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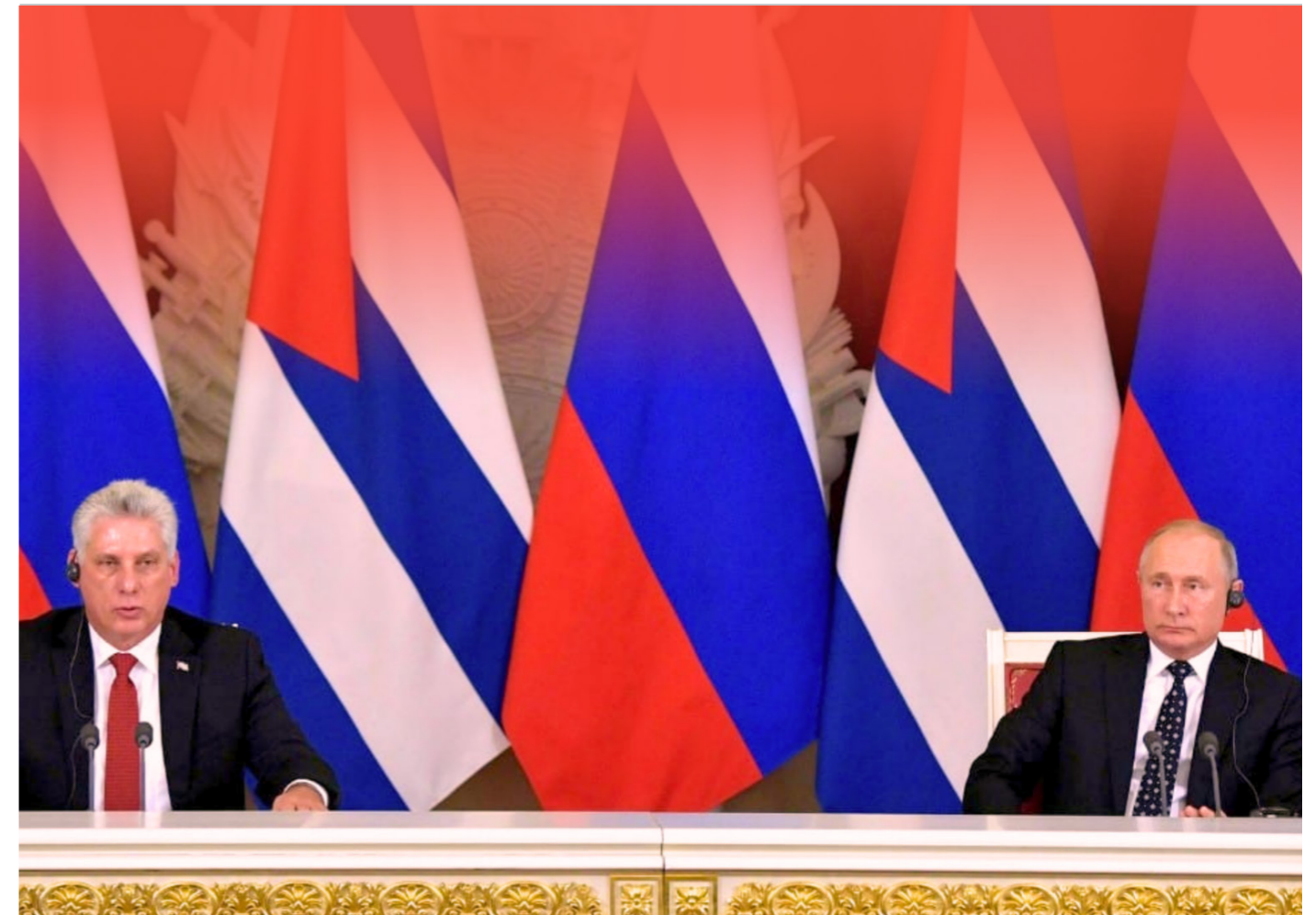
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Cuba's Approach to Sanctions Imposed on Russia

Latin America, which the United States of America (USA) tries to present as its backyard, has faced many protests, revolutions, and coups in the historical process. While the U.S. keeps the states that are moving away from its influence under control with coups and military interventions; and against the states it cannot control, it

has imposed and is imposing harsh sanctions. In this sense, the aim of the Washington administration is to overthrow the administrations weakened by the sanctions through social protests. Cuba is the country that has been subjected to the harshest and longest US sanctions in Latin America.



Dr. Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM
Central Asia Expert

Within the framework of recent developments and wars in the world, US sanctions are being discussed again. Especially with the Russian-Ukrainian War, the Western World, especially the United States, is imposing harsh sanctions targeting the Moscow administration. Russia's war against Ukraine is not supported by much of the world; it is seen that the sanctions applied directly affect the global economy, politics, and security as well as Russia. Cuba is also one of the states that are adversely affected, albeit indirectly, by the sanctions imposed by the United States.

Cuba has been ruled by leftist ideology since the revolution of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in 1959. For this reason, it has been exposed to the interventions of the United States in various periods. However, Washington, which has failed to change the administration in Havana, has imposed harsh sanctions. Cuba, which is now seen as the "indestructible fortress" of the left revolution, managed to survive despite the sanctions thanks to the support of the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

As the end of the Cold War approached, aid from the Soviet Union to Cuba began to decline. The dissolution of the Soviet Union at the end of the Cold War contained two main messages for Cuba. First of all, there would be no superpower to support Cuba in the face of the ongoing US sanctions. Undoubtedly, this situation caused Cuba to be under significant economic pressure and the Havana administration had to take liberalization steps, albeit to a limited extent. Secondly, the dissolution of the Soviet Union meant that Cuba isolated in the world and in international politics.

By the 2000s, there have been important developments in world politics for Cuba. First, Russia, which is beginning to gain strength again, has begun to support Cuba. Secondly, the First Left Wave, which was on the rise in Latin America, enabled Cuba to acquire new partners in the regional conjuncture.

These developments have revealed that the dynamics in the world have developed in a way that is contrary to the interests of the United States. Because Russia has established contacts with various countries in order to rebuild its influence in the sphere of influence inherited from the Soviet Union and has also turned to Cuba in this context. By 2013, Russia had restored 90% of Cuba's Cold War-era debt; that is, it canceled \$32 billion.[1]

In the face of this, it is seen that the US has softened its attitude towards Cuba. Especially during the reign of former US President Barack Obama, relations with Cuba entered the process of normalization and sanctions targeting the Havana administration were eased. However, Donald Trump has followed the opposite policy and relations have again become tense. In fact, the US continued the sanctions against Cuba during the Covid-19 outbreak. Despite the US sanctions, Russia was one of the countries that sent aid to Cuba.[2]

In this context, the Cuban administration openly adopts an attitude that supports Russia in the developments in international politics. On the eve of the Russian-Ukrainian War, the Cuban Foreign Ministry announced in a statement that the expansion of the borders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) towards Russia was a threat to Russia's security and international peace.[3]

As can be understood, it is not possible to say that the Russian-Ukrainian War led to any change in Cuban policies. The Havana administration strongly condemned the sanctions imposed by the Western World on Moscow on the grounds of war and announced that they would not participate in the sanctions.[4]

A year after the war, Cuba continues its policy. In a statement on March 15, 2023, Cuba's ambassador to Moscow stressed that Havana would not participate in the Western-centered sanctions despite the pressure of the Washington administration.[5]

These sanctions have adversely affected Russia politically and militarily, especially in terms of economy. This situation actually means that Cuba will also be adversely affected. Because it can be said that Russia, which seems determined to continue the war it is waging in Ukraine, has reduced the aid it sends to other parts of the world. In particular, Russia's emphasis on an Asia-centered policy has reflected negatively on Cuba. Havana, on the other hand, continues to support Moscow despite all the difficulties.

As a result, Cuba condemns the sanctions both because of its ideological perspective shaped by anti-US sentiment and because it is negatively affected by the sanctions imposed on Russia. In addition, the Havana administration is aware and has been experiencing this for a long time that Washington uses sanctions as a weapon because it has been subject to sanctions for a long time. For this reason, while opposing the sanctions against Russia, it also sends the message that it wants the sanctions imposed on it to end. It can also be said that Cuba wanted to show its historical gratitude towards Russia. Therefore, the sanctions have once again demonstrated the importance of Russia for Cuba and have shown that strong relations between the parties continue despite everything.

[1] Mark Lamme, "Russia Ratifies \$35Bln Debt Write-Off for Cuba", The Moscow Times, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2014/07/09/russia-ratifies-35bln-debt-write-off-for-cuba-a37170>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[2] "Russia Sends COVID-19 Aid to Cuba-Defence Ministry", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/russia-sends-covid-19-aid-cuba-defence-ministry-2021-07-24/>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[3] Laura Gamba Fadul, "Cuba Backs Vladimir Putin in Ukraine Crisis", Anadolu Agency, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/world/cuba-backs-vladimir-putin-in-ukraine-crisis/2511636>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[4] "Cuban President Rejects Sanctions Against Russia", TeleSur, <https://www.telesurenglish.net/news/Cuban-President-Rejects-Sanctions-Against-Russia-20221122-0007.html>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[5] "Посол подтвердил неизменную позицию Кубы по отказу от санкций против РФ", https://aif.ru/politics/posol_podtverdil_neizmennuyu_poziciyu_kuby_po_otkazu_ot_sankciy_protiv_rf, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

The UK's Fight Against Irregular Migration

The year 2022 has been a year that has come to the fore with political instability and turmoil for the UK. In addition to economic problems, the London administration has faced various problems. One of these problems is the increase in irregular migration to the country. Both former Prime Ministers Boris Johnson and Liz Truss and current Prime Minister Rishi Sunak have paid special attention to the issue of migration to the UK.

So much so that on January 4, 2023, Sunak promised to solve the country's most serious problems. Accordingly, Sunak has listed five promises. One of the promises of the British Prime Minister has been to stop small boats carrying irregular

migrants to the country through the English Channel.[1] The Sunak administration considers migration to the country, particularly within the framework of security. For this reason, the British Prime Minister aims to minimize irregular migration. The fact that the measure to stop small boats trying to enter the UK is one of Sunak's five promises shows that the British Prime Minister attaches great importance to this problem. Nevertheless, considering that elections will take place in the UK towards the end of 2024, it can be argued that this issue will be an important trump card for Sunak.

On the other hand, in 2022, many immigrants tried to enter the UK through the English Channel. Therefore, relations between Britain and Albania have



**Cemal Ege
ÖZKAN**
ANKASAM Eurasia
Research Assis-
tant

been extremely strained. Because, according to the UK Government, Albanians make up about 60% of the people who want to cross the Channel and immigrate to the UK. That is why Sunak announced on December 13, 2022, his five-point plan for the deportation of Albanian migrants by the end of 2023.[2]

However, the plan is important in terms of showing how the UK Government is taking a stand against irregular migration. In this context, according to the plan, it is stated that a new, unified small ship command will be formed, which will first include the military, civilian forces and intelligence. Second, irregular migrants will be prohibited from opening bank accounts. Third, refugees will no longer be housed in hotels, but in dormitories and military warehouses. Fourth, asylum workers will be made to understand that Albania is a safe country. Fifth, London will introduce legislation to ensure that people who come to the UK illegally cannot seek asylum in the country.[3]

As can be understood, Sunak's five-point plan is the main focus of the law that the UK is trying to enact to prevent the entry of irregular migrants into the country by March 2023. As a matter of fact, on March 7, 2023, the London administration announced the details of a new law prohibiting asylum seekers from entering the country by boat. Accordingly, persons who enter the UK illegally will be detained without bail or judicial review until they are taken to their home country or to a third country such as Rwanda within the first 28 days.[4]

On the other hand, the main reason why the Sunak Government pursues such a harsh policy on irregular migration is in a sense due to economic reasons. Because neither Johnson, Truss nor Sunak have succeeded in solving economic problems. In particular, the migration problem allows many countries in Europe to pursue populist policies. In this context, it can be argued that the Sunak Government is trying to cover up the problems experienced in the economy and inflation by making the issue of migration the center of attention.

However, the reflections of this law on Europe have been different. For example, European Union (EU) Commissioner Ylva Johansson pointed out that the new migration bill violates international law,[5] while far-right parties in Europe have expressed their satisfaction with the law. Eric Zemmour, who was running in the first round of the French Presidential elections in 2022 and the Alternative for Germany Party, has offered their support to Sunak.[6] Therefore, the steps taken by the Sunak Government may open the door to consequences that may lead to the far-right anti-immigrant opponents in Europe to further increase their effectiveness. On the

other hand, Sunak's visit to France on March 10, 2023, is extremely important. During Sunak's visit, France and UK agreed to step up efforts to prevent irregular migrants from crossing the English Channel. Accordingly, London has agreed to pay Paris more than 500 million euros over the next three years for measures such as a detention centre for migrants in northern France, a joint command centre and further patrols of the French coastline using drones and an additional 500 French police officers.[7] First of all, it is no coincidence that Sunak visited France during the discussion of a law on the prevention of irregular migration to the UK. Because UK wants to cooperate with France against irregular migration. In this respect, cooperation against migration can create a significant change in the improvement of long-strained relations between the parties.

Consequently, Sunak wants to focus on the migration problem and earn himself plus points in the elections to be held in 2024. In recent years, the problem of irregular migration has played a decisive role in the changes of power in Europe. In this regard, migration is an important determinant in shaping the attitudes of the peoples of Europe in the elections that take place. Therefore, it can be foreseen that Sunak will try to keep the migration issue on the agenda until the elections and will try to take steps to minimize migration to the country.

[1] Cemal Ege ÖZKAN, "Rishi Sunak Vaatlerini Gerçekleştirebilecek mi?", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/rishi-sunak-vaatlerini-gerceklestirebilecek-mi/>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[2] Cemal Ege ÖZKAN, "Rishi Sunak'ın Arnavut Göçmenleri Engelleme Planı", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/rishi-sunak-in-arnavut-gocmenleri-engelleme-planı/>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[3] Giada Kuka, "Sunak Promises The Expulsion of Albanian Migrants, Reveals 5-Point Plan", Euronews, <https://euronews.com/en/sunak-promises-the-expulsion-of-albanian-migrants-reveals-5-point-plan/>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[4] "Factbox: Britain Proposes New Immigration Law to Stop Small Boats", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/uk/britain-proposes-new-immigration-law-stop-small-boats-2023-03-07/>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[5] "Rishi Sunak faces clash with EU on 'unlawful' asylum plans", The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/mar/08/eu-commissioner-warns-uk-migration-bill-breaches-international-law>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Will Pristina Administration Accept the Proposal of the Union of Serbian Municipalities?

Kosovo is a country that declared its independence in 2008 with the support of the United States (US) and its Western allies. Currently, Kosovo's security is provided by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Kosovo Task Force (KFOR). Serbia, on the other hand, does not recognize the independence of the country in question.

The role played by the ideal of "Greater Serbia" in this attitude of the Belgrade administration is undeniable. In this context, Serbia is particularly

interested in Bosnian Serbs and Kosovo Serbs. As a matter of fact, the situation of the Serbs living in the north of Kosovo often brings the parties face to face. The most concrete example of this is the reaction of Kosovo Serbs to the administration of Pristina in the context of the application of identity cards and license plates in the summer of 2022, bringing Kosovo and Serbia to the brink of war.

The process in question has created a situation where tensions rise in relation to the competition between the great powers as well as the region's



Dr. Doğacan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
AF-PAK Expert

own internal dynamics. Because, as mentioned above, Kosovo stands out with its proximity to the USA and draws attention with the presence of KFOR in the country. On the other hand, Serbia is described as an actor close to Russia with the influence of pan-Slavism. Therefore, it has come to the fore that the tension between Russia and the West, which increased after the Russia-Ukraine War, could also be reflected in the Balkans. The rise in tension on the Kosovo-Serbia line took place in such an atmosphere.

In this process, Russia gave the message that a war it would lose would destabilize the West and essentially tried to put the European Union (EU) in a difficult situation. Because the Balkans is geographically Southeast Europe. Therefore, it is inevitable that a tension in the region will destabilize Europe. For this reason, the USA, via KFOR, is giving messages that will increase the tension in the defense of Kosovo; It has been seen that the EU is trying to reduce the tension by mediating.

On the other hand, it should be noted that; The EU has a serious advantage in mediation. This is the desire of both Kosovo and Serbia to become a member of the EU. For this reason, it was seen that the parties could sit around the same table in line with the efforts of the union and various negotiations were held.

At this point, the most important agenda item of the normalization process in relations on the Serbia-Kosovo line is the Franco-German Plan. Although this plan is not new, in the seventh article of its updated version in February 2023, the statements regarding the Union of Serbian Municipalities have formed a basis for negotiation in line with Belgrade's priorities. Because the seventh article of the plan includes the following statements:[1]

"Both sides advocate the conclusion of concrete agreements, in accordance with the relevant instruments of the Council of Europe and the use of existing European experience, to ensure an appropriate level of self-government and service for the Serb community in Kosovo."

At this point, it should be stated that; There are some differences in the expectations of Serbia and Kosovo regarding normalization. While Serbia demands the establishment of the Union of Serbian Municipalities based on the self-government of Kosovo Serbs; Pristina administration, on the other hand, has the expectation that the independence of Kosovo will be recognized by Belgrade and that Kosovo's membership in international organizations will not be vetoed by the Serbian administration.

As it can be understood, after the Union of Serbian Municipalities was clearly stated in the Franco-German Plan, it was a matter of curiosity how Kosovo would approach the issue. Essentially, it aims to ensure that the EU countries extend an olive branch to Belgrade on this issue and ensure that Serbia joins the sanctions against Russia and distances itself from Moscow. However, Kosovo's approach to the plan is as important as Serbia in terms of normalization in Pristina-Belgrade relations.

To remind you, Kosovo accepted the issue of the Union of Serbian Municipalities in 2013 and Kosovo Prime Minister Albin Kurti, who was the leader of the opposition at that time, took this situation to the Constitutional Court. The court also closed the door to the Union of Serbian Municipalities.[2] Therefore, it is not easy for Pristina to take concrete steps in this regard during Kurti's term as the Prime Minister of Kosovo.

As might be expected, Pristina's sensitivity towards the Union of Serbian Municipalities stems from the example of the Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pristina does not want a structure that will cast a shadow over Kosovo's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Because there is a concern that such a structure will increase separatism. Moreover, this concern is not only in bureaucracy; dominates the society. For example, after the establishment of the Union of Serbian Municipalities in Kosovo came to the agenda, many Kosovars protested in Pristina in January 2023.[3] This is an extremely important anecdote, as it reveals how narrow the concession area of the cadres governing Kosovo is.

Despite all this, Kurti, in his statement on March 14, 2023, stated that the 15 models proposed by the EU's Special Representative for the Belgrade-Pristina Dialogue Miroslav Lajcak for the establishment of the Union of Serbian Municipalities were evaluated by his advisors and some ministers[4]and in a sense, it left the door open for negotiations. However, Kurti also emphasized that the decisions to be taken will not be contrary to the laws and constitution of Kosovo. This means that Kurti gave a positive message for the negotiation process to work; however, when the decisions of the Constitutional Court are taken into consideration, it points out that it does not favor a step towards the Union of Serbian Municipalities. Therefore, the Pristina administration is trying to give the message to the EU that they are not a party to avoid negotiation. On the other hand, it should be reminded that Serbia considers the Union of Serbian Municipalities as the only condition and this was clearly stated by the President of Serbia Alexander Vucic on 13 March 2023.[5]

In short, it seems unlikely that Kosovo, which states that it is ready to negotiate Serbia's only condition, will accept this demand in possible negotiations. Obviously, in order for Pristina to approve the "Union of Serbian Municipalities" in the Franco-German Plan and expressed as the only condition by Belgrade, it will have to receive some concessions of the same seriousness in return. These are the recognition of Kosovo's independence by Serbia and the veto of Kosovo's membership in international organizations by the Belgrade administration. However, there is no indication that Serbia will take concrete steps on these issues. For this reason, it is unlikely that Pristina will meet the demand for the Union of Serbian Municipalities. For this reason, it can be argued that the negotiations, even if they serve to reduce the tension in the region, will not be enough for permanent peace.

[1] Begüm Akkaya, "Sırbistan Yeni Fransız-Alman Planı Sonrası Tutumunu Değiştirecek mi?", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/sirbistan-yeni-fransiz-alman-planı-sonrası-tutumunu-değiştirecek-mi/>, (Date of Accession: 16.03.2023).

[2] Doğan Başaran, "Rising Tension on the Kosovo-Serbia Line", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/rising-tension-on-the-kosovo-serbia-line/?lang=en>, (Date of Accession: 16.03.2023).

[3] "Kosova'da "Sırp Belediyeler Birliği" Protestosu", Anadolu Ajansı, <https://www.ankasam.org/rising-tension-on-the-kosovo-serbia-line/?lang=en>, (Date of Accession: 16.03.2023).

[4] "Kurti: "Danışmanlarım Sırp Belediyeler Birliği İçin Model Düşünüyor"", Balkan News, <https://www.balkannews.com.tr/kosova/kurti-danışmanlarım-sırp-belediyeler-birliği-için-model-düşünüyor-h6118.html>, (Date of Accession: 16.03.2023).

[5] "Vucic: "Tek şart Sırp Belediyeler Birliği"", Balkan News, , (Date of Accession: 16.03.2023).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Japan-South Korea Rapprochement in the Context of Yoon-Kishida Meeting

Japan-South Korea relations, which have had up-and-down relations since the past, have recently begun to stabilize. In particular, the decision taken by Seoul and Tokyo on March 6, 2023 on wartime forced labor reparations caused some reactions in the South Korean people but was interpreted by many experts and commentators as the beginning of steps to be taken in order to have mutually stable and positive relations. Before discussing the

bilateral summit and relations that took place after this decision, it is necessary to mention the economic situation in order to better understand the issue.

In the context of Japan-South Korea trade, during 2022, Japan exported \$54 billion[1] and imported \$33.5 billion[2] to South Korea. Considering that his trade took place in 2019 when



Elcan TOKMAK

Japan's additional controls^[3] on export of fluorinated polyimides, resistors and hydrogen fluoride used in production of smartphone displays and chips and that the item containing these products amounted to 7.8 billion dollars^[4] in Japan's exports to South Korea, this is a good example in terms of understanding the potential in trade relations.

Considering that these audits were carried out after negotiations with the Seoul administration on wartime forced labor compensation in 2019, the impact of this situation on trade relations between the parties will be better understood.

Wartime compensation for forced labor has long emerged as one of the main problems in the relations of the two countries due to the difficulty of its solution. Although a solution was sometimes approached, this problem continued until the last compromise was reached. In order to resolve the issue and establish good relations, the Yoon administration agreed with Japan on March 6, 2023 to compensate South Korea for the damages of the victims before the meeting held on March 16, 2023.^[5]

The summit of heads of state, which took place on 16 March 2023, is important in many issues and especially in security and intelligence issues. As previously reported, South Korea suspended the agreement on intelligence-sharing with Japan due to additional checks on substances used in high-tech production, which were eased on the eve of the talks, as well as a 2019 breakup over wartime forced labor reparations. Therefore, after Japan lifted the controls, South Korea put the agreement into force again.^[6]

Like the North Korean threat, both South Korea's and Japan's perception of common security has been instrumental in their search for reconciliation. Because it is known that Pyongyang's actions are seen as a threat by both South Korea and Japan. As a matter of fact, North Korea conducted missile tests both during the joint US-South Korean exercises^[7] on March 13, 2023 and a few hours before this bilateral summit took place.^[8]

In addition to North Korea, China's increasing influence in the region in the context of the current conjuncture has accelerated the search for cooperation on the Seoul-Tokyo line. It is known that Japan's attitude towards China is negative. As a matter of fact, Koichi Hagiuda, one of the senior officials in Japan's ruling party, who updated his defense strategy in 2022, visited Taiwan on December 11, 2022. During the visit, Hagiuda stated that the increase in China's military spending as well as North Korea's missile tests were effective in increasing Japan's defense budget.^[9]

From South Korea's point of view, it can be said that Seoul acts with the slogan "Korea First!" and tries to distance itself from the US-China rivalry as much as possible. However, both the rapid increase in China's military capabilities and Beijing's close relations with Pyongyang may have led to South Korea's rapprochement with Japan.

As a result, South Korea and Japan, although they had bad relations in the past, are getting closer due to common security concerns. This will can be interpreted as a reflection of both North Korea's recent increasing military actions and China's rise. In the following period, there is a possibility that the South Korea-Japan rapprochement and the AUKUS alliance, whose activity in the region is increasing, will strengthen the U.S.'s hand in its competition with China.

[1] "Japan Exports to South Korea", Trading Economics, tradingeconomics.com/japan/exports/south-korea, (Date of Accession: 15.03.2023).

[2] Japan Imports from South Korea, Trading Economics, tradingeconomics.com/japan/imports/south-korea#:~:text=Japan%20Imports%20from%20South%20Korea%20was%20US%2433.58%20Billion%20during,COMTRADE%20database%20on%20international%20trade, (Date of Accession: 15.03.2023).

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[4] Ibid.

[5] "South Korea to Compensate victims of Japan's Wartime Forced Labour", BBC, www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-64858944, (Date of Accession: 06.03.2023).

[6] Jesse Johnson, "South Korea Begins Process to Normalize GSOMIA intel Pact with Japan", The Japan Times, www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2023/03/18/national/south-korea-japan-gsomia-intelligence-sharing-normalize/, (Date of Accession: 18.03.2023).

[7] "North Korea Launches Submarine Missiles, Condemns US-South Korea Drills", VoA, www.voanews.com/a/seoul-north-korea-conducts-submarine-launched-missile-test/7001464.html, (Date of Accession: 12.03.2023).

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[9] "Japan MP in Taiwan Says 'China threat' Needs More Military Spending", Pars Today, parstoday.com/en/news/world-il90678-japan-mp-in-taiwan-says-china-threat-needs-more-military-spending, (Date of Accession: 11.12.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

The Equation of Evolving Security in the USA, China, and Taiwan Triangle

The Asia-Pacific Region is a region where the struggles for power and influence of the new global system are shifting. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the fault lines of global security pass through this region. There are some major reasons for this. It can be argued that the presence of a large nuclear power such as North Korea in this region is an important reason for the situation in question. However, it can be said that the crisis over Taiwan also played a decisive role in making the region one of the regions where the global security equation is most fragile.

In this context, it can be said that the tension over Taiwan is one of the most critical issues in the global influence struggle of the United States (USA) and China, and that both states attach special importance to Taiwan in their global struggle. Because China also calls Taiwan its red line, which causes the USA and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to use this region as a pressure tool against Beijing.

On the other hand, the visit of the former speaker of the US House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi, who is in the third place hierarchically in the domestic policy of the USA, to Taiwan in Au-



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

gust 2022^[1] significantly increased the regional tension. Because, after the said visit, China held many drills in and around the Taiwan Strait.^[2]

In this context, the allegations that the current Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Kevin McCarthy, will visit Taiwan,^[3] caused the regional tension to escalate again. The USA's repetition of such a move, which triggered regional tensions when it was first made, can be read as the USA and NATO want to increase the pressure on China. Because, it can be argued that the Western alliance wanted to surround China and Washington implemented the same strategy against Beijing, which had a positive result by applying it to the Soviet Union in the Second World War.^[4]

Moreover, China has objections to the planned meeting between Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen and McCarthy. At this point, it is known that Beijing conveyed its complaints to Washington regarding the meeting in question. At the press conference held on March 8, 2023, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Mao Ning stated that he was disturbed by the US and West's plans on Taiwan.^[5]

At the same time, he said that the Beijing administration made serious statements to the United States and that he expected an explanation from Washington in return. In addition to all these, Mao said that Taiwan is at the very center of China's fundamental interests and emphasized that this issue is a "red line" that should not be crossed in the relations between Washington and Beijing. Also at this meeting, Mao underlined that China strongly opposes any kind of trade and relations between the USA and Taiwan, as well as any contact with the powers that Taiwan calls independence forces.^[6]

In this context, it can be said that the Asia-Pacific Region is the scene of a very strong and critical struggle for influence between the USA and China. Although it is known that one of the main areas of this rivalry is the South China Sea, the Taiwan Issue is also one of the points where the said struggle is felt intensely. At this point, it is known that the USA follows many different strategies in line with its goals of containing China.

It is noteworthy that tensions increased especially after Pelosi's visit. In this context, it can be said that the USA is considering repeating the same move. It can be said that the visit will provoke China, as Beijing sees Taipei as its red line. At the same time, this situation and Washington's continued actions may cause China to accelerate its move to unite with Taiwan in the future.

As a result, the deepening and expansion of regional-global crises, especially in Taiwan, seems inevitable unless the USA, the West Side or China take any steps back or call for diplomacy. Because Beijing has a very sensitive attitude towards Taiwan. Washington, on the other hand, increases its strategy to contain China through Taiwan and the pressure it puts on Beijing with each passing day.

[1] "Nancy Pelosi Departs Taiwan, Ending Contentious Visit That Angered China", The Washington Post, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/08/02/nancy-pelosi-taiwan-visit/>, (Date of Access: 21.03.2023).

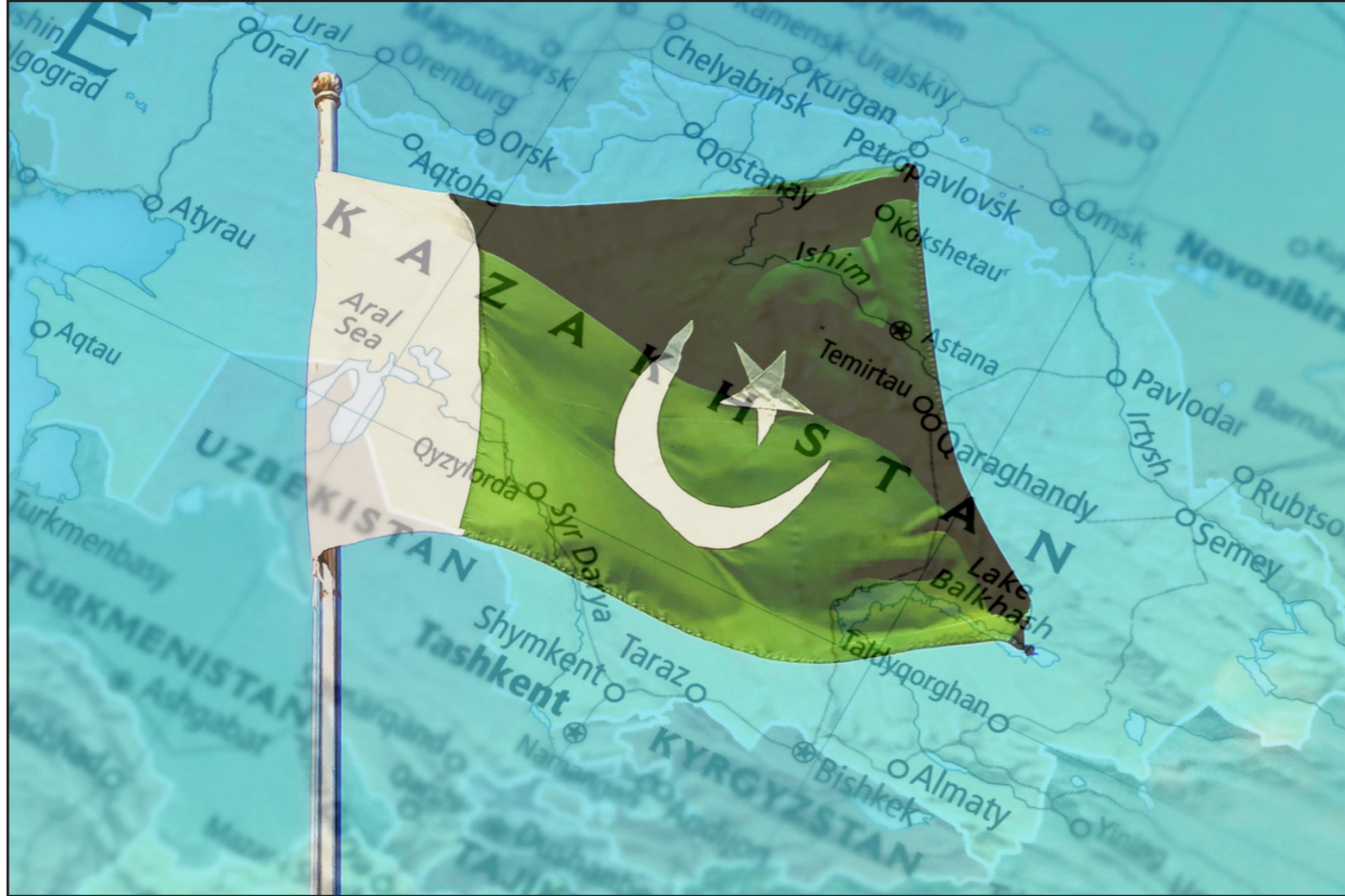
[2] "China Begins Live-Fire Military Drills Around Taiwan", NBC News, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/china-begins-live-fire-drills-taiwan-pelosi-visit-rcna41461>, (Date of Access: 21.03.2023).

[3] House Speaker Kevin McCarthy Plans to Meet Taiwan's President In The U.S., Sources Say", CNBC, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/03/07/kevin-mccarthy-plans-to-meet-taiwans-president-in-the-us-sources.html>, (Date of Access: 21.03.2023).

[4] "Cold War History", History, <https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/cold-war-history>, (Date of Access: 21.03.2023).

[5] "China Objects to Possible Talks Between Taiwan President and US House Speaker", NHK News, https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/news/20230308_31/, (Date of Access: 21.03.2023).

[6] Ibid.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Seeking Strong Cooperation on the Pakistan-Central Asia Line

Pakistan, especially after Shahbaz Sharif became Prime Minister, has focused on implementing a multi-faceted and multidimensional foreign policy that takes into account the balances between power centers. The priority of the Islamabad administration here is to deepen the economic-commercial relations in terms of both overcoming the economic crisis in the country and establishing the economic dependence, which is the main driving force of

interstate relations. In this context, Central Asia constitutes one of the aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy.

Undoubtedly, this situation is compatible with the foreign policy concepts of the regional states, which stand out with their multi-vector foreign policy understanding. Therefore, it is possible to state that the Central Asian republics are also willing to develop relations with Pa-



Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
AF-PAK Expert

kistan. Central Asian states believe that they need to reach the oceans in order to reach their potential for global trade. Pakistan is the gateway of Central Asia to the Indian Ocean.

Of course, this situation shows that there is not only an economic dependence between the parties, but also a geographical dependence. This is also very important geopolitically, as it brings the parties to attach importance to each other.

As it can be understood, Islamabad's relations with Central Asian capitals are critical for the operation of South-Asia-Central Asia-West Asia connectivity and thus regional and interregional integration processes. In this sense, it can be argued that the Trans-Afghan Corridor is an important project. Similarly, it can be said that the discussions regarding the extension of the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan Railway Project, which is currently under construction, to Pakistan are also important.

In this context, Islamabad is making an effort to improve its relations with the regional capitals. For this reason, it is necessary to mention the relations of Islamabad with the countries of the region. First of all, to talk about Kazakhstan, it can be said that the parties are in search of a strong cooperation in terms of trade. The announcement that a "Preferential Trade Agreement" will be signed between the two countries on 18 November 2022 confirms this. It is also known that Pakistan, which is foreign-dependent in terms of energy, desires to develop energy relations with Kazakhstan. This means a win-win-based cooperation for both parties. As a matter of fact, the goal of increasing the trade volume between the parties, which was 197 million dollars in 2022, to 1 billion dollars reveals that both sides see trade relations as the driving force of bilateral relations.[1] Geopolitically, it is obvious that Pakistani ports offer Kazakhstan the opportunity to open to the Arabian Sea.

It can be stated that the two countries desire to develop economic and cultural relations in the Kyrgyzstan dimension. The opening of a Kyrgyz Trade House in Lahore, Pakistan confirms this.[2] In addition, both Islamabad and Bishkek are in favor of expanding the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan Railway to include Pakistan.

In the dimension of Uzbekistan, it is possible to talk about economic-commercial relations prioritizing mutual interests. As a matter of fact, the parties' decision to implement the "Preferential Trade Agreement" as of February 2023 stems from this.[3]

Relations with Tajikistan, another Central Asian country, are among the issues that Pakistan attaches importance to. For this reason, the Islamabad administration hosted the President of Tajikistan, Imamali Rahman, on 14-15 March 2023. The visit in question focused on logistics issues, from economic relations to corridors and especially in the context of access to the Indian Ocean, as in relations with other regional states. In addition, it was mentioned that the parties could improve their bilateral cooperation in the dimensions of the fight against radicalization and terrorism.[4]

Finally, at the point of Turkmenistan, it can be said that the relations on the Islamabad-Ashgabat line have a constructive content. In this regard, it can be stated that Pakistan's energy needs play a decisive role. In this context, it can be stated that Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Natural Gas Pipeline Project (TAPI) and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan Energy Transmission Line and Fiber Optic Communication Lines Project come to the fore. Moreover, this project reveals that the parties are willing to develop a relationship that centers on regional cooperation, security and welfare.

The main obstacle for the relations to reach their potential is the instability originating from Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, this situation was also expressed by Pakistani Deputy Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar on February 18, 2023, and Khar stated that the situation in Afghanistan made it difficult for Pakistan to reach its potential in its relations with Central Asia.[5] Therefore, the parties seek cooperation in the solution of the Afghan Problem.

As a result, Pakistan offers the Central Asian states a great opportunity to open up to the oceans. On the other hand, it wants to expand and deepen its commercial relations with the states of the region and sees these countries as partners, especially in terms of energy policies. The establishment of relations on a much healthier ground requires Afghanistan's stability. This means that it is important for the parties to develop a collective will for the solution of the Afghan Question. In fact, the diplomacy carried out by the actors regarding the Afghan Problem reveals that there is a common effort in this regard.

[1] Şeyma Kızılay, "Economic Developments in Pakistan-Kazakhstan Relations", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/economic-developments-in-pakistan-kazakhstan-relations/?lang=en>, (Date of Accession: 15.03.2023).

[2] "Trade House of Kyrgyzstan Opened in Pakistan", Kabar, <http://en.kabar.kg/news/trade-house-of-kyrgyzstan-opened-in-pakistan/>, (Date of Accession: 15.03.2023).

[3] Emrah Kaya, "Orta Asya-Pakistan Arasında Derinleşen İlişkiler ve Afganistan'a Yansıması", ANKASAM, <https://www.ankasam.org/orta-asya-pakistan-arasinda-derinlesen-iliskiler-ve-afganistana-yansimasi/>, (Date of Accession: 15.03.2023).

[4] "Pakistan Aspires to 'Establish Energy, Road Links with Central Asia'", International The News, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/1020032-pakistan-aspires-to-establish-energy-road-links-with-central-asia>, (Date of Accession: 15.03.2023).

[5] "Pakistan trade with central Asia relies on Afghanistan", Afghanistan Times, <https://www.afghanistantimes.af/pakistan-trade-with-central-asia-relies-on-afghanistan/>, (Date of Accession: 15.03.2023).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Multi-Vector-Directional Foreign Policy in Central Asia

Central Asian states have adopted different strategies in their foreign policies since they gained their independence. Kyrgyzstan has generally displayed a pro-Western stance. Uzbekistan, on the other hand, followed a closed foreign policy for a while. While Tajikistan develops its relations within a limited framework; Turkmenistan, on the other hand, has taken steps to strengthen its neutrality by acting within the scope of the "Status of Permanent Neutrality". In addition to all these actors, Kazakhstan has tried to turn its geopolitical position into an advantage with a proactive approach, to balance regional and global powers, and to increase its gains by establishing relations with different actors. In this context, it has developed a roadmap that will not bring its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and unitary structure to the discussion, within the framework of a win-win approach, which will stay away from fierce competition between countries.

The strategy in question is generally described as a multidimensional foreign policy approach. In this way, Kazakhstan has taken into account all the risks, evaluated the opportunities, and maximized its gains. In addition, Kazakhstan has turned into one of the geopolitical, geostrategic, and geoeconomic centers of Asia and even Eurasia with the investments it has attracted from different countries and the corridors that have developed in the context of investments such as the Belt and Road Initiative.

The gains achieved by the Astana government, thanks to the foreign policy adopted, also affected other Central Asian states. Because it has been seen by the states that the closed, threat thought is at the center of the policies determined within the framework of a single orientation reduces the gains and increases the risks. At this point, it is seen that Central Asian states have updated their foreign policies within the framework of a multi-vector understanding.



Dr. Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM
Central Asia Expert

Known as one of the most democratic states in Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan has adopted a foreign policy understanding in which the West is at the forefront for a long time. However, this situation caused Kyrgyzstan to follow a policy disconnected from the regional reality and turned into a field of global competition. The most concrete examples of this are the social movements experienced in various periods in the country. As a result of these movements and the change of government, it became difficult to establish political stability in Kyrgyzstan. After the last protests in October 2020, the administration changed again. After this process, it is seen that the political stability in the country has increased. Thus, the Bishkek administration has taken steps to strengthen its relations with many actors from the United States of America (USA) to China, from Russia to India, and from Pakistan to European countries.

Uzbekistan, which followed a relatively open foreign policy in the process of gaining its independence, has become more closed due to various domestic events and terrorist attacks. During this period, the relations of the Tashkent government with the world began to weaken. However, with Mr. Şevket Mirziyoyev becoming President in 2016, Uzbekistan has gone through an important transformation process in its foreign policy.

With the liberalization steps taken in domestic politics, the Tashkent government has developed a network of relations based on mutual respect and common interests with both regional and global actors in order to use the full potential of the country. In this context, Uzbekistan; has strengthened its position as one of the central countries of Central Asia by getting closer to actors such as Russia, China, the USA, Europe, Pakistan, and India.

Tajikistan was a state with limited relations with various states. Conflicts within the country for a while prevented Dushanbe from using its full potential. However, in the face of both ensuring stability within the country and the increasing interest of global powers in Central Asia, Tajikistan is also trying to strengthen its relations with many countries from China to Russia, from the USA to India. Especially in the last period, the Dushanbe government aims to increase its gains by following a proactive foreign policy.

Finally, Turkmenistan is a state with Permanent Neutrality Status. It has established relations with various countries on the basis of mutual respect. However, within the scope of its neutrality status, it preferred not to pursue an active foreign policy for a while. It has been implementing a proactive foreign policy for the last few years as a result of the intensification of globalization, the prominence of the economy in relations between countries, and the positive effect of its geopolitical position. With this policy, it strengthens its relations with various countries, from Russia to the USA, and from China to India, without compromising its neutrality. In addition, the Ashgabat government, which has developed multidimensional relations with its neighbors, supports the resolution of problems through peaceful means such as dialogue with its neutral state identity.

As a result, Central Asian states are proactively following a multi-vector foreign policy based on a win-win. In this case, the gains of Kazakhstan in the last 30 years have been effective. In addition, Central Asia is turning into one of the important centers of Eurasia and the world today. Unless the necessary strong relations are established in this transformation process, the states will have significant losses. Actors are also aware of this situation. However, while establishing strong relations with one side in the process of increasing stress and tension in the world; ignoring the other side could strengthen the perception that states make their choices in a polarized world, and may lead them to face different threats. The most important way to prevent this and to get gains from all parties is seen as a multi-vector foreign policy. While the regional states are maximizing their interests with a win-win approach; take care to stay away from the conflict environment that global competition will bring. Therefore, it can be said that these countries have adopted the multi-vector foreign policy as their main strategy and will continue to implement it for a long time.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

AUKUS Treaty and Security of the Asia-Pacific

The AUKUS Agreement, which was first announced in September 2021 and became official three months later, is a defense alliance between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America (USA) aimed at cooperation on nuclear-powered submarines. On March 14, 2023, the leaders of the three countries met to determine the roadmap of AUKUS. According to this military plan, which is

designed to balance China's influence in the Asia-Pacific Region, nuclear submarines will be transferred to the Australian Navy and the United States and the United Kingdom will provide technological support to the country for joint production.

Australia's nuclear-powered conventional submarines are intended to contribute to security



Dr. Cenk TAMER
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific
Expert

and stability in the Asia-Pacific. To be noted; These nuclear-powered systems are used only in the propulsion systems of submarines. There is no risk associated with nuclear armament. In this sense, the construction of these systems continues with the permissions obtained from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The agreement under AUKUS also includes capacities in cyberspace, artificial intelligence, and other high-tech transfer. Nuclear-powered submarines are faster and have a longer range than conventional diesel-powered submarines. In this way, the Australian Navy will be able to conduct secret patrols in a more distant geography and attack the enemy navy.

The concerns raised by this agreement regarding regional security are high. Beijing described AUKUS as “a typical example of a Cold War mentality” and condemned it as “a threat to regional peace and stability.”^[1] In addition, regional states such as Indonesia, Malaysia and New Zealand, which strongly advocate denuclearization, are concerned that AUKUS could trigger a nuclear arms race in the region. However, the states of the region, including Australia, are members of nuclear non-proliferation treaties. However, Canberra says that nuclear-propelled submarines do not prejudice nuclear disarmament treaties.

Beijing drafted an anti-AUKUS resolution in the IAEA last October 2022. This resolution states that the AUKUS initiative violates the responsibilities of Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Many IAEA members, especially India, worked to prevent the bill from passing, and as a result, China had to withdraw the bill.^[2] In short, China claims that the AUKUS partnership involves the illegal transfer of nuclear weapons materials.

According to Beijing, this agreement is essentially an act of nuclear proliferation. AUKUS countries emphasize that the necessary permits have been obtained from the IAEA. Indeed, if China's claim were true; The U.S. could not build an aircraft carrier powered by nuclear propulsion. Likewise, France has a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. France also has nuclear-powered submarines. Again, all U.S. submarines are nuclear-powered. In this respect, Australia's purchase of nuclear-propelled submarines from the UK will not pose any problem based on precedents.

As mentioned above, the advantage of being nuclear-powered is that its range is longer. As a matter of fact, these submarines or ships are not equipped with nuclear weapons. Their weapons are also conventional. After the determination of the roadmap at AUKUS, France offered India cooperation in the production of nuclear submarines.^[3] This is another important development that will change the security environment of Asia-Pacific.

Currently, China has two nuclear-propelled submarines. Therefore, the main point that Beijing is against is that AUKUS disrupts regional security balances, causes militarization, and serves the bloc politics.

India may consider joining this Western military alliance to meet its nuclear submarine needs. As a matter of fact, India's urgent need in this field is seen as an important opportunity for Western countries and is the subject of competition. At the end of January 2022, for example, Tobias Ellwood, Chairman of the House of Commons Defence Committee in the UK, called for AUKUS to be extended to include India and Japan.^[4] These two countries are already part of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) with the United States and Australia. Therefore, Ellwood's proposal was also interpreted as an effort by the UK to join the QUAD.^[5]

It is noteworthy that the UK has recently made an exit in this direction. Because until today, Britain has not intended to give its nuclear submarine technology to Japan and India. In fact, both the US and the UK have stated that Japan's participation in AUKUS is not on their agenda. Shortly after the pact was announced, in September 2021, the United States; It declared that no other country, including India and Japan, could be part of the security pact.^[6] Also in April 2022, the White House denied the claims that Japan would join AUKUS.^[7] However, over time, significant changes have occurred in the conjuncture. The U.S. is now taking its military relations with Japan to the next level. Therefore, he can be warm to this issue.

Given the recent US effort to turn India into an enemy with China, New Delhi's participation in AUKUS will serve this purpose. In other words, India's rapprochement with the AUKUS alliance or a similar cooperation with France will increase China's sense of being surrounded. The recent end of the historic disputes between South Korea and Japan can also be considered an important development in the US strategy to encircle China. China's neighbors in the Asia-Pacific are now strongly tied to US alliances. This greatly deteriorates the security environment of the Asia-Pacific. Beijing seems to have no choice but to conduct strong diplomacy with the Asia-Pacific countries to reverse this momentum. Accordingly, China has resumed security talks with Japan after a four-year absence. Because China; It is aware that if Japan cannot keep its relations with actors such as Australia, the Philippines and India well, these countries will begin to join the American axis.

[1] “China's Sound and Fury Over Aukus Will Mean Little for Ties with Australia”, The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentis-free/2023/mar/16/chinas-sound-and-fury-over-aukus-will-mean-little-for-ties-with-australia>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

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[4] “UK's House of Commons Defence Panel Calls for Expansion of AUKUS To Include India, Japan”, The Print, <https://theprint.in/defence/uks-house-of-commons-defence-panel-calls-for-expansion-of-aukus-to-include-india-japan/1341460/>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

[5] @MartijnRasser, “UK asks to join Quad”, Twitter, 28 Ocak 2023, <https://twitter.com/MartijnRasser/status/1619355392437362691?s=20&t=98F9P6uwD7FSnYrbt1HXdA>, (Date of Accession: 17.03.2023).

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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

NATO's Border Post: Romania

Under Vladimir Putin, Russia has achieved political stability in domestic politics and inherited the tradition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In fact, more than this tradition, Russia has been concerned about its security due to the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) towards its borders and has made many moves against it.

In this context, it challenged the place of the United States of America (USA) in the global system. After various foreign policy moves, it eventually went to war with Ukraine. Although there were different driving forces, one of the main motivations for the Russia-Ukraine War was Russia's desire to intimidate both Europe and the United States. With the war, Russia, Europe's energy supplier, cut off

its energy supply and caused an energy crisis in Europe. In this scope, many European states were concerned both in terms of security and sovereignty. One of these states is Romania.

Energy is currently the sine qua non of industrial production. After Russia cut off energy supplies to Europe, many European states have suffered economically. Although the Romanian economy is improving day by day, the Romanian industry, where seasonally adjusted industrial production plays an important role, has entered a downward trend in the five-year industrial plan.[1]

Romania has made various moves in order to overcome the energy deficit in Europe and to become the energy supplier of Europe. From this



**Veli Can
AKKAŞ**

point of view, it is possible to say that Romania does not want to be dependent on Russia and wants to become self-sufficient in energy and to increase its influence in the region by exporting energy to Europe.

Israel's Shikun and Binui Energy will build a solar power plant in Romania, which has taken both national and international initiatives in this context.[2] With global warming and climate change, which has already become an important debate, Romania's move is also very important for sustainable energy. It can be argued that Russia is uncomfortable with this initiative of Romania, which is expected to increase its energy importance in Europe in the coming period. Energy is a very important foreign policy trump card for Russia.

Seeking to turn the energy crisis in Europe in its favor, Romania has emphasized that it is against Russia in almost every aspect. This attitude of Romania was not only limited to economic moves, but also led to various military steps. The Bucharest administration has made various moves to increase its influence in the region by developing various collaborations with its allies.

In this context, it can be said that Romania's dialog with both the European Union (EU) and NATO has strengthened. One of the effects of the Russia-Ukraine War is that it accelerated European integration. Since European states with various concerns wanted to act jointly in foreign and security policies, there have been many moves to increase the EU's sphere of influence in the region. In this context, Brussels' relations with Bucharest have also improved.

At a time when there were many driving forces to give Romania economic and political incentives, its admission to Schengen became an important agenda item for the EU.[3] Considering the national interests of the states and their different policies, Austria does not support this process. However, it is highly likely that this process will gain momentum due to the EU's collective interests.

The dose of tensions in the international system has increased with the aforementioned war. Romania, which moves against Russia, one of the main actors in these tensions, is improving its relations with the United States every day. Therefore, the relations between Bucharest and Moscow are deteriorating day by day.

On the other hand, the United States is cooperating with NATO member states in order to prevent a possible Russian victory. Romania's military moves are particularly critical in this regard. Romania, which has proven to be an important ally for NATO and

has assumed the role of a border outpost against Russia, has hosted many military exercises. The US has a relatively comfortable maneuvering space through Romania to reach the Black Sea. Therefore, it has launched its drones from Romania, but in the latest incident, one of these drones was shot down by a Russian warplane in the Black Sea.[4]

As expected, the relations between the two actors have been relatively strengthened as their relations with Russia have worsened. In addition, the US Senate, which partners with Romania on many issues, passed legislation recommending the inclusion of Romania in the visa waiver program in order to strengthen relations with Romania, which is a very close partner for the US. [5]

However, the Bucharest administration has recently increased its influence in Europe by strengthening both military and political dialogues. In particular, Romania has accelerated its steps towards armament and has received significant support from the US through NATO.

It is obvious that all of these steps were taken with the aim of preventing a possible Russian victory. In particular, the alliance between the US and Romania is likely to have both military and political repercussions in the global system.

Aware of Russia's negative attitude towards all these moves, Romania will lead a multinational military exercise in the Black Sea and Danube in the coming days to show how strong it is militarily and to intimidate its rival.[6]

Ultimately, Romania is trying to increase its importance in the region by turning the energy crisis in Europe in its favor. In this direction, the country has strengthened its relations with the EU and has undertaken and is undertaking many joint initiatives with NATO on the military side. While Romania's policy has strengthened its relations with the US, it has damaged its relations with Russia. Especially after the downing of the drone, the escalation of tensions has reached a worrying point. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that Romania has become one of the critical actors in the "Cold War 2.0".

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[2] "İsraili Shikun ve Binui Energy, Romanya'nın Kuzeybatısında Güneş Enerjisi Santrali İnşa Edecek", Romania Insider, <https://www.romania-insider.com/shikun-binui-energy-solar-plant-romania>, (Date of Accession: 15.03.2023).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Pakistan and India in the Foreign Policy of Central Asian States

In the process after the collapse of the Soviet Union, five Central Asian states developed various policies and strategies within the scope of their national interests. In particular, Kazakhstan has adopted a multi-vector policy in the process of its relations with the world. Thus, by turning its geopolitical position into an advantage, it has established strong ties with regional and global powers from the perspective of equality, mutual respect and win-win. On this occasion, Kazakhstan, which could stay away from the fierce competition between countries, became

a model for other Central Asian states after a while. Today, it is possible to evaluate the foreign policy of all Central Asian states within the scope of versatility and vectorism.

Central Asia has seen Russia, China, the United States of America (USA) and the European Union (EU) as priority centers during the relations it has established. Because the economic capacity of the states and actors in question meant that Central Asia's gains would increase and be achieved at a high rate.



Dr. Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM
Central Asia Expert

In addition, Central Asian states are known as peaceful actors and perceived as reliable partners, as they are not involved in the fierce competition processes between power centers in the world, through multi-vector foreign policy. This situation has accelerated the investments made in the region. In addition, as the prosperity and stability in the region strengthens, the states have adopted a will to intensify their relations with their immediate surroundings. In this context, even in the process of changing power and production centers in the world, Central Asian states have gained the opportunity to strengthen their relations with new centers.

Many actors from India to Pakistan, from Singapore to South Korea can be counted among the states that have recently risen in world politics. However, it is possible to say that Pakistan and India, which are located in South Asia, are among the priority states for Central Asia. The states in question; They are strategic partners that will provide important gains for Central Asia in many areas, especially in economic, trade, security and geopolitics.

Pakistan offers one of the shortest routes for Central Asian states to reach the seas. In addition, while the Trans-Afghan Transportation Corridor, which is planned to be implemented, transports Central Asia to the seas; On the other hand, it has the potential to become a gateway to India.

One of the aims of the Central Asian states is to create opportunities and develop commercial relations at the point of reaching various markets. Pakistan's population of more than 200 million means an important market. In addition, Pakistan has high energy needs. Central Asia, on the other hand, can export energy to the country in question, enabling their economies to complement each other.

In this context, there are various projects such as TAPI, TAP and CASA 1000, which have been tried to be implemented since the past, between the Central Asian states and Pakistan. However, there is a common will to implement new projects and strengthen relations. The situation in question is a common will in the eyes of all Central Asian states, but also receives a positive response from Pakistan. The increase in trade volumes between the parties is an indicator of this.

India is among the rising powers of both South Asia and Eurasia. Being one of the five largest economies in the world turns this country into an important market. In particular, the increasing energy need of India and the underground riches of Central Asia complement each other. On the other hand, Central Asia carries out various contacts to strengthen its ties with India. In this sense, it is obvious that the relations established with a state like India will add dynamism to the multi-vector foreign policy.

The geopolitical obstacles between the Central Asian states and India prevented the parties from developing deep-rooted relations. Today, India is trying to build a line to reach Central Asia within the framework of the International North-South Transport Corridor (IN-STC). In addition, another factor that deepens the relations of states is regional security. Central Asian states act together with Pakistan as well as with India against security threats centered on Afghanistan. The joint action of states against the existence of radical terrorist organizations in the region ensures that relations gain a multidimensional feature.

As a result, Central Asian states are turning into the center of Asia and even Eurasia with the multi-vector foreign policy they follow. While relations with global actors became a priority in the post-independence period; With the change of power and production centers, the states of the region started to give more importance to the relations they established with their close surroundings. In this context, it is seen that the South Asian states come to the fore and various projects are implemented to develop geographical ties. For this purpose, efforts are being made to strengthen economic, commercial, security, political and cultural ties with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, as well as with Pakistan and India. Intensifying relations means increasing the gains of South Asia as well as Central Asia.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Lukashenko's Visit to China and the Deepening Relations on the Minsk-Beijing Line

The isolation of Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko by the West since 2020 has led the Minsk administration to seek new foreign policy. Because Belarus has been facing sanctions since 2020. In addition, Western sanctions against Belarus have increased further after the Russia-Ukraine War, which began on February 24, 2022. In this case, Belarus' attitude towards the war was decisive.

In this context, Belarus has started to deepen its relations with actors such as Russia and China, especially in order to overcome sanctions. Nevertheless, by developing relations with a country like Beijing, which is a pioneer in the political and economic fields in the world, the Minsk administration aims to attract investment to the country and to ease the sanctions it is exposed to from the West.



**Cemal Ege
ÖZKAN**

ANKASAM Eurasia
Research Assis-
tant

In this sense, Lukashenko's visit to China on February 28, 2023, is important for the further development of ties between the two countries. During his visit, Lukashenko offered his support for the 12-point peace plan put forward by China.

On the other hand, the Chinese Foreign Ministry pointed out that the ties between the parties are based on "all-weather comprehensive strategic partnership." The term is a qualification that China rarely uses, and it is used only for Pakistan, except for Belarus. This means that Belarus ranks very high in China's hierarchy of international relations, just below Russia.[1]

From this point of view, it can be argued that the relations between Minsk and Beijing have developed in a multidimensional framework. As a matter of fact, during Lukashenko's visit, Chinese President Xi Jinping described the friendship between Belarus and China as "unbreakable." Jinping also expressed his readiness to work with Belarus to promote at a high level the healthy and stable development of relations between the two countries in an international conjuncture full of instabilities and uncertainties.[2]

In addition to all this, Jinping and Lukashenko signed a joint declaration on the further development of "all-weather comprehensive strategic partnership" and agreed to implement numerous bilateral cooperation documents in the fields of trade, industry, agriculture, customs, science and technology, health, tourism, and sports.[3] As a matter of fact, the value of the agreements signed between Belarus and China during Lukashenko's visit is 3.5 billion dollars.[4]

In this context, Lukashenko's visit was an important turning point in terms of confirming the cooperation between the two countries and raising the ties to higher levels. Because in a conjuncture where Belarus is especially exposed to Western sanctions, Beijing has not hesitated to deepen its economic and political ties with Minsk.

On the other hand, another aspect that increases China's interest in Belarus is related to the Belt and Road Initiative. Because it is known that a partnership has been developed between Minsk and Beijing within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative. Belarus is one of the first participants in the Belt and Road Initiative announced by China in 2013, and in the last two years, trade between the parties has increased by 33% per year, exceeding 5 billion dollars.[5]

Nevertheless, China's investments in Belarus are also relieving Moscow, Minsk's biggest ally. Because Russia is stuck in the region after the invasion it launched against Ukraine on February 24, 2022. In this sense, it can be argued that Russia is pleased with the positive developments between China and Belarus.

On the other hand, Belarus is an important member in China's Belt and Road Initiative, especially due to its geopolitical position. Eight rail container routes in China-West Europe trade pass through Belarus, allowing cargo to move between China and Germany much faster. Moreover, the fact that China is one of the top three trading partners of Belarus shows the extent of the special relationship between the parties.[6] In this respect, it can be said that Belarus is considered as a key actor in the provision of Asia-Europe connectivity for China.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the relations on the Belarus-China line will gain further momentum in the future. Belarus is considered by China as an important component of the Belt and Road Initiative. In particular, it can be mentioned about a developing cooperation between the parties on the basis of the Belt and Road Initiative. This is the main factor that increases Beijing's interest in Minsk.

[1] "China and Belarus Express 'Extreme Interest' in Ukraine Peace", BBC, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-64809777>, (Date of Accession: 21.03.2023).

[2] "China's Xi Heralds 'Unbreakable' Friendship with Belarus, an Ally of Russia", NPR, <https://www.npr.org/2023/03/01/1160309060/china-belarus-xi-jinping-russia-ally-lukashenko-meet>, (Date of Accession: 21.03.2023).

[3] Ibid.

[4] "Aleksandr Lukashenko Concludes State Visit to China", President of the Republic of Belarus, <https://president.gov.by/en/events/zavershilsya-gosudarstvennyy-vizit-aleksandra-lukashenko-v-kitayskuyu-narodnuyu-respubliku-1677744000>, (Date of Accession: 21.03.2023).

[5] "China Rolls out the Red Carpet for Key Putin Ally as US Warns Against Aiding Russia's War", CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/02/28/china/belarus-lukashenko-visits-beijing-china-xi-jinping-intl-hnk/index.html>, (Date of Accession: 21.03.2023).

[6] "Belt and Road Initiative: The Role of Belarus", HKTDC Research, <https://research.hktdc.com/en/article/MzgzMDEyODc4>, (Date of Accession: 21.03.2023).

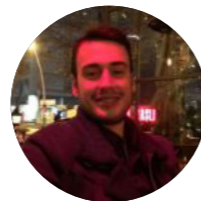


ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Seeking an Alliance in the Indo-Pacific in the Context of the AUKUS Pact

The AUKUS Pact is a security agreement between the United States (USA), Australia and the United Kingdom, which includes technological initiatives. The draft, which these three countries came together to put forward, was put forward in order to be protected from "threats" originating from China. The AUKUS Pact agree-

ment on the production of nuclear submarines, which was first put on the agenda in Jul 2021, and the statements on the procurement of three nuclear submarines to Australia from the United States, have revealed the security dimension of the pact.



Mahmut Melih BOSTANCI

As it will be remembered, the AUKUS Pact brought with it many discussions in the period when it was first put on the agenda. During the period in question, France, which has an agreement with Australia on the production of a diesel-fueled submarine since 2016, withdrew its embassies from the countries due to the unannounced agreement of the United States and Australia. The underlying reason for this is that it is not right for the allies to make secret agreements. As expected, China has given the biggest reaction to this agreement.

The Beijing administration has stated in its statements that this situation is thoughtless and discriminatory, and that the United States is maintaining a Cold War mentality together with its allies. As it can be understood from these statements, Beijing is aware of the strategy carried out by the United States through alliances. Another entity affected by this process is the European Union (EU), in which France is also a member. The EU has stated that this agreement was made in secret from its parties and that the situation corresponds to the conclusion that the EU should take care of itself.

On the other hand, maritime and maritime dominance in the world is considered as one of the most important factors determining the position of states. Therefore, China's increasing influence in the Indo-Pacific Region seems to have led the United States to such an agreement. At least the approach of the parties reveals this.

It should be noted that the agreement is not limited only to the deployment of nuclear submarines in Australian ports. When the content of the agreement is examined, it can be said that artificial intelligence, cybersecurity and the quantum industry also come to the fore. Various factors, especially China's progress in artificial intelligence, have been effective behind these studies. China's developing technology, its ability to chart a path for itself in the space race and its demographic potential are perceived as a threat by the United States. That's why the Washington administration wants to limit China through alliances.

The Beijing administration, on the other hand, is uncomfortable with the containment strategy implemented by the USA. Because China wishes to gain geopolitical gains with its increasing economic power and its effectiveness in the seas. The security of regions such as Africa, the Middle East and Europe, where China cares to develop dialogue, is generally provided by the USA. However, recently, China has been positioned as a peace-making actor in both the Russia-Ukraine War and the Saudi Arabia-Iran normalization process. This is a situation that may disturb the United States and NATO allies. Despite this, the AUKUS Pact has shown the EU that it should act more autonomously regarding the decision-making mechanism.

The situation in question may take the form of more concrete messages after the visit of French President Emmanuel Macron to China. France, one of the most powerful countries in the EU, developing cooperation with China in technological fields may involve other EU countries in this process. In other words, France, which is harmed by AUKUS, can transform the EU into an actor that produces more autonomous policies than the USA on the Indo-Pacific axis by improving its relations with China.

As a result, AUKUS; It has strengthened relations between the USA, Australia and the United Kingdom. This alliance is an outcome of the US strategy to contain China through allies in the region. However, developments may disable the EU, especially France. This may bring European actors closer to China.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Border Tension Between Finland and Russia

The Russian-Ukrainian War, which began on February 24, 2022, has raised security concerns in Finland, Russia's largest border in Europe. This problem arises from the fact that Russia prefers Finland, which is quite easily accessible to Russian citizens who want to leave the country due to the mobilization declared due to the ongoing war. On the other hand, the first measure taken against border security violations was the visa application and entry restrictions imposed by Finland on Russian citizens. These practices were announced in the press release of the Government of Finland on 23 September 2022.[1]

In a press release issued on 29 September 2022 by the Finnish Border Guards, the institution responsible for border security of the country, it was emphasized that violations have increased at the border shared with Russia in the east of Finland, and therefore the need for a new barrier has emerged to replace the wooden fences that are aging and have been put in place to prevent the passage of wild animals. Moreover, no new barriers have been designed over the entire 1,340 km long eastern border; it is stated that this new barrier, which is thought to cost hundreds of millions of euros, will be



Cihan ÇALIK

applied to a line of 130 to 260 km, will be supported by technical and technological equipment, and the project may take up to four years to be implemented. It was also mentioned that the support and approval of the Finnish Government was required for the realization of the project.[2]

However, the Helsinki administration has been able to allocate 6 million euros from the 2022 budget for the project and has declared that it intends to create a financing of 139 million euros from the 2023 budget.[3] Thus, the Finnish Border Guards, who found financing for the project, chose Imatta as a pilot region for the implementation of the project; it announced that the material supply and barrier manufacturing process will begin in the spring of 2023 with a press release dated November 18, 2022.[4]

In addition, information about the technical characteristics and application of the barrier was also conveyed for the first time. It was mentioned that the barrier to be built for three km on both sides of the Imarta Border Gate would have a height of three meters, that a road would be opened by cutting down trees ten meters away from the barrier, and that lighting and audible warning systems would be placed at the points deemed necessary. It is pointed out that the barrier has a life of 50 years and the technical and technological monitoring equipment has a life of 10 years.[5]

On the other hand, in the press release issued by the Finnish Border Guards on 28 February 2023, it is stated that the removal of the trees in the project area has begun; it is stated that as of March 2023, road and barrier construction will begin and then technical and technological monitoring equipment will be deployed on the barrier. The Finnish Border Guards, who also announced that this six-km pilot application will be completed in June 2022, also informed about the compensation of possible damages of the property owners in the project area and stated that they are focusing on the preparation of an environmental impact assessment report on the barrier. Moreover, it was announced that there will be a press release at the Pelkola Border Gate on March 14, 2023. [6]

It is estimated that the budget of 139 million euros allocated to the Finnish Border Guards will raise funds for the construction of a barrier with a length of about 70 km. It is stated that 55 km of the barrier, which will be built between 2023 and 2025 at the points identified as important transit routes, will be located in Southeastern Finland, seven km in North Karelia and five km in the region between Kainuu and Lapland.[7]

At this point, it should be noted that; The official visit of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg to Helsinki, the capital of Finland, which is in the process of joining NATO on 28 February 2023, is very meaningful. During his visit, Stoltenberg met with Finnish President Sauli Niinistö and Finnish Foreign Minister Pekka Haavisto. In addition, Stoltenberg, who attended the Scandinavian Labour Movement (SAMAK) Nordic Summit Cooperation Committee Meeting with Finnish Prime Minister Sanna Marin, Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen, Norwegian Prime Minister Jonas Gahr Støre and Swedish Social Democratic Party leader Magdalena Andersson, used the following statements in his speech here:[8]

"We don't know when this war will end, but when it does, we have to make sure that history doesn't repeat itself. Putin cannot continue to destroy European security. At the end of the Cold War, many of us in this room believed that we could have a better relationship with Russia. Putin, however, has chosen to move away from cooperation and dialogue. It has shattered the basic principles of global security and attacked neighboring countries. NATO has increased its presence in the region. Now we are acting together and doing more exercises. Many allies have given security guarantees to Finland and Sweden. Therefore, if your security is threatened, it is unthinkable that NATO allies will not act."

In conclusion, it would be an understatement to consider the new developments in Finland's border security as a purely aimed at preventing illegal migration movements. The barrier to be erected on the border shows that the imaginary border between NATO and Russia is deepening. This barrier is not only between Finland and Russia; it can also be argued that it rises between the two poles.

[1] "President and Ministerial Committee on Foreign and Security Policy Discuss the Effects of Russia's War and Partial Mobilisation on the Assessment of Russian Tourists", Valtioneuvoston Viestintöosasto, <https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/-/10616/president-and-ministerial-committee-on-foreign-and-security-policy-discuss-the-effects-of-russia-s-war-and-partial-mobilisation-on-the-assessment-of-russian-tourists>, (Date of accession: 12.03.2023).

[2] "The Finnish Border Guard's Plan for the Fence on the Eastern Border Has Been Completed", Rajavartiolaitos, <https://raja.fi/en/-/the-finnish-border-guard-s-plan-for-the-fence-on-the-eastern-border-has-been-completed>, (Date of accession: 12.03.2023).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Kishida's Visit to New Delhi and the Future of the Indo-Pacific

Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida paid a two-day visit to New Delhi on 20 March 2023 at the official invitation of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Kishida invited Modi to the G-7 Summit in Hiroshima in May 2023 and also announced a new "Indo-Pacific Initiative Action Plan" during this visit.[1] These contacts, which took place simultaneously with the visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping to Moscow, can be considered as an important indicator of regional and global polarization.

The fact that India and Japan held joint air exercises in January 2023 was interpreted as a siege of China from both sides. Although the

two countries have been conducting joint naval exercises since 2012, these maneuvers at the airport were a first. As can be understood, India; It has stepped up exercises with allies such as Japan to maintain rules-based order in land, sea and airspace. This could also be interpreted as India's challenge to China. However, Beijing did not expect such a move from New Delhi due to the tension on the border. As a result of the pressure exerted by the United States (USA) on both Japan and India, the containment of China is about to be completed. Recently, South Korea's resolving of its historic problems with Japan has also accelerated the process of China's encirclement.



Dr. Cenk TAMER
ANKASAM
Asia-Pacific
Expert

As a reminder, it was Japan that persuaded India to join the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD). The previous Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe, made special efforts to get India involved in this formation. New Delhi, on the other hand, agreed to enter the QUAD at the expense of Moscow. It is clear that Japan has undertaken an important mission here. This task; to include the neighboring states in the anti-China and anti-Russian axis. Today, Japan considers itself to have found a historic opportunity to advance its mission. Because Japan is the current president of the G7 and India is the current president of the G20. Achieving harmony between the G7 and the G20 will give Japan an advantage in the fight against China and Russia.

During his visit to New Delhi, Kishida asked India for help in building a broader and stronger coalition against Russia.[2] In other words, Tokyo forces New Delhi to choose between the axis of global democracy and Moscow. New Delhi, which does not want to take an open front against Moscow due to the critical energy and arms trade, nevertheless tries to stand in solidarity with Tokyo against global challenges such as the Ukraine Crisis, China and Russia. For example, during the G20 meetings, India made special efforts to condemn the Russian-Ukrainian War in its final declaration.

Japan believes that the consensus to be formed at the G20 meetings will increase the success of the G7 Summit. However, as a result of Tokyo's pressures, New Delhi is unlikely to take an open front against Moscow. But on the point of fighting China, both countries agree. Leaving aside the Japan-China rivalry, it is a surprise development that India is making moves that will lead to regional polarization. In this sense, India's increasing military support to Japan, Australia and other American allies instead of focusing on Russia inevitably leads China to ally with Russia. In short, the India-Japan rapprochement leads to China's isolation and re-establishment of an alliance with Russia.

During his contacts in New Delhi, Kishida gave a speech titled "The Future of the Indo-Pacific" and the text of this speech was published on the website of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[3] Describing India as an "indispensable partner", the vision document highlighted Japan's strong support for the "Free and Open Indo-Pacific". Accordingly, a process in which cooperation and division are intertwined in the international arena is taking place. A critical crossroads have been reached between the continuation or overthrow of the rules-based order.

The countries of the world are being pushed towards a choice between supporting war or defending peace. While the bal-

ance of power is changing; The rise of India in this sense is also noteworthy. Japan and India have a historic responsibility to maintain and strengthen a free, open and rules-based international order. G7 and G20 term presidencies are important opportunities to lead the world's countries to the path of peace and prosperity. This unity expresses support for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, which are seen as an integral part of the international status quo. Against this, Japan places Russia and possibly China.

During the period when Jinping went to Moscow, Kishida visited India and then Ukraine and Poland. Japan is showing a strong will and determination to defend the free and open world order. These visits express strong support for the axis of democracy led by the United States and the United Kingdom.

The leading proponents of the democracy alliance in the Indo-Pacific are Japan and India. Kishida mentioned that this cooperation has "four pillars." These; adhering to the principles of peace and prosperity, creating Indo-Pacific solutions to regional problems, building multi-layered links and expanding security cooperation from the seas to the airspace. Japan has also announced that it will mobilize more than 75 billion dollars in public and private funds to infrastructure in the Indo-Pacific Region by 2030.

As a result, Japan states that it will make an opening to the region together with India as an indispensable partner. Achieving harmony between the G7 and G20 is considered to be a critical issue in the struggle of the axis of democracy against Russia and China. There is an artificial division between "authoritarian" and "democratic" states in the world and cooperation among themselves. Japan is also seeking to build a strategic partnership with India to strengthen its American-led alliance for democracy.

[1] "The Future of the Indo-Pacific", MFA Japan, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100477791.pdf>, (Date of Accession: 21.03.2023).

[2] "Kishida Looks to Convince India to Get Tough on Russia", Yahoo, <https://news.yahoo.com/japan-kishida-looks-convince-india-000000373.html>, (Date of Accession: 21.03.2023).

[3] "Policy Speech by Prime Minister KISHIDA Fumio", MFA Japan, https://www.mofa.go.jp/tp/pc/pagele_000586.html, (Date of Accession: 21.03.2023).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Chinese President's Visit to Moscow: The Quest for a Multipolar New World Order

Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Moscow on 20-22 March 2023. The visit in question was followed closely by the international community due to the expectations that the Beijing administration could act as a mediator in the Russia-Ukraine War. Because the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave the message that Beijing can be positioned as a mediator in the statement it published on February 24, 2023 due to the first year of the war.[1]

As a matter of fact, in the aforementioned declaration, the Beijing administration emphasized the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine on the one hand; On the other hand, it condemned the unilateral sanctions imposed on Russia and drew attention to the importance of ending the war.

One month after this event, the visit of the Chinese President to Moscow brought the media-



Dr. Doğacan BAŞARAN
ANKASAM
AF-PAK Expert

tion discussions to the agenda. Moreover, European actors have such expectations from Xi. Because it is known that both German Chancellor Olaf Sholz and French President Emmanuel Macron wanted Xi to use his influence over Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Despite the aforementioned expectation, the messages given during Xi's visit indicate that mediation is not among the priority discussions. Although, during the talks, Russian President Vladimir Putin stated to Xi that they were open to negotiations[2] during the talks, on the day the two met, Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida visited Kiev and Kishida met with Ukrainian President Vladimir Zelenski.

Essentially, this development can be interpreted as the rivalry on the Beijing-Tokyo line also reflected in the Russia-Ukraine War. Moreover, it can be stated that Japan is positioned in accordance with the narrative of the struggle between "democracies and autocracies", which is frequently expressed by the Kiev administration. This is very much in line with the United States (US) President Joe Biden's effort to build the "Club of Democracies". Therefore, it can be argued that in the current conjuncture where the blockade has increased over the Russia-Ukraine War, competition and polarization have spread to Asia-Pacific in the context of Japan and China.

Due to all this information, it can be said that there was not enough mediation work to meet the expectations during Xi's visit. In fact, this visit, made shortly after the International Criminal Court's (ICC) decision on Putin's arrest, can be read as the Chinese President's support for his Russian counterpart.[3] Moreover, this support has a much more important and meaningful dimension for both parties. This is the unity in the rising objection to the unipolar world order.

In the context of the search for multipolarity, it can be stated that strong messages were given in the meeting between the two leaders. Especially, when saying goodbye to Putin, Xi said, "Changes are taking place in the world that have not been experienced in 100 years. We will lead this change together." to say,[4] his statement revealed that the two actors acting together in structures such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the BRICS will continue to cooperate against the American leadership. On the other hand, during the meeting, Putin said, "We are working in solidarity with the UN, UNSC and other organizations to create a more just and democratic multipolar world order." It is useful to remember that you use the expressions.[5]

In fact, it is known that Beijing and Moscow prefer different methods on the road to multipolarity and this causes separation between the parties. Because Russia wants to achieve its "great power" status in the international system with a conflicting character; that is, it tries to make its Western counterparts accept that it is a "great power" through interventions against countries such as Georgia and Ukraine. On the other hand, China wants a transition to multipolarity through mutual economic interdependence and tries to turn its economic rise into an advantage, especially within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative. However, the USA's accelerating its strategy of encircling China through alliances such as ANZUS, QUAD and AUKUS and its provocative moves, especially on Taiwan, brings Beijing closer to Moscow.

To open the subject, the search for multipolarity and the pressure of the USA, despite all the differences, deepen the cooperation on the Russia-China line. At this point, it is seen that the issue also has an Asia-Pacific dimension. Therefore, the above-mentioned Kishida's visit to Kiev is not a coincidence. Because, after the Russia-Ukraine War, Japan openly supported the sanctions targeting the Moscow administration, and the Kuril Islands Problem; that is, he brought his conflicts with Russia to the agenda. Beijing is Tokyo's most important regional rival.

It is clear that the competition in the Asia-Pacific has been effective in the cooperation between Moscow and Beijing. As a matter of fact, the naval exercises organized by Russia and China from time to time in the Pacific can be described as the output of this. Moreover, the rapprochement between the parties is not limited to geopolitical factors, and the search for multipolarity results in the development of economic cooperation in various fields, especially in energy. It is known that this cooperation increased after the sanctions imposed on Russia by Western actors. Of course, this shows Beijing's indirect support to Moscow, even though it is not directly involved in the war. Moreover, it can be stated that the cooperation between the parties will further develop. Already in the meeting between the leaders, the signing of the "Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Partnership and Deepening Strategic Cooperation"[6] and Xi's invitation to Putin to Beijing confirms this.[7]

As it can be understood, despite the difference in the method of imposing the "great power" status on the West, the parties come together in the context of the search for multipolarity under the pressure of the USA and loudly voice their search for a new world order. It can be argued that the pressure increased

by the Washington administration, especially in the South China Sea and Taiwan, triggered the rapprochement between Beijing and Moscow.

To summarize briefly, Xi, who visited Moscow shortly after the ICC decision regarding Putin, drew attention to the importance of negotiation on Ukraine, but the highlight at the summit was the emphasis on the desire of the parties for a multipolar world. In this sense, it can be said that messages are given to contradict the claims that there are some problems in the relations between the two countries. This can be interpreted as a harbinger of further development and deepening of cooperation on the Moscow-Beijing line.

[1] "China's Position on the Political Settlement of the Ukraine Crisis", FMPRC, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxx_662805/202302/t20230224_11030713.html, (Date of Accession: 23.03.2023).

[2] "Xi Invites Putin to China in Show of Support as Moscow Talks Continue", The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/mar/21/putin-xi-talks-moscow-japanese-pm-to-ukraine>, (Date of Accession: 23.03.2023).

[3] "China's Xi Stresses Close Ties with 'Dear Friend' Putin During His First Visit to Russia Since Ukraine Invasion", CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/03/20/europe/xi-putin-china-russia-visit-monday-intl-hnk/index.html>, (Date of Accession: 23.03.2023).

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Moskova'da Tarihi Mesaj... Çinli Lider Dünyaya İlan Etti! 'Batı'da Alarm Zillerinin Çalmasına Neden Olacak", Hürriyet, <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/moskovadan-tarihi-mesaj-cinli-liderin-dunyaya-ilan-etti-batida-alarm-zillerinin-calmasına-neden-olacak-42238259>, (Date of Accession: 23.03.2023).

[6] "Çin Devlet Başkanı Şi Cinping, Moskova'dan Ayrıldı", CNN Türk, <https://www.cnnturk.com/dunya/cin-devlet-baskani-si-cinping-moskovadan-ayrildi>, (Date of Accession: 23.03.2023).

[7] "Xi Invites Putin...", op.cit.

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28 March 2023

ANKASAM announced the roundtable meeting titled "Reforms in Uzbekistan and the New Constitution Referendum" held on March 22, 2023 between the experts of Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics (ANKASAM) and diplomats working at the Uzbekistan Embassy in Ankara. The meeting, which was also published by Perepost.uz, was included in the bulletin of ANKASAM dated March 28, 2023.



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

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JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES

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