights and women's rights within Russia.[12] This may be seen as a message that figures like Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny will be supported, opposition social movements will be fostered, and even some colorful revolution initiatives may take place.

In conclusion, the Biden administration's National Security Strategy focuses significantly on Russia as a result of the impact of the Ukrainian War. In addition to demonstrating the will of the US to cooperate with its NATO allies, the document also emphasizes that the US government intends to isolate the Moscow administration from the world community by turning concerns such as food and energy security into propaganda material. In this context, the US will concentrate on restricting Russia's actions in many locations, particularly in Central Asia and the Arctic. It will also come as no surprise that several operations aimed at destroying Russia from the inside are being planned.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Understanding the Security Dilemma

The concept of "security dilemma" used in the article "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma" written by John Herz in 1950 has played an important role in shaping security policies after that date, especially during the Cold War. In summary, this approach argues that the state which will increase its power against a threat from other states will cause the other actor to take up arms since it threatens the security of the other party, and the actor trying to increase its security will be less secure.[1] This approach had an important place in armament, arms control, and disarmament studies during the Cold War period.

The "security dilemma" debate lies at the heart of the arms race. Conventional and especially nuclear armament studies between the parties

of the Cold War were shaped within this framework. For example, the security concerns created by the nuclear weapons of the United States (US) prompted the Soviet Union to acquire nuclear weapons.

While the Soviet Union's acquisition of intercontinental ballistic missiles and its ability to hit the US lands, the Washington administration also produced missiles that would hit the Soviets, both sides started an arms race on missile defense systems that will protect their lands. The Cold War was shaped around the nuclear strategies and game theories developed by scientists and politicians such as Bernard Brodie, Herman Kahn, Paul Nitze, and Thomas Schelling in the West.



Doç. Dr. Şafak OĞUZ
ANKASAM
Security Advisor

The Cuban Missile Crisis and humanity's approach to the threat of total nuclear war is another dimension of the security dilemma; that is, the concept of reducing the mutual threat instead of armament came to the fore. In this process, which is called the "Detention Period", instead of armament, arms control and cooperation-based confidence-building policies through disarmament were preferred, and the endless arms race was paused a bit.

In the post-Cold War period, the moves of the US within the framework of global leadership claims drew the reaction of Russia, which took over the legacy/debris of the Soviet Union and tried to recover, but these reactions could not turn into a concrete action considering the ratio of military, economic and political power. President of Russia Vladimir Putin, who felt the need to maintain and develop his power in the early periods of his power with the Atlanticist wing, which was influential in the first period of Russia, preferred cooperation with the West.

In this process, to cooperate with the US on the prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the countries of the former Soviet Union, to be included in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Partnership for Peace (PfP) program in 1994, important steps have been taken towards unity with the West, such as keeping silent about the enlargement of Western Europe and even Baltic states enabling NATO and European Union (EU) membership.

In this period, "collaborative security" has been a priority. The situation in question was also reflected in NATO's Strategic Concept; one of the three important tasks of the alliance has been defined as "Collaborative Security".

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the US increased its moves towards global hegemony; basing its presence on Russia's borders and ignoring the security concerns of the Moscow administration; in Russia, the strengthening of Putin's power and the Russian economy has led to the start of a new process in the security policies of the parties. This situation developed especially on three different pillars.

The first pillar is the resumption of the arms race. The withdrawal of the US from the 1972 Missile Defense System Treaty (ABMT) Convention in 2002 and the establishment of a new Missile Defense System, radar systems for NATO, and a new missile defense system under the name of European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPA) in Kürecik, although it seems like conventional armament, that this arms race was designed to change the course of a complete nuclear war, has changed Russia's un-

derstanding of security. Russia started a rapid arms race. While introducing Russia's new generation weapons, which can carry nuclear weapons, on March 8, 2018; it emphasized that the arms race started because of the US's withdrawal from the ABMT in 2002.[2]

The other pillar is the repeal of the nuclear weapons control and arms reduction conventions one by one. This process, which started with the unilateral withdrawal of the US in 2002 from the ABM Treaty of 1972, continued with the withdrawal of the US from the Conventional Forces Europe Agreement in 2007, which prohibited the deployment of heavy weapons in Europe and the west of Russia. The US also withdrew from the contract in 2018, claiming that Russia deployed Iskander missiles in Kaliningrad, thus violating the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Weapons Convention. Thus, the obstacles for both sides to place medium-range weapons in the region have been removed.

Apart from the global 1968 Non-Proliferation Convention (NPT), which legalized the nuclear status of the five states that already possess nuclear weapons, only the New START Convention signed between the USA and Russia, which limits the number of strategic nuclear weapons, remains. The Trump administration opposed the extension of the contract, which was extended for five years in 2021, especially under the influence of the then US National Security Advisor John Bolton. However, shortly before the expiration of this contract, Joe Biden's management signed this agreement in the first days of his term.

The New START Convention limits the number of nuclear warheads and their means of launching them. However, it is not clear which category the missile systems with multiple warheads (MIRV) fall into, or the role of weapons developed as conventional weapons but which will enter the nuclear category with the installation of a nuclear warhead within the framework of the New START Convention. In addition, if the crisis on the US-Russia line progresses within this framework, the New START Agreement will probably be repealed in 2026. In other words, while the arms race on nuclear weapons increased, the agreements that stipulated the control of arms and disarmament were abolished one by one.

Simultaneously with all these, the US has made moves to bring in pro-Western governments in the countries that Russia describes as the red line and to ensure that these states take part in pro-Western formations. In this struggle carried out under the name of "Colored Revolutions", pro-Western governments came to power in Georgia with the Rose Revolution in 2003 and in Ukraine with the Orange Revolution in 2004.

The Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan in 2005 and the Jeans Revolution in Belarus in 2006 are smaller and unsuccessful revolutions. The progress of the color revolutions towards Russia by threatening the borders of Russia, especially the lands of the former Soviet Union led to the hardening of the reaction of the Moscow administration.

While Russian officials described color revolutions as a new method of warfare, Russian Chief of General Staff Valery Gerasimov demonstrated this in the doctrine named after him.[3] NATO's giving hope about membership to Ukraine and Georgia at the 2008 Bucharest Summit was the last straw. The Moscow Administration, which thinks that the next target of the color revolutions will be Russia, intervened militarily in Georgia in 2008 and in Ukraine in 2014.

Through these interventions, the Kremlin administration has made it clear that Georgia and Ukraine are the red lines for its national security, that the expansion of NATO threatens the survival of Russia, and that it will resort to all kinds of methods, including war, within the framework of this threat. However, NATO's appetite for expansion has not stopped; in fact, a new move was made against Russia by starting the membership process of Finland and Sweden in the middle of the crisis. Russia's threat that these moves would have political and military consequences did not deter the alliance.

Within the scope of the process carried out regarding the membership process of the relevant states, 28 states have completed the national approval phase. Hungary, one of the two states that did not complete the ratification process, plans to discuss the issue in its parliament in October 2022. Türkiye, which has made various requests from Sweden and Finland before the membership approval, has not yet given the green light to the membership of these countries.

As Robert Jervis points out, the second important dimension of subjective security is the threat situation.[4] States that feel threatened will take tougher and faster measures than countries that feel more secure. Russia intervened in Georgia in 2008 and recognized the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia; it did not hesitate to intervene in Ukraine in 2014, annex Crimea and create frozen conflict zones in the Donbass region. Russian officials have repeatedly stated that Ukraine was occupied because NATO enlargement threatened Russia's national security.

Finally, Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022 and threatened the countries that supported the Kyiv administration with the use of "nuclear weapons." In the words of US President Biden, the

world has come this close to a nuclear war for the first time since the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.[5] The states that provide weapons to Ukraine in various ways do not think about getting involved in the war anyway. However, when this situation was combined with the nuclear threat of Russia, the issue became much more deterrent.

As can be seen, the nuclear threat is increasing day by day. As a matter of fact, in response to Russia's shift of nuclear troops to the Swedish and Finnish border, it was decided by NATO to hold an exercise involving nuclear weapons.[6] The threat posed by Russia, which has increased its security measures due to the threats posed by NATO's moves, has become a threat to NATO's security, and, as usual, the security dilemma theory has been proven once again. Ignoring Russia's security concerns has gradually brought the world closer to the threat of nuclear war. As emphasized by Stephen Walt, could politicians or academics working in different states, especially in the US, not understand the security dilemma theory, which is one of the most fundamental theories of international relations.[7]

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Prague Summit: The Attempt of the EU to Involve in Caucasus

In June 2022, President of France Emmanuel Macron proposed European Political Community (EPC) after the Conference on the Future of Europe at the European Parliament. Through this proposal, Macron aimed to increase cooperation and develop a dialogue environment on important issues regarding the continent with the non-European Union (EU) countries. As a matter of fact, on 6-7 October 2022, the EPC started to become functional with the participation of 27 EU member countries and 17 non-EU member countries of Europe to discuss the issues such as security, energy, climate, and economy in Prague.

One of the most notable discussions at the meeting in Prague was the four-way meeting attended

by the President of Azerbaijan Mr. Ilham Aliyev, the Prime Minister of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan, the President of France Emmanuel Macron, and the President of the Council of Europe Charles Michel.

According to the council's statement on the talks, the parties reaffirmed their commitment to the United Nations (UN) Charter and the 1991 Alma Ata Declaration of Independence. In the quadrilateral meeting, it is also agreed to establish a civilian EU mission to the Armenian-Azerbaijani borderline, operating for a maximum of two months to assist with border commissions and facilitate confidence building between the two entities.[1] The quadrilateral meeting at the EPC session can be viewed on two fronts – on the growing importance of the



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South Caucasus, and based on France's bid to become a leader within the EU. As Putin made clear at the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, which began on 13 October 2022 in Astana, Kazakhstan, Asia has a key role in the formation of the new world order.[2] The South Caucasus is in a strategic position to provide a link between Asia and Europe. With the Russian-Ukrainian War beginning on 24 February 2022, the process of designing international order has accelerated. How the South Caucasus countries adopt a strategy in the creation of the new architecture is crucial to the United States (US)-led West surrounding Russia and showing its dominance in the region. Therefore, the EU wants to increase its influence in the South Caucasus as a result of US politics.

Putin, on the other hand, used his energy weapon to subdue Western support for Ukraine, prompting Europe to battle an energy crisis that will deepen. Thus, Europe focused on alternatives to substitute Russian natural gas, and the Caucasus was the key region for energy geopolitics.

The need for Europe increased in the South Gas Corridor, which started operating on 31 December 2020 and transported Azerbaijani gas to Europe. Thus, under an agreement signed between the EU and Azerbaijan on 18 July 2022, Azerbaijan agreed to increase its exports to 20 billion cubic meters by 2027.[3] Therefore, Azerbaijan, which the President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen describes as a reliable energy partner,[4] is thus seen as a contributing factor to the solution of problems arising from the Russian-Ukrainian War, as well as establishing a pillar of the EU's quest for alternative suppliers. Armenia is developing its relationship with Western states, influenced by the fact that Nikol Pashinyan is a pro-Western leader. The influence of the French and the US over Armenia is seen to increase. The West wants to play an active role in improving relations with both countries, while also actively trying to resolve the Karabakh problem in the Azerbaijan-Armenia line. The ceasefire process began in 2020 with the liberation of Karabakh from the Armenian occupation and is known to have a fragile structure. The conflict began on 12 September 2022 and has shown this.

Meanwhile, Moscow was the main actor in providing a ceasefire in Karabakh. Russia's focus on Ukraine today has given the West some leeway. Furthermore, claims that Russian Peacekeepers were sent to Ukraine[5] are linked to one of the reasons for the conflict in the region by Moscow's leadership over its failure to fulfill its duty to ensure peace. Thus, the presence of combat potential and Russia's preoccupation facilitate the EU's increased engagement in the peace process. In this context, the EU has increased its diplomatic efforts to position its role as a mediating actor between Armenia and Azerbaijan. During the last meeting between

Mr. Aliyev, Pashinyan, and Michel, held in Brussels on 31 August 2022, the two discussed issues such as unblocking transportation, humanitarian issues, border issues, and the maintenance of peace. [6] The Prague Summit was held shortly afterward and discussed how to reconcile Azerbaijan with Armenia.

The EPC meeting, which brings a new perspective to European integration, shows that the EU will seize every opportunity that comes before the West in terms of the EU's involvement in the region, especially in the Karabakh conflict. It is noteworthy that the contacts within the scope of the EPC took place in the form of 3+1 (France), unlike the Brussels meetings. Because France is a country that is a part of the Minsk Trio working on the solution to the problem and is also frequently criticized by Azerbaijan for not being neutral. Its close relations with Armenia and the presence of the Armenian Diaspora in France mean that Paris does not have the qualifications to act as a mediator. However, as it can be understood from the meetings in Prague, France, which did not want to be pushed out of the problem, took its place at the table where the peace talks were discussed.

The desire of the Paris administration to lead EU policies both within the AST and in the South Caucasus can be interpreted as the effort of France, who lost the leadership seat in European defense to Germany, to protect the political wing of Europe. For this reason, Macron made an assertive statement about the four-way meeting, using the phrase "permanent peace for the Caucasus."

A few days after the meeting, Macron said that Russia has destabilized the Caucasus region and beyond; and it has been claimed that he deliberately provoked the conflicts between Azerbaijan and Armenia in September 2022.[7] It is understood from these two statements of the French leader that; the EU marginalized Russia in the region and said, "Putin, from the conflict; The West feeds on peace. It tries to create an image of "We will solve your problem." Paris is leading the way in delivering this message.

In light of all these developments, factors such as the increasing importance of the region, Russia's preoccupation in Ukraine, and ensuring energy supply security and continuity have increased the EU's interest in the region. The primary objective of the EU is to break Russia's dominance in the region and to reach the energy resources in the region. France's goal is to become the leading actor in the Union's Caucasus policy and to strengthen its position in the EU. In this environment, the Yerevan administration hopes to increase the economic prosperity of the country by reducing its dependence on Russia. However, at a time when Europe's need for Azerbaijani energy is increasing, Baku wants to solve the issue in a way that will register its victory on the field.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

New Tension Expected Between Kosovo and Serbia?

For years, one of the most contentious issues on the regional agenda has been the continuous conflict between Kosovo and Serbia. In July 2022, the Government of Kosovo made it mandatory for everyone, including Serbs, to have a Kosovo ID card and license plate. After that, tensions between the two countries esca-

lated. During this time, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Kosovo Force (KFOR) declared that it would act if stability was threatened.[1]

The tension in question has been addressed, albeit temporarily, owing to the discussions un-



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator

dertaken through the European Union's (EU) intervention. Thus, it was announced that an agreement was reached between Kosovo and Serbia on the free travel of all citizens, including Kosovo Serbs. This agreement went into effect on September 1, 2022. However, although the identity card issue between the two countries appears to have been addressed, an agreement on the license plate dispute could not be achieved.

As one may recall, Prime Minister of Kosovo Albin Kurti declared that about 50,000 drivers will have until October 31, 2022, to change their Serbian license plates with those issued by Pristina.[2] Before this statement, President of Serbia Aleksandar Vucic stated that a license plate deal with Kosovo was not feasible and that, "Kosovo will try to force Serbs to change plates. I don't think they will have a big success."[3]

On August 31, 2022, Miroslav Lajcak, the EU Special Representative for the Belgrade-Pristina Dialogue, indicated that the parties had been granted two months (31 August-31 October 2022) to resolve the license plate dispute.[4] With the deadline approaching, all eyes are now turned to Kosovo and Serbia. It is extremely difficult for the two countries to reach an agreement on license plates.

As it can be seen, it is unclear whether the parties will experience fresh tensions. As a result, Lajcak paid a visit to Kosovo on October 13, 2022, just before the date of 1 November 2022, when Kosovo's decision to replace Serbian plates with Kosovo ones when crossing borders became effective. His statements on this occasion are as in the following:[5]

"As you all know, the deadline for changing vehicle license plates is October 31. As a result, it is critical for me, for us, for the EU, and for the world community to understand what the strategy is to avoid escalation, which is not in anyone's best interests."

On October 17, 2022, four days after his visit to Kosovo, Lajcak went to Belgrade and met with Vucic. In a Twitter post about the meeting, Lajcak claimed that he was continuing discussions to restore relations, adding, "Energy and license plates were high on our agenda as solutions are urgently needed." [6] As a result, Lajcak's trips might be interpreted as an attempt to ease tensions between the parties. However, whether or not these visits were effective will not be revealed until November 1, 2022.

On October 18, 2022, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) examined the six-month report on the work of the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) (March 16-September 15, 2022). Before the meeting, UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres warned that the two nations' continued harsh language would exacerbate tensions and expressed his hope that the diplomatic initiatives of the EU and the United States of America (USA) would yield results.[7]

As it can be concluded, no consensus has been reached on license plates. This indicates that a new crisis is at the door. On the other hand, it is possible to state that the EU and the USA have increased the pressure on the parties to reach an agreement.

According to Vucic, Germany and France suggested that if Serbia allowed Kosovo to enter the United Nations (UN), it would accelerate Belgrade's EU membership process. However, the Serbian leader stated that his country cannot accept Kosovo's membership in the UN, both from a constitutional point of view and for other reasons. It is also worth noting that Vucic stated that leaving the decision on Kosovo's final status to the EU was a great error and that the EU is delaying finding answers to current difficulties.[8]

On the other hand, it is considered that Belgrade's hand, which did not take the expected steps not to impose sanctions on Russia, is a bust. In other words, it is assumed that the EU adopts a pro-Kosovo stance. The current situation shows that Kosovo has a significant advantage in turning the crisis arising from the war in Ukraine into an opportunity.

In conclusion, it can be predicted that the tension between Kosovo and Serbia will escalate further in November 2022. Because it is understood that Pristina and Belgrade will not compromise on license plates. As a result, it is reasonable to conclude that a long-term solution to the crisis will take time.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Arctic Geopolitics in the Biden Administration's National Security Strategy

The new National Security Strategy, signed by Joe Biden, President of the United States of America (US), was published on the White House website on 12 October 2022.[1] This document includes a special section for Arctic geopolitics, which is regarded as one of the new playgrounds of the global power struggle; thus, the Washington administration revealed the importance it attaches to this region. For this reason, the National Security Strategy sheds light on the US Arctic policy.

As is known, the Arctic Region is a geography that stands out, considering its rich underground resources and the formation of new trade routes with the melting of glaciers at the North Pole due to global warming. With the operation of the Arctic route, the distance travelled between Asia and Europe on the Indian Ocean-Red Sea-Suez Canal-Mediterranean Sea-Gibraltar route is expected to decrease significantly.[2] Various projections for lines such as the Northern Sea Route, the Northwest



Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
International
Relations Expert

Passage, the Transpolar Sea Route, and the Arctic Bridge are being developed in the region.[3] Among these, the Polar Silk Road, which China envisages using the routes mentioned, and Russia's Northern Sea Route initiatives are the most remarkable ones. Undoubtedly, Moscow and Beijing's strategies are closely tracked by Washington, which wants to keep global trade routes under control.

It can be seen that new waterways formed in the poles due to global warming bring about the close attention of the regional states and global actors to this region. The open support of the US for Sweden and Finland's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is caused by the fact that the Washington administration on a small scale, and NATO on a larger scale, seek an "Arctic Expansion", and wish to influence the region. Thus, it is not just the Baltics that are concerned. It is closely linked to the developments related to Arctic geopolitics, including the poles.

Within this scope, in the document published by the Biden administration, it is emphasized that the peaceful structure of the Arctic should be preserved. The text states that "The US seeks an Arctic region that is peaceful, stable, prosperous, and cooperative." [4]

In this sense, the document states that the actions of China, which is an actor outside the region, prevent cooperation in the Arctic region and increase the risks of conflict. It is also stated in the text that the Russia-Ukraine War has made cooperating at the Northern Pole compulsory.[5] Therefore, the Washington administration regards Russia and China as their main competitors in Arctic geopolitics. In this sense, the US aims to effectively benefit from most particularly the Russia-based threat perceptions of the regional states. In other words, the irredentist policies of the Moscow administration paradoxically led to an increase in Western influence in the Arctic, which is near Russia.

Considering these threats, the White House described the presence of the US in Arctic geopolitics as a need and stated that this presence should be deepened by busing relations with the allied states, especially the members of the Arctic Council.

In addition, the document emphasizes that military exercises in the region are of great importance to combating threats originating from Russia and China and ensuring navigation security.[6] At this point, it can be said that the Washington administration aims to establish NATO bases in the region through the NATO accessions of Sweden and Finland. Indeed, it is clearly emphasized in the document that the US supports the accession of these states.[7]

On the other hand, the military cooperation agreement signed on 16 October 2022 by the US with Sweden, which has ongoing disputes over its possible NATO membership, is a development that should not be ignored. Because this agreement reveals that the Washington administration does not want to leave anything to chance in its Arctic policy.[8] In other words, the US found it rational to provide some security guarantees to ensure that if an obstacle occurs in Sweden's NATO membership, it would not affect Stockholm's geopolitical preferences and orientations. Therefore, it can be argued that the US focuses on increasing its military presence in the region.

In addition to all these, the Washington administration points out that the Arctic Region has important opportunities, and calls for an increase in the ice-breaking capacity of the ships operating in the region. This indicates that the US wants to improve its technological cooperation with the regional states through various fields, especially icebreaking ship technology.

To make an overall assessment, it should be emphasized that the Washington administration already has alliance relations with Denmark, Iceland, Canada, and Norway since they are members of NATO. At this stage, Finland seems likely to join the countries before. Although Sweden's membership may be protracted, the Biden administration takes preliminary steps to eliminate possible risks and seeks to deepen alliance relations in the Arctic, as can be seen from the agreement.

söylenbilir. Örneğin Almanya Ekonomi Bakanı Robert Habeck, 5 Ekim 2022 tarihinde ABD'nin ve diğer dost doğalgaz tedarikçisi ülkelerin Ukrayna Savaşı'ndan kâr elde ettiklerini öne sürerek, arza astronomik fiyatlar uygulandığını öne sürmüştür.[8]

Kısaca özetlemek gerekirse, Rusya- Ukrayna Savaşıyla başlayan süreç ele alındığında, bazı Avrupa ülkelerinin LNG'ye yönelmelerinin bir tercihten ziyade; zorunluluk olduğu görülmektedir. Bunun en belirgin örneğinin de Almanya olduğu söylenbilir. Sıvılaştırma ve ulaştırma maliyetlerinin yüksek olması nedeniyle boru hatlarına göre daha pahalı bir alternatif olan LNG'nin Balkan ülkelerinden ziyade; Batı Avrupa devletleri için daha geçerli bir seçenek olacağı öne sürülebilir. Sonuç olarak LNG'nin Avrupa'nın enerji kırılganlığı yaşadığı bir süreçte, birçok ülke için uzun vadede enerji güvenliğinin çeşitlendirilmesi konusunda önemli bir alternatif olacağı; fakat mevcut krizin aşılmasında yetersiz kalacağı söylenbilir.

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Kazakhstan's Proposal to Transform CICA into a Full-fledged International Organization

In 1992, Kazakhstan proposed to start a security-based cooperation in Asia. In this sense, the establishment process of the Conference on Cooperation and Confidence Buildings in Asia (CICA) was initiated under the leadership of the Astana administration. The main goal, as the name suggests, has been to develop a platform that centers security and cooperation in Asia, similar to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which operates in Europe.

In this context, the 6th Summit of CICA took place hosted by Kazakhstan on October 13, 2022. This date also coincided with the 30th anniversary of CICA. Thirty years later, the conference made a strategic decision on the recommendation of the President of Kazakhstan, Mr. Kasım-Cömert Tokayev. This decision is the gradual transformation of CICA into a full-fledged regional international organization. Thus, a special status will be given to the



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dialogue in the question platform in order to strengthen the organizational and institutional basis of interaction between member states.

Other important decisions of the 6th Summit held in Astana were the participation of Kuwait as a member state and the inclusion of the Eurasian Economic Union among CICA partners. All these developments increase the international authority of the conference as a multilateral mechanism in the field of regional security and cooperation.

CICA is a powerful dialogue platform that can be considered as one of the leading actors in Asia in terms of its parameters and importance. Because in addition to the twenty-eight member countries in the Asian continent; CICA, which also has observer members from outside the region such as the United States (USA), Ukraine and Belarus; it has observer membership of international organizations such as United Nations (UN), International Organization for Migration, OSCE, League of Arab States and Parliamentary Assembly of Turkish States.[1] Besides these five organizations, CICA also cooperates with the Economic Cooperation Organization, Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime.[2] In addition to all of these, CICA countries are home to 60% of the world's population and approximately 40% of global GDP in terms of purchasing power parity.[3] This is very important in terms of revealing the potential of cooperation between member states.

Despite all these positive regions, CICA geography hosts the Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, the Russia-Ukraine War and the Kyrgyz-Tajik border conflicts. This shows that CICA has crisis areas. In this context, Mr. Tokayev stated that the region is becoming increasingly unstable and he explained the situation with the words of "The Asian continent is turning into the "main" area of geopolitical warfare".[4] Mr. Tokayev proposed to transform CICA into a full-fledged regional international organization in the way of reflecting Kazakhstan's understanding of proactive diplomacy in the face of crises as a peace-making actor.

In this sense, Mr. Tokayev's proposal aims to establish an effective mechanism centered on cooperation in terms of preventive diplomacy, peaceful resolution of conflicts and strengthening the regional security environment.[5] There are two topics that the Astana administration focuses on related to the issues. The first one of these is the institutionalization of CICA towards strengthening cooperation and confidence-building measures in the current conjuncture. The second one is the constructive

role that Kazakhstan will play in this process.

Geopolitically, Central Asia has an important place in the China-US competition in terms of both its transit location and underground resources. One of the prominent actors of Central Asia is Kazakhstan. Moreover, Kazakhstan is a key country that ensures the sustainability of stability in the region which is to be remembered with instability. Therefore, the transformation of CICA into a full-fledged international organization will further increase the prestige of Astana.

Essentially, Mr. Tokayev's proposal is similar to the transformation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) into OSCE. That is, it is based on an idea that can be formulated as conference-to-organization. Indeed, the CSCE eliminated conflicts in Europe during the Cold War and succeeded in resolving conflicting issues through dialogue. However, it should be noted that; Asia did not go through the processes that Europe went through. In other words, the experiences of the two continents are extremely different from each other. However, this does not mean that Kazakhstan's initiative is unimportant. On the contrary, the peaceful perspective put forward by Kazakhstan represents a "theoretical" stance and a common search for security in terms of seeking answers to the current problems of CICA countries. Because most of the leaders attending the meeting share similar views with Mr. Tokayev.

As a result, the idea of establishing a loose structure based on security and cooperation among Asian states, proposed by Kazakhstan thirty years ago, has become an important tool used in Asia-based integration initiatives by 2022. Undoubtedly, the reached stage is the success of Kazakhstan. The warm approach of the leaders attending the summit to Astana's proposal shows that CICA will turn into a full-fledged regional international organization in the future. The decisions taken at the summit also confirm this.

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Trans-Atlantic Relations in the National Security Strategy Document of Biden Administration

On 12 October 2022, a new National Security Strategy Document was published by the White House with the signature of United States (US) President Joe Biden.[1] The document contains important clues about the future of Trans-Atlantic relations, as well as focuses on the global goals of the Washington administration regarding the limitation of Russia and China.

As you will recall, the most significant election pledge was to repair the damage done in re-

lations with Europe under Donald Trump. For as much as this case is pretty essential for the sustainability of American hegemony. The global hegemony of the United State has two bases. The first of them is the Asia-Pacific, which the famous geopolitician Zbigniew Brzezinski describes as the "Far East Anchor"; the second is Europe, which Brzezinski defines as the "Democratic Pillar." The efforts of Europe to position itself as a polar in the multipolar world, which became clear during the Trump era, and the



Dr. Doğacan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
International
Relations Expert

European Army discussions in this context, seem to have fallen off the agenda with the Russia-Ukraine War and left their place to a process that strengthens the collective perception of the West. Naturally, this is a particular that gets easy to fulfill the election pledge. In this context, the 12 October 2022 National Security Strategy Document, is very vital in terms of revealing the importance the Biden administration attaches to relations with Continental Europe.

In the incipit of the paper, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has displayed a stronger unity than ever before, Biden stated that relations with Europe have been deepened.[2] Certainly, these sentences mean that the damage which has been in the Trump era has been repaired on a vast scale. In this framework, claiming that the aggressive policies of the Moscow administration threaten the European security architecture, the US President[3] has also revealed that he will effectively use the Russia-Ukraine War to revive and keep alive the traditional "other" perception of the West. Therefore, the presence of the Russian threat secures the European side of American hegemony.

Biden also specifically included the goal of deepening the alliance with Europe and evaluated this issue under a separate heading. According to the US President, the Washington administration owes its global leadership to the alliance relationship it has developed with Europe. Therefore, the Washington administration used expressions in the aforementioned document emphasizing the importance of the Western alliance taking a monolithic stance and stating that the enlargement of the European Union (EU) integration would increase the power of the West.[4] In this sense, the EU; can be said that it is desired to be directed in a way that will serve the global goals of the US.

In addition of all, the document shows that the US defines its relations with Europe through values and sees the deterrence provided by NATO's 5th article as a unifying instrument.[5] For this reason, it is possible to foresee that the US will develop NATO-centered cooperation.[6] However, the Biden administration's approach to Europe is not limited to these.

It is understood that the main target that the document focuses on is Russia in the European dimension. The US is satisfied with the stance of EU countries regarding the Russia-Ukraine War. In this context, the point that the Washington administration is uncomfortable with is the energy dependence of Continental Europe on Russia. In this context, the White House emphasizes the need for Europe to find new energy suppliers and the need

to accelerate the transition to renewable energy. Therefore, it can be argued that the US will try to put forward more concrete projects in terms of energy policies in the future. Because Europe's energy fragility may also make Trans-Atlantic relations fragile. Biden drew attention to the "US-EU European Energy Security Task Force" and clearly stated that the Washington administration would take the initiative in the text in question.

Also, the document stated the importance of struggling with climate change and the food crisis and the measures to be taken in this regard.[7] The US seems to be willing to work closely with European states on the aforementioned issues. Namely, there is a Washington administration that aims to cooperate with the allies in the against crises.

On the other hand, the effect of awareness of the importance of interdependence was created by economic relations, the National Security Strategy Document states that the USA attaches importance to the G7 and wants to work closely with France, Italy, and Germany within this group.[8] However, it can be argued that the main expectation of the Washington administration is to get the support of Europe in its goal of limiting China, its main rival in the global power struggle. However, it is highly debatable whether it can receive support from Europe in this regard.

As it is known, an extremely intricate dependency relationship has emerged between European states and China. When it is considered the volume of economic relations, it can be said that EU members do not want to confront Beijing. Despite this, the US wants to act together with its European allies "against China's actions that turn the global order upside down" as stated in the document. In this sense, it can be argued that Washington will increase the pressure on Beijing and force Europe to make a choice. It can be said that the argument is that the US will use Western values.

As a result, National Security Strategy Document, signed by Biden, reflects the Washington administration's desire to deepen its relations with Europe. In the meantime, it can be said that the Russia-Ukraine War served the purposes of the US. But the main expectation of the White House is for Europe to stand against China. It is very difficult for Washington to convince the EU members on this issue due to their mutual dependencies. Despite this, the document which was signed on 12 October 2022 reveals that the US will focus on China and want to see Europe by its side in this competition.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Russia's Losing the European Natural Gas Market to the USA

Russia is said to be pulling out of the European market much faster because it can find alternative markets in Asian countries. Liquefied natural gas (LNG) from the United States (US) is expected to reach the European Union (EU) within weeks to replace Russia. Oleg Tyapkin, head of Russia's State Department for European Affairs, stated that "Washington aims to take Russia out of the European gas market, and its statements that Germany is ready to give up Russian gas confirm this." Noting recent developments, Tyapkin said there are signs that the US is aiming to take Russia out of the European gas market: failure to approve the launch of the North Stream 2 pipeline, Gazprom pressure

on European subsidiaries, the nationalization of the Rosneft assets in Germany and the sanctions that made it impossible to repair North Stream 1.[1]

Gas prices in Europe have dropped sharply in recent weeks. For the first time since June 24, 2022 (November 17, 2022), the cost of November gas supplies has fallen below \$1,400 per thousand cubic meters. Fuel prices in Europe have been declining steadily over the past month and a half, driven by concerns over the transition to the winter period. In this case, one major factor is the fact that underground gas storage facilities (UGS) in Europe have been



**Dr. Sabir
ASKEROĞLU**
ANKASAM Eurasia
Expert

filled earlier than planned and that the US is continuing to increase LNG supply. European countries have been able to provide almost 90% of their underground gas storage facilities through the spring and summer and the fuels they have provided from third countries. However, it is only mentioned that spending the winter with reserves in the underground facilities is insufficient. However, the significant flooding of underground storage facilities makes European energy consumers feel safer and makes prices drop. It also reduces the need for Russian gas.

In 2021, according to the International Energy Agency (IEA), Europe imported about 140 billion cubic meters of natural gas from Russia through pipelines. Another 15 billion cubic meters were supplied as LNG from Russia. Until recently, Russia's share of Europe's "blue fuel" imports was 45%. About 40% were exported via gas pipelines and 5% by liquefied through LNG tankers.[2]

Many EU countries have significantly reduced their dependence on Gazprom. Italy, for example, opted to buy gas from Algeria, Azerbaijan, and Qatar. Italy reduced the share of Russian gas imports to about half of the state's total needs or 21%. Spain and Portugal, which were not previously highly dependent on Russian gas, have begun to act as natural gas exporters to other EU countries in the current economy. This is because all the main terminals for acceptance and processing of LNG are located on the Iberian Peninsula.

In addition to the other European countries mentioned, France has recently launched three LNG terminals to allow for the regassing of liquefied fuels. Paris gets most of its gas from Norway via a pipeline to the port of Dunkirk via the English Channel (English Channel). Denmark and Sweden are also largely self-sufficient in their energy needs. Türkiye reduced gas imports from Russia by 37% in July 2022, and also increased hydrocarbon supplies from Iran and Azerbaijan. Thus, according to Gazprom, raw materials supplies to countries other than the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which fell to most European consumers, fell by about 60 billion cubic meters or 40% in 9 months.[3]

Mainly, LNG of American origin has become the main substitute for Russian gas in the EU. Geoffrey Pyatt, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the US Bureau of Energy Resources, explained that Washington provides Europe with 70% of all LNG exports. Washington, he says, is mobilizing its resources for LNG exports to meet the needs of Europe. The US will thus become the world's largest LNG supplier in 2022. Pyatt also assured that Europe, "which significantly strengthens energy security", would successfully survive the winter period "with US guarantees and robust support." [4]

For this reason, the authorities in Russia, gas industry experts, and economists are looking for alternative directions to energy supplies that will help put a brake on the overall decline in natural gas production. Prospects for the construction of new gas contracts with China and Russia in conditions acceptable to Russia so far have been unrealistic. It will take many years to redirect Russian gas to China and other Asian countries. Moscow is believed to have maintained a weak position in the gas talks with Beijing so far. Russia would hardly be able to charge a fair price to the Chinese.

As a result, the European energy market seems to be dominated by Russian substitutions, Europeans avoiding fear of a Russian gas crisis, and Russia found it difficult to find alternative consumer markets for the European market, which it lost.

[1] "МИД РФ: Вашингтон поставил задачу вытеснить Россию с газового рынка Европы", Rossiyskaya Gazeta, <https://rg.ru/2022/10/06/mid-rf-vashington-postavil-zadachu-vytesnit-rossiiu-s-gazovogo-rynka-evropy.html>, (Date of Accession: 17.10.2022).

[2] "Европа импортозамещает «Газпром»", Kommersant, <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/5240309>, (Date of Accession: 17.10.2022).

[3] "Газпром за 9 месяцев 2022 г. снизил добычу газа на 17,1%, поставки в дальнее зарубежье – более чем на 40%", Neftegaz, <https://neftegaz.ru/news/companies/753067-gazprom-za-9-mesyatsev-2022-g-snizil-dobychu-gaza-na-17-1-postavki-v-dalnee-zarubezhe-bolee-chem-na-40/>, (Date of Accession: 17.10.2022).

[4] "В США раскрыли долю поставляемого в Европу СПГ", Lenta.Ru, <https://lenta.ru/news/2022/10/16/spg/>, (Date of Accession: 17.10.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Regret of Russia in Alaska

Alaska, which is one of the 50 states of the United State of America (US) was an ancient Russian territory. As far as it is known, Danish sailors reached Alaska in 1741. After this, the hunters who were from Russia went toward Alaska and the first Russian settlements were established in Alaska in 1784. Over time, the Russians, who established management and companies in the region, could not give the necessary importance to Alaska, especially due to the negative economic consequences of the Crimean War

between 1853-1856, and began to move away from the region. [1]

The main policy which was followed by the USA was to keep European states away from the American continent. Even for this, the Monroe Doctrine was declared on December 2, 1823. This doctrine is thought to include only the imperialist powers in the west of Europe. However, the US was also concerned about Russia's expansionism in the American continent and



Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM Central
Asia Expert

wanted to prevent this country with the doctrine in question. [2] For this reason, negotiations which were about the sale of Alaska began between Russia and the US. Although the process was interrupted due to the US Civil War, the parties agreed on March 30, 1867, and Russia officially sold Alaska to the USA for 7.2 million dollars.

In the signing of the aforementioned agreement, then the US Secretary General William H. Seward, who advocated the expansion of his country in terms of territory, played a leading role. However, both Seward and US President Andrew Johnson were heavily criticized by Congress and the press in this process. In fact, the Senate accepted the agreement by only one vote. Eventually, Alaska was admitted as the 49th state of the US in 1959.[3]

Apart from the negative impact of the Crimean War, another reason for Russia to sell Alaska was that the technology of the period in question was insufficient in the face of the harsh weather and geographical conditions of the region. On the other hand, the US was increasing its influence in the continent. For this reason, important competition began between the people and merchants who were sent by the two countries. However, it was not economically possible for Russia to establish settlements and military structures in Alaska to maintain competition. Also, Russia wanted to proceed toward Europe. For this purpose, Russia sold Alaska to the US to balance England.[4]

After the Second World War, Alaska became a matter of regret for the Russians, because the US and the Soviet Union became rivals. However, the advancement of technology has also removed the obstacles of the difficult Alaska geography in the world. Thus, the underground treasures have made Alaska much more valuable in the region. Today, the Arctic Region is more openly turning into a competitive arena. This deepens Russia's regret. Because Alaska has a key geopolitical importance for both Russia and the Arctic.

When it is examined at the geopolitical importance of Alaska, it is seen that it is the closest region to the east of Russia via the Bering Strait, as well as located in the American continent. On the other hand, there is an extension of the islands starting from Alaska. Extension; it is on the road along the Aleutian Islands, Fox Islands, Andreanof Islands, Rat Islands, and Near Islands to Russia's Commander Islands and the Sea of Okhotsk.

This means that the east of Russia is naturally surrounded by the US from the south and poses a geopolitical problem for the Moscow administration. There are also several US military bases in Alaska.

Alaska is the main reason the US is in the Arctic. The US has military bases in the interior and southern parts of Alaska.[5] While Alaska turns into a police station for the Washington administration,[6] it also leads to plans by Russia and other countries to build new bases in the Arctic. Thus, there is a possibility that the northern part of Alaska will also turn into a military base and a conflict zone. As a matter of fact, recently military tensions based in Alaska have been increasing. For example, according to a report which was on October 18, 2022, the US Air Force blocked the activity of two Russian bombers in the region.[7]

Beijing, which has close relations with Moscow and is uncomfortable with Washington's policies, to increase its presence in the Arctic indicates that military competition will increase in the region. These developments cause a security dilemma and the region to become more militarized. Because states think that their capacity to gain political influence in regions where they do not exist militarily is limited. This is also the case in Arctic geopolitics in recent times. As a matter of fact, the US deployed two F35 fighter aircraft to Alaska in April 2020.[8]

As the geopolitics of the Arctic turns into a field of competition between the states of the region, voices are raising from Moscow that Alaska should be returned to Russia. Especially since the 2010s, as Russia's weight has increased in world politics and relations have been strained with the US, this issue has been opened for discussion. Even it was proposed for a period to hold a referendum in Alaska,[9] Recently, it is seen that the statements about Alaska have acquired an official dimension. [10] For as much as the Kremlin thinks that it can put pressure on the White House in this way.

As a result, Russia claims to demand back to Alaska for these reasons. However, it does not seem possible to do this. Because the US, which has expanded its territory with money, may face similar demands from France, Spain, and Mexico if the US accepts the Russian request. Because the US has bought lands from these states in certain periods. In addition, the geopolitical, geostrategic, and geoeconomic characteristics of the region make Alaska indispensable for the US. For this reason, it does not seem possible to meet Moscow's expectations.

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[2] "Monroe Doctrine, 1823", Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1801-1829/monroe>, (Date of Accession: 21.10.2022).

[3] "Russians settle Alaska", op. cit.

[4] "Purchase of Alaska, 1867", Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/alaska-purchase#:~:text=Defeat%20in%20the%20Crimean%20War%20further%20reduced%20Russian%20interest%20in%20this%20region.&text=Russia%20offered%20to%20sell%20Alaska,in%20the%20Pacific%2C%20Great%20Britain,> (Date of Accession: 21.10.2022).

[5] Rhemi Marlatt, "The Intersection of U.S. Military Infrastructure&Alaskan Permafrost Through the 21st Century", The Arctic Institute, <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/intersection-military-infrastructure-alaskan-permafrost-21st-century/>, (Date of Accession: 21.10.2022).

[6] Arnaud Leparmentier, "Alaska is becoming a US Outpost Against Russia", Le Monde, https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2022/09/16/alaska-is-becoming-a-us-outpost-against-russia_5997209_4.html, (Date of Accession: 21.10.2022).

[7] Courtney Kube-Phil McCausland, "Air Force Jets Intercept 2 Russian Bombers Flying Close to Alaska", NBC News, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/us-air-force-jets-intercept-2-russian-bombers-flying-close-alaska-rcna52781>, (Date of Accession: 21.10.2022).

[8] Onur Limon, Arktika Jeopolitiği-2: Sorunlar ve Anlaşmazlıklar, Bölge ve Bölge Dışı Aktörlerin Stratejileri, Efeakademi, İstanbul, 2020, p. 78-93.

[9] Matthew Holroyd-Sophia Khatsenkova, "Alaska is Ours: Local Russian Advertisement Sparks Outrage on Social Media", Euronews, <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2022/07/12/alaska-is-ours-local-russian-advertisement-sparks-outrage-on-social-media>, (Date of Accession: 21.10.2022).

[10] Iris Samuels, "A Russian Lawmaker Wants Alaska Back. 'Good Luck with That!'", Anchorage Daily News, <https://www.adn.com/politics/2022/03/16/a-russian-lawmaker-wants-alaska-back-good-luck-with-that/>, (Date of Accession: 21.10.2022); "Kremlin Official Suggests Russia Could One Day Try to Reclaim Alaska from the US", Insider, <https://www.businessinsider.com/kremlin-official-suggests-US-remember-Alaska-belonged-to-Russia-2022-7>, (Date of Accession: 21.10.2022).



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China in the Biden Administration's National Security Strategy

The National Security Strategy document,^[1] published with the signature of the President of the United States of America (US) Joe Biden on October 12, 2022, contains important clues about the future of American foreign policy. In this context, the document is also very important in terms of understanding how the

relations and struggle of the US with China, its main rival in the global power struggle, will be shaped.

As it is known, China is an actor that wants a larger share in the international system due to its economic growth. For this reason, while the



Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
International
Relations Expert

Beijing administration defends multipolarity by opposing the American-led unipolar world order through international structures such as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and BRICS, it also seeks to deepen interstate interdependence by bringing its own commercial system and trade routes to the center of the global economy through initiatives such as the Belt-Road Project.

Of course, this means that the most serious challenge to American leadership comes from Beijing. As a result, since Barack Obama's presidency, the Washington administration has turned its gaze to China and focused on Indo-Pacific geopolitics.

After being elected the US President for the second time, Obama made his first foreign visit to the countries surrounding the Malacca Strait. These visits can be seen as the start of the containment strategy that the Trump administration is currently implementing against China through alliances such as the Quad Security Dialogue (QUAD) and AUKUS.

In the Trump era, China has been described in the US National Security Strategy Document as "an actor challenging American leadership."^[2] In this framework, Trump had opened trade wars in an attempt to bring the Beijing administration to its knees by harming China economically. Also, the containment strategy has been expanded and sustained by the "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" discourse.

At this point, it can be seen that the Biden administration has increased pressure on China. In this sense, the Washington administration appears to be testing Beijing's limits with Nancy Pelosi's, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Taiwan visit.^[3] In fact, the US National Security Strategy Document, which was released shortly after the Taiwan Crisis, contains an important idea about the future of the Washington administration's China policy.

In the document, the Biden administration defined China as an actor that should be contained together with Russia and gave wide coverage to Beijing's actions. The document, which includes China among the autocratic regimes, asserted that the Beijing administration's actions posed a threat to the international system^[4] and accused China of pursuing a revisionist foreign policy.^[5]

In this context, it can be predicted that the US President, who stated that China has increased its sphere of influence in the

Indo-Pacific geography^[6] and that the Washington administration owes its global power to the alliances it has developed its allies, will expand its containment strategy towards China and exploit AUKUS and QUAD. In fact, the expansion of the QUAD may be the agenda once more in the following period. Furthermore, the emphasis on strengthening deterrence against China reflects the US' desire to increase its military presence in the Indo-Pacific region.^[7] As a result, it is expected that Washington will prioritize strengthening ties with Tokyo and Seoul. It is also possible that the US will increase pressure on India in order to make New Delhi abandon its equilibrium policy.

On the other hand, the document highlights the fact that China's economic and technological power is devastating, revealing that the economic relations developed by European states with China are being called into question by Washington. This indicates that the Washington administration wants to see Europe on its side in the fight against China. In this sense, the US is attempting to gain the support of European states by emphasizing values such as democracy and human rights. In other words, it emphasizes soft power through ideological elements.^[8]

In addition, the Biden administration has indicated that it will implement a strategy aimed at weakening the Beijing administration from within, with a particular focus on separatist structures in China. As a result, it can be predicted that the issues referred to as China's soft belly will be raised more frequently by the US in the future, and Beijing's nerve endings will be tested. Washington will almost certainly demand that Western capitals align with it on this issue by emphasizing human rights. It can even be argued that Washington will force Europe to make a choice.

Finally, it should be noted that the document takes a critical stance toward China in terms of combating climate change. This highlights the importance of gaining Europe's support on climate change and implementing an isolation policy that limits China in every way.^[9]

As a result, according to the National Security Strategy document dated October 12, 2022, and signed by Biden, the main rival of the US in the global power struggle is China. The document's emphasis also reveals that the Washington administration's main goal is to limit China, which it sees as a potential hegemonic power. Accordingly, it can be suggested that the United States will try to increase its military presence in the Indo-Pacific geography, deepen allied relations, conduct a strat-

egy aimed at expanding existing alliances, discuss Europe's relations with Beijing and take steps to test China's nerves.

[1] "National Security Strategy", The White House, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>, (Date of Accession: 18.10.2022).

[2] "National Security Strategy of the United States", The White House, December 2017, p. 3.

[3] Cenk Tamer, "What Could China's Red Lines in Taiwan Be?", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/what-could-chinas-red-lines-in-taiwan-be/?lang=en>, (Date of Accession: 18.10.2022).

[4] "National Security Strategy", op. cit., p. 3.

[5] "National Security Strategy", op. cit., p. 8.

[6] "National Security Strategy", op. cit., p. 23.

[7] "National Security Strategy", op. cit., p. 20.

[8] "National Security Strategy", op. cit., p. 24.

[9] Ibid.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Rise of Far Right in Europe in Terms of Energy Crisis

After the Russian-Ukrainian War started, primarily the European Union (EU), the United States (US), Switzerland, the United Kingdom (UK), Japan, and Australia showed an effort to isolate the Moscow administration from the international arena. The Kremlin, on the other hand, responded to the sanctions towards itself with energy. However, it can be said that the policy of the West to exulcerate Russia, is backlashed. Because, the Western states struggling with their suppliers of gas, that is Russia, caused an energy crisis.

Even though it has been eight months since the war in Ukraine started, the EU, which continued its sanctions, started to search for solutions to the energy crisis. In terms of this search, they have been inclined to different alternatives. In

this framework, while agreements with Azerbaijan,[1] Israel, and Egypt were signed,[2] the negotiations continue with Turkmenistan,[3] Algeria,[4] Qatar, and Nigeria.[5]

On the other hand, the EU publishes different suggestions on energy security while it repeats energy-saving calls. As a matter of fact, on October 18, 2022, the President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen asked the member states to act jointly on natural gas imports to prevent the increase in natural gas and electricity prices and to ensure the stability of the EU energy market in the long term.[6] Therefore, a negotiation process is being carried out for the member states to show solidarity in energy. However, the continuation of the



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator

EU's sanctions policy and the measures taken to save energy is met with a reaction by the people of the relevant countries. The fact that the energy crisis is being felt more and more every day affects many sectors, especially industry. For this reason, the increase in living costs, especially natural gas prices, leads to protests targeting governments.

Already, demonstrations in countries such as Germany, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, and Italy have been criticized for their energy policies and protested against the cost of living. For example, citizens in Czechoslovakia, which currently holds the rotating EU presidency, have demanded that the country sign direct gas supply contracts with Russia at low prices, while also reacting to the government's approach to limiting energy prices.[7] At the urging of trade unions in Italy, people in most cities, particularly Milan and Turin, joined by the slogan "War on the Cost of Living", burning electricity and gas bills.[8]

In Belgium, about 10 thousand demonstrators protested the rising energy and food prices. Likewise, protests in France tend to grow. During the demonstrations in which thousands of workers from different professions took to the streets, violent incidents took place, and, in this context, eleven people were detained on October 19, 2022.[9] In addition, half of the refinery capacity in France was closed due to strikes by energy sector workers and the spread of these actions to different cities. It is thought that if the strikes continue, major supply problems may occur at the petrol stations.

It is also noteworthy that labor unions in Belgium and Poland have announced their support for French demonstrators. This indicates that the actions could be spread to other European countries as well.[10] Therefore, the energy crisis in Europe may lead to the growth of street demonstrations and the emergence of serious economic problems.

It can be said that governments have experienced difficult processes due to similar demonstrations in different countries of Europe. As a matter of fact, upon the announcement that nuclear power plants would continue to operate in Germany, the Greens, the anti-nuclear partner of the coalition government led by Olaf Scholz, and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) disagreed. While the FDP opposed the shutdown of electricity sources, the anti-nuclear Greens argued that the plants should be shut down by the end of 2022. German Chancellor Scholz announced that the three operating nuclear power plants will remain in service until April 15, 2023.[11]

On the other hand, it remains unclear how the EU countries, which agreed on new sanctions following Russia's partial mobilization decision and the threat of using nuclear weapons, will respond to the protests. However, the fact is that the EU is in a very difficult situation vis-à-vis Russia. Therefore, it can be argued that the continuation of the EU's strict sanctions policy will backfire and the demonstrations will evolve into much bigger uprisings.

In light of these developments, European public opinion may be disturbed by the sanctions leveled at Russia. As a result, more and more people are arguing that sanctions should be backpedaled. It should be emphasized that developments at this point have accelerated the rise of the far right in Europe. Therefore, it can be seen that the far right going up because of the high inflation brought about by the energy crisis. This could highlight far-right parties in the EU and lead to an increase in the number of right-wing governments. It is also possible to read the results of the elections in Italy from this perspective. As a result, it is understandable that far-right parties in countries such as France, Germany, Czechia, and Belgium – where anti-government protests have taken place – have gained a big advantage.

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[2] "AB, Mısır ve İsrail Arasında Avrupa'ya Gaz Tedariki İçin Anlaşma İmzalanacak", Anadolu Ajansı, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/ab-misir-ve-israil-arasinda-avrupaya-gaz-tedariki-icin-anlasma-izmalanacak/2613818>, (Date of Accession: 19.10.2022).

[3] "Turkmen President, EU Representative Discuss Partnership", Caspian News, <https://caspiannews.com/news-detail/turkmen-president-eu-representative-discuss-partnership-2022-5-7-0/>, (Date of Accession: 19.10.2022).

[4] "Cezayir Başbakanı: Cezayir-Avrupa Birliği Enerji Ortaklığı Umut Verici", TRT Haber, <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/cezayir-basbakani-cezayir-avrupa-birligi-enerji-ortakligi-umut-verici-715143.html>, (Date of Accession: 19.10.2022).

[5] "AB, Nijerya'dan Daha Fazla Doğal Gaz İthalatı İstiyor", Anadolu Ajansı, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/ab-nijeryadan-daha-fazla-dogal-gaz-ithalati-istiyor/2644201>, (Date of Accession: 19.10.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

What Does 49.3 Mean for Macron?

Recently, the French agenda has been shaken by the news of the budget bill and law 49.3. Following rhetoric about the likelihood of the law's implementation being very high, Prime Minister of France Elisabeth Borne triggered the law on October 19, 2022. So, what is 49.3 and what does it mean for the President of France Emmanuel Macron?

Article 49, paragraph 3 of the French Constitution, known as "Le 49.3", allows the government to unilaterally pass any bill on financial or social security issues through the National Assembly without voting. Of course, bills are first negotiat-

ed by the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. After that, the Prime Minister can assume responsibility before the National Assembly and then unilaterally pass the bill through the Assembly, effectively ending the debate.[1] The law was introduced in 1958. It was created to avoid political stalemates caused by frequent government changes.[2]

So why was this law brought to the agenda? The issue was first raised during the presentation of the 2023 budget. Because the opposition appeared hesitant to accept the 45-billion-euro budget for 2023,[3] which was presented to the



**Özlem Deniz
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Council of Ministers on September 26, 2022, by French Economy Minister Bruno Le Maire. Because this plan increased public expenditures by 7.5 billion euros compared to 2021.[4] Indeed, during the week-long examinations, the deputies made proposals for changes; however, no final decision has been reached. Borne stated on the last day of the examinations, October 19, 2022, "We need to give our country a budget" and closed the debate by referring to the law numbered 49.3.[5]

Macron's "Ensemble!" alliance gained 250 seats in the Parliament in the June 2022 elections. However, because he was unable to secure 289 seats, he is unable to pass the budget through the National Assembly without the support of opposition parties.[6] Because it was clear that key members of the opposition parties would not approve this budget, Government Spokesperson Olivier Veran stated on 18 October 2022 that Borne could activate 49.3 in Parliament.[7] Everything unfolded exactly as Veran predicted. Referring to the law in question, Borne said, "The text I present to you today is not the same as the budget presented at the beginning. Following the debates of the last few days the bill was amended, even corrected, in the committee." Even before referring to 49.3, the French Prime Minister agreed to nearly a hundred amendments proposed by the opposition.[8]

So why is the law so important and what are its risks?

The law is extremely risky for a government that lacks a majority or Assembly partners. Because the only way to prevent the bill from passing is to overthrow the government. When the Prime Minister enacts this law, MPs have twenty-four hours to table a motion of no confidence. This can lead to the rejection of the budget and the government being overthrown. The next move in this scenario is to dissolve the Assembly and hold early elections. However, if the motion does not get enough votes, the government will win its gamble, and the budget will be approved and sent to the Senate.[9]

At this point, the question of whether Macron will be ousted from power by this vote is being debated. It should be noted that no French government has ever lost power as a result of 49.3. This is quite important. Because the law has been used many times since it was first enacted.

On the other hand, when Macron's presidency is analyzed and Marine Le Pen's rise in the last elections is considered, it can be argued that Macron's power hangs by a thread. Because, during his presidency, Macron faced events such as the yellow

vest protests, the Covid-19 pandemic, the Ukraine War, the energy crisis, and inflationary pressure. He is worn out. The ongoing strikes of energy workers throughout the country make the situation much more complicated. Also, the increase in inflation following Russia's invasion of Ukraine increased support for these protests. Macron called on the strikers to return to work; however, the protesters, who claimed that their issues had not been resolved, continued their demonstrations. Furthermore, the protests spread to other sectors, and a large protest was held in Paris on October 18, 2022.[10]

Additionally, in a survey published by Ifop in Le Journal du Dimanche, 82% of respondents said they thought Macron was not doing enough to cope with rising consumer prices.[11] In other words, Macron's reputation is deteriorating. The Paris administration felt obligated to confirm its authority in some way and wanted to do so with an economic tool: the 2023 budget.

On the other hand, Les Républicains, one of the conservative parties, and Le Pen, the leader of the extreme right, announced that they would not attempt to overthrow the government.[12] Therefore, the first part of the budget divided into four will enter into force. But the 49.3 debate is not completely closed. There is a possibility that Borne would re-trigger 49.3 if other parts of the text do not pass the Assembly. This indicates that the issue will continue to be on France's agenda for a while.

Because 49.3 was triggered, the criticism towards the Macron administration will increase. Because the opposition sees the activation of the contested law as limiting a possible democratic debate. Macron's government, on the other hand, cannot be expected to be overthrown for this reason. But the use of this law has cast a shadow on the sincerity of the rhetoric of "democratic" France. Therefore, resorting to 49.3 again could be political suicide for France. In other words, although the law did not remove Macron from power, it will have a serious impact on Macron through the opposition and the public. As a result, opposition to Macron is likely to grow in the future.

[1] "France: How Does Article 49.3 Allow a Bill to be Passed without a Vote?", Le Monde, https://www.lemonde.fr/en/france/article/2022/10/19/france-how-does-article-49-3-allow-a-bill-to-be-passed-without-a-vote_6001019_7.html, (Date of Accession: 20.10.2022).

[2] "France's article 49.3 a Handy Constitutional Tool to bypass Parliament", RFI, <https://www.rfi.fr/en/france/20221013-france-article-49-3-a-handly-constitutional-tool-to-bypass-parliament>, (Date of Accession: 20.10.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Third Period of Jinping and China-Africa Relations

China-Africa relations in the period of Xi Jinping's presidency China have reached new peaks in terms of diplomatic and economic and have reached new levels. During his ten years of power, Jinping's Belt-Road Initiative has brought new accomplishments in many areas such as industry, infrastructure, health, education, agriculture, and communication, and

has led the way for a bigger project in Africa in general. In addition, Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) has tripled China's financial undertaking towards Africa. Through FOCAC, China was supported more than Africa in terms of the support of the activities in the United Nations (UN).



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At the 20th Chinese Communist Party Congress held between October 17-23, 2022, Jinping extended his rule to a third term. The congress was also closely followed by African governments. Because China is currently the country with the highest trade volume with Africa. In addition, African countries generally want this to continue. The positive progress of Africa-China relations, which have a multifaceted and stable structure, is seen as important for the continent's governments in terms of financial continuity.

Under Mao Zedong, the founder and first leader of the Chinese Communist Party, China and Africa enjoyed a close relationship, especially because Beijing supported liberation movements on the continent. Under Deng Xiaoping, however, China focused more on domestic reforms and less on relations with Africa, and more on Western countries. Under Xi Jinping, bilateral relations have reached a higher level than at any time since Mao Zedong. Therefore, relations are expected to strengthen further during Jinping's third term.

In 2018, Jinping was granted a third term through an amendment to the constitution. At the 20th CPC Congress, Jinping was elected for a third term, and this could inspire governments in Africa. This points to a trend that has recently started to return on the African continent. African leaders will also be very keen to extend their stay in power. Nevertheless, it is difficult to separate the influence of a single individual from the re-shifting demand capacity in Africa, driven by trends stemming from China's globalization. Indeed, China-Africa relations predate President Jinping and are driven by many actors. Therefore, even if only Jinping has an influence, we should not forget the influence of other actors.

However, it is thought that Africa-China relations will continue in the same way with Jinping's third term. For the moment, no issue will change the nature of relations. Therefore, it seems likely that relations will continue as in Jinping's first and second terms. However, the most important point that can be stated at this point is that China under Jinping has a diplomatic aim to win the countries of the "Global South." In this context, it can be said that Jinping will further strengthen China's diplomatic ties with African countries. In addition, as a reflection of China's success in terms of diplomacy and soft power in Africa, the approach of African countries towards the Russia-Ukraine War is another important issue. In this context, it is observed that African countries follow Beijing's lead in voting for resolutions condemning Russia at the UN. Although this rate is not yet fully generalized, China has a significant influence. China seems to be a valuable figure for the African countries in the global south, and the US and the EU are trying to catch up at this point. It is known that the US has opened a special chapter for Africa in its recently published strategy document. Therefore, this is an indication that the US does not want to leave Africa to Russia and China.[1]

China under Jinping has gradually created a pro/anti-China world. While some of the countries have pragmatic or obligatory relations with China in line with their interests, others are allegedly weak democracies. On the other hand, other countries, particularly the US and Europe, have generally aligned with the West. Beijing has become less interested in countries that have adopted an anti-China policy. At this point, realizing that it has a large alternative in the global south, China has taken great steps to strengthening its ties with these countries. This can be seen in the investments it has made under the Belt-Road Project. For example, many countries in Central Asia and Africa could fall into this category. Jinping will likely make relations with these countries a foreign policy priority in his third term. In this respect, Beijing can be expected to strengthen its ties with countries in Africa with which it has moderate relations.

In the last two years of Jinping's administration, economic policies have not yielded any results in terms of growth. It can be said that the Chinese economy has slowed down due to the decline in growth rates after years. This slowdown may lead to a change in Chinese foreign policy. For instance, many of China's major infrastructure projects under the Belt and Road Initiative are likely to slow down in the new era. Therefore, China will allocate less funding for the BRI. This will lead to a decline in economic relations and investments with African countries. At the last FOCAC session in 2021, Beijing's funding for Africa, including loans, aid, and investments, was announced at \$20 billion less than its 2018 commitment.[2] However, China will not turn away from Africa. In political, diplomatic, and economic terms, Africa is a gem and an investment that China will never want to give up. It seems that China may be a little more frugal in terms of financing and credit due to its slowing economy. Otherwise, a financing flow like in recent years does not seem sustainable given the slowdown in China's economy.

Beijing's shifting investments away from challenging and large infrastructure projects towards agriculture, renewable and sustainable energy, information communication technologies, and other areas in Africa is a sign of things to come. Finally, it can be said that China will continue to increase its influence on the continent in this new era within the framework of soft power. In 2022, a political party training school was opened in Tanzania, funded by the CPC with 40 million dollars and training political officials and leaders.[3] The increase in the number of these schools in the coming period could lead to the spread of China's communist ideology among African rulers, thus enabling China to gain ideological power on the continent.

[1] "U.S. National Security Strategy: Build 21st century U.S.-Africa partnerships", United States Africa Command, <https://www.africom.mil/article/34773/us-national-security-strategy-build-21st-century-us-africa-partnerships> (Date of Accession: 22.10.2022)

[2] "Europe, Take Note: A New Course for China-Africa Relations Set Out at FOCAC 2021", Center For Global Development, <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/europe-take-note-new-course-china-africa-relations-set-out-focac-2021> (Date of Accession: 22.10.2022)

[3] "Spreading ideology: Chinese Communist Party opens school in Tanzania to train party officials from region", The India Times, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/spreading-ideology-chinese-communist-party-opens-school-in-tanzania-to-train-party-officials-from-region/articleshow/92740922.cms> (Date of Accession: 22.10.2022)

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28 October 2022

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28 October 2022

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28 October 2022

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28 October 2022

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28 October 2022

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JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES

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