NESA Region Trends – CENTRAL ASIA

• The Russian invasion of Ukraine that began on 24 February 2022 has become a pivotal event for the states of Central Asia. Three are treaty allies of Russia and face pressures from their larger neighbor to support the so-called "special military operation." Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan are all members of the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). The latter has a mechanism that would authorize these states to send troops to Ukraine in support of Russia, if necessary. All three have been reserved in their support by abstaining during UN votes on the matter, using Russian terminology in their coverage of the war, and continuing to deepen economic ties with Russia. Concerns that U.S./Western sanctions will affect them are repeatedly raised, with some discussion of how certain waivers or exemptions could mitigate the sting of sanctions. The economic fallout of the war vexes officials and citizens of the other two Central Asian states (Uzbekistan and

Turkmenistan) who are not part of any collective defense arrangement with Russia (Uzbekistan is a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which is not a collective defense structure).

During the first two months of the war, thousands of Russians left Russia for other countries in Eurasia. This includes individuals from Russia's high-tech sector, who are now setting up their offices in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, among other regional states. At present, the migrant workers from Central Asia are remaining in Russia, but with the drop in the value of the Russian currency, some are relocating for the sake of higher salaries. Destinations include Turkey, the countries of the GCC, and even back to Central Asia itself. It is worth watching migration trends in the coming months as indicators of how Central Asians are viewing the war and its impact.

IN THIS REPORT

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Engagement • Education • Outreach

NESA Region Trends

- The election of Serdar Berdymukhammedov on 12 March 2022 as president of Turkmenistan is the latest in leadership transitions in Central Asia. On 19 March 2022, he officially succeeded his father, Gurbanguly Berdymukhammedov, who had overseen the country since December 2006. On the surface, this allows for a relatively smooth transfer of power that also allows the elder Berdymukhammedov to retain influence in the political system, perhaps even more effectively than his Kazakh counterpart, Nursultan Nazarbayev, who stepped down in March 2019, allowing Kassym-Jomart Tokayev to become president that year. Predictable leadership succession is seen as a key to stability in the region, considering the challenges of economic stability, geopolitical tensions, and concerns over social unrest.
- The consolidation of Taliban power in neighboring Afghanistan remains important, even if overshadowed by the Russia-Ukraine War. Either individually or through regional organizations, the Central Asian states continue to engage with the Afghan leadership, even if none have officially recognized the Taliban as the legitimate government in Kabul. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan continue to support transregional economic projects such as the railway extension southward from Hairatan and the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline.
- Of importance to observers of Central Asian attitudes and views of domestic and international trends are what citizens of these states are posting and highlighting in social media sources. While government and media online sites present official perspectives on a range of issues, the comments and chat rooms associated with them offer a wider range of views both supportive and critical. Of particular concern is the Russian invasion of Ukraine: citizens note their concern of being dragged into it, of migrant workers located in Russia being drafted to fight, and their general dislike of Mr. Putin himself (with rather creative emojis and slang expressions used). While this community (tech-savvy netizens of Central Asia) is relatively small and may not reflect the overall views of the region, it is essential to keep track of voices from the region on such conflicts.

Washington Seminar Series

On 10 February 2022, the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA Center) hosted a modified version of its popular Washington Seminar Series titled "Biden Administration Foreign Policy – An Assessment and the Way Forward." The group from nearly 30 embassy communities was welcomed by NESA Center Academic Dean Dr. Roger Kangas along with NESA Center Professor Dr. Gawdat Bahgat, who moderated the two-hour virtual seminar. Speakers Ambassador Gerald M. Feierstein (Senior Vice President of the Middle East Institute) and Aaron D. Miller (Senior Fellow on U.S. Foreign Policy at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) kicked off the conversation. The speakers touched on topics such as the forces that shape U.S. foreign policy under any administration, the impact of Afghanistan and domestic politics on foreign policy and international relations, Global Power Competition with Russia and China, the nuclear negotiations with Iran, and the foreign policy challenges in the coming three years. Discussions were held under Chatham House Rule to promote an open exchange of ideas, where speakers then went into greater depth on some of the issues that the participants wanted to discuss. https://nesa-center.org/washington-seminar-series/



Panel discussion speakers starting from the top left: Dr. Gawdat Bahgat, Dr. Vali Nasr, Dr. Mahsa Rouhi, Dr. Denise Natali

Chatham House Workshop on Iran

On Monday, February 21, 2022, the NESA Center, in partnership with Chatham House, held a hybrid round-table discussion on the nuclear negotiation between Iran and global power in Vienna, Austria. The discussion was led by NESA Center Academic Dean Dr. Roger Kangas and moderated by NESA Center Professor Dr. Hassan Abbas, and NESA Center Professor Dr. Gawdat Bahgat. The participants addressed how the negotiations are likely to impact domestic politics in Tehran, regional security, and the U.S., European, Chinese, and Russian interests and policies. The analysts provided recommendations to the United States Government on how to de-escalate tension with Iran. https://nesa-center.org/chatham-house-workshop-on-iran/



In-person meeting space during the hybrid Chatham House Workshop on February 21, 2022.

SIO & The NESA Center Formally Present SANDU Design

On 27 February 2022, The Strategic Initiatives Office (SIO) and the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA Center) formally presented the culmination of over 18 months of the team's work on the Target Operating Model (TOM) for the Saudi Arabian National Defense University (SANDU). This work was an international project of 30 members who tirelessly worked over the course of almost two years to prepare, baseline, benchmark, preliminarily design, and then provide a final design. The new design transforms the current military education system into the Saudi Arabia National Defense University. This new university will consist of four components: the War College, the Joint Command and Staff College, the Leader Development Center, and the Strategic Studies Center. Each of these centers will have specific focus areas to support the National Defense University. https://ne-sa-center.org/formally-present-sandu-design/



Dr. Abdullah (Transformation Management Office) and COL (Ret.) David Lamm (Deputy Director of the NESA Center) joined members of the SIO team to celebrate 18 months of tremendous teamwork and effort.

United States and Iran's Nuclear Program, What Comes Next?

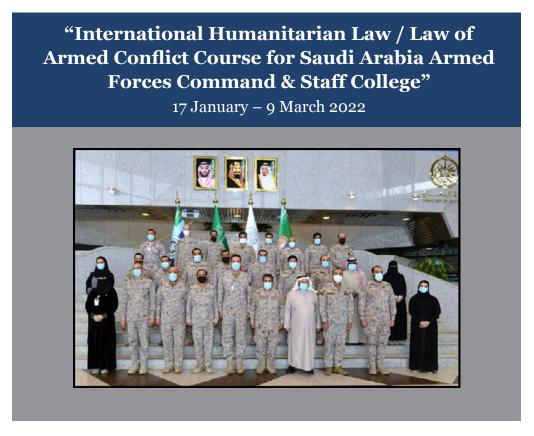
On 2 March 2022, the Near East South Asia (NESA) Center for Strategic Studies and the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) held a joint roundtable discussion to examine the potential impact of the Vienna nuclear negotiations between Iran and global powers on regional and global stability and U.S.-Iran relations. Dr. Vali Nasr (Johns Hopkins University), Dr. Denise Natali and Dr. Mahsa Rouhi (INSS), Dr. Gawdat Bahgat (NESA Center) provided their assessment of the efforts to revive the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), Iran's missile program, and regional policies. https://nesa-center.org/united-states-and-irans-nuclear-program-what-comes-next



Panel discussion speakers from the top left: Dr. Gawdat Bahgat, Dr. Vali Nasr, Dr. Mahsa Rouhi, Dr. Denise Natali

IHL/LOAC for Saudi Arabia Armed Forces Command & Staff College

From 17 January to 9 March 2022, the NESA Center Military Advisor to the Saudi Arabia Armed Forces Command and Staff College, COL William "Bill" Stephens, funded through an FMS case, presented on multiple topics during the *inaugural* International Humanitarian Law (IHL) Course for Saudi Arabia. This 8-week course was offered to twenty-six students and two faculty members representing the Royal Saudi Army, Air Force, and Navy. The attendees, including four female civilian legal advisors, ranged in rank from captain to brigadier general, most of whom have studied law. Upon graduation, the military students will be the new legal advisors in units across the Ministry of Defense, demonstrating a commitment to comply with the principles of IHL/LOAC in carrying out the national security missions. Course topics included the international Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC), legal considerations in targeting with an emphasis on tools to reduce collateral damage and civilian casualties in carrying out missions, how to conduct investigations, and the development of Rules of Engagement. https://ne-sa-center.org/inaugural-international-humanitarian-law-law-of-armed-conflict-course-for-saudi-ara-bia-armed-forces-command-and-staff-college/



The inaugural International Humanitarian Law Diploma Program at the Armed Forces Command and Staff College within the capacity building programs at the Saudi Ministry of Defense.

Saudi Arabia National Defense University Executive Seminar

From 14 to 25 March 2022, the Near East South Asia (NESA) Center for Strategic Studies, led by Lieutenant General (Ret.) Terry Wolff, NESA Director, hosted the Saudi Arabia Ministry of Defense Armed Forces Command and Staff College (AFCSC). LTG (Ret.) Wolff welcomed Major General Mohammed J. Alruwaili, AFCSC Commandant and President of the future Saudi Arabia National Defense University (SANDU), and other members of the Saudi AFCSC to the National Defense University (NDU) located on Fort Lesley McNair in Washington, DC. The visit provided open access for members to collaborate freely with U.S. professional military education (PME) experts on accreditation, facilities, research, educational programs, and university governance. These engagements and discussions will aid in developing the academic vision for the future Saudi Arabia National Defense University and define the outcome of the NESA forward concept to Support the AFCSC and SANDU. https://nesa-center.org/saudi-arabia-national-defense-university-executive-seminar



Lieutenant General (Ret.) Terry Wolff, NESA Director, and members of the NESA staff host Major General Mohammed J. Alruwaili, AFCSC Commandant and President of Saudi Arabia National Defense University, and delegates from the Saudi AFCSC to the National Defense University located in front of Lincoln Hall on Fort Lesley McNair in Washington, DC. March 14–25.

NESA Maritime Series: Indian Ocean Region Underwater Challenges Workshop

From 21 to 23 March 2022, the NESA Center for Strategic Studies conducted a digital workshop that explored underwater security challenges in the wider Indian Ocean Region (IOR). The discussions discussed topics pertaining to military/security concerns, cyber and technological components, environmental considerations, and private sector perspectives on the underwater domain. Participants hailed from 19 different countries and provided their thoughts on what aspects of the underwater domain they feel should be prioritized by policymakers and their views on trend lines. NESA's Director, LTG (ret) Terry Wolff, kicked off the event and NESA's Dean, Dr. Roger Kangas, provided farewell remarks. NESA Center faculty member Professor David Des Roches served as a speaker with facilitation provided by Dr. Michael Sharnoff. Jeffrey Payne, NESA's lead for IOR programs, led the event. https://nesa-center.org/nesa-maritime-series-indian-ocean-region-underwater-challenges-workshop/



Speakers from top left: Jeffrey Payne (Course Director and Assistant Professor, NESA Center), LTG (Ret) Terry Wolff (Director, NESA Center), Nick Childs (Senior Fellow for Naval Forces and Maritime Security, the International Institute for Strategic Studies), Dr. Andrew Erickson (Strategic and Operational Research Department, United States Naval War College), Giulia Nicoloso (Manager, EU CRIMSON Project), Ryan Fedasiuk (Research Analyst, Center for Security and Emerging Technology), Vice Admiral Pradeep Chauhan (Director General, National Maritime Foundation), David Des Roches (Associate Professor, NESA Center), Louis Dugit-Gros (Visiting Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy) Click here to view the full list of speakers.

Combating Transnational Threats Senior Executive Seminar

21–25 March 2022, the NESA Center hosted a Combating Transnational Threats Senior Executive Seminar (CTSES) titled "The Importance of Non-State Actors." The seminar started off with an introduction and welcome from Course Director and NESA Center Professor Dr. Gawdat Bahgat, NESA Center Academic Dean Dr. Roger Kangas, and NESA Center Director LTG Terry A. Wolff, USA (Ret.). The five-day virtual seminar focused on understanding the important role non-state actors play in shaping the life of ordinary people around the world, analyzing the role free press plays in all societies, and how to fight corruption and promote good governance. The seminar also examined the global economic system, the war on terrorism, the role private firms play in shaping the political agenda, and religious organizations' efforts in promoting human aid. There were ten sessions that began with a speaker presentation and closed with an open discussion held under Chatham House rule. Discussion sessions were moderated by Dr. Gawdat Bahgat, NESA Center Professor Minister Ali Jalali, and NESA Center Professor Dr. Richard Russell. The CTSES engaged with 38 participants from 19 countries. https://nesa-center.org/nesa-maritime-series-indian-ocean-region-underwater-challenges-workshop

"Combating Transnational Threats
Senior Executive Seminar"
21 – 25 March 2022

Speakers from the top left: Dr. Gawdat Bahgat (Course Director and Professor, NESA Center), Dr. Roger Kangas (Academic Dean, NESA Center), LTG Terry A. Wolff, USA (Ret.) (Director, NESA Center), Minister Ali Jalali (Professor, NESA Center), Dr. Daniel L. Byman (Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution and Professor at Georgetown University), Dr. Margaret Smith (Modern War Institute at West Point), Jason Atwell (Senior Intelligence Advisor, Mandiant) Click here to view the full list of speakers.

NESA-IISS South Asian Security Forum in Bahrain

25 to 27 March 2022 – The NESA Center and its partner, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), co-hosted the sixth annual South Asian Strategic Forum in the Kingdom of Bahrain. This unique Track 1.5 dialogue brought together 40 participants from India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the UK, and the U.S. for focused discussion of the situation in Afghanistan, India-Pakistan crisis management, great power competition in South Asia, regional/global terrorism, climate risks to regional security, and the war in Ukraine. Participants in this exceptional dialogue included senior serving military and intelligence officials, policymakers, sitting parliamentarians, retired senior officials/officers, and select subject matter experts. This event will help set the stage for the fourteenth annual NESA-IISS South Asia Security Conference slated for September 2022. https://nesa-center.org/nesa-iiss-south-asian-security-forum-in-bahrain/



Speakers from the top left: Dr. Gawdat Bahgat (Course Director and Professor, NESA Center), Dr. Roger Kangas (Academic Dean, NESA Center), LTG Terry A. Wolff, USA (Ret.) (Director, NESA Center), Minister Ali Jalali (Professor, NESA Center), Dr. Daniel L. Byman (Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution and Professor at Georgetown University), Dr. Margaret Smith (Modern War Institute at West Point), Jason Atwell (Senior Intelligence Advisor, Mandiant) Click here to view the full list of speakers.

Tunisian National Defense Institute National Security Seminar

From 21 to 31 March 2022, the NESA Center, in partnership with U.S. Africa Command, held its eleventh annual Tunisian National Defense Institute (NDI) National Security Seminar for 48 senior government officials from 18 Tunisian agencies. Led by its new Director, Sr Col Abdelkader Adouni, the NDI is a year-long Ministry of Defense program that is now in its 39th year. It brings a diverse group of interagency representatives together twice each week for an academic year to advance whole-of-government approaches to critical national security and political challenges. Each class is assigned a unique research theme by the Minister of Defense. This year's assignment was entitled "Tunisia: A Gateway to Africa." https://nesa-center.org/tunisian-ndi-program/



TNDI March 2022 Group Photo

NESA Faculty & Staff Engagement

Dr. Hassan Abbas



9 March 2022 – Panelist at a symposium jointly organized by the Atlantic Council and the Concordia Forum in Washington DC titled, "A look at America's policy challenges for the next decade," discussing "Afghanistan after the withdrawal."

The conference was attended by over 100 guests and speakers which included members of U.S. Congress and senior government officials. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/event/a-look-at-americas-policy-challenges-for-the-next-decade-2/ Video Recording: https://youtu.be/ U



14 March 2022 – Delivered a keynote address at the Al-Nahrain University in Baghdad titled, "Grand Strategy and National Security: Lessons from the U.S." Iraq's National Security Advisor and Commandant of the National Defense College attended the event as well as over 125 students and faculty members.

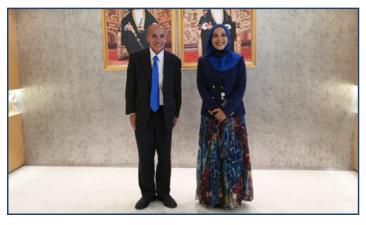


Dr. Gawdat Bahgat



10–19 March 2022 – Visited Muscat and met with senior officials from MFA, MOD, Education, and Sultan Qaboos University. Presented during a two-day seminar on cyber security at the Omani Diplomatic Institute where about 50

diplomats attended. Talked about the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on the Middle East at the Omani National Defense College. *The photo below is during a meeting with the Omani Minister of Education (MOE)*. https://www.wisal.fm/cms/2022/03/77468



15 March 2022 – Gave a virtual talk on Iran nuclear negotiations to the National Defense College (NDC) of the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

David Des Roches



2 March 2022 – Discussed for Arab News (a Saudi Arabia-based english language paper) military innovation and how the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) might capitalize on new technological developments. https://www.arabnews.

com/node/2034171/business-economy

3 March 2022 – Spoke along with two other guest speakers for TRT World's "The Newsmakers," which is a panel discussion program. Discussed on the general conduct

NESA Faculty & Staff Engagement

of the war in the Ukraine. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hT-qNH9i80



25 March 2022 – Interviewed by RFERL on the U.S. reaction to the Taliban banning girls high school education. Read an introduction and listen in either language [Dari] or [Pashto].

2 April 2022 – Interviewed by Griff Witte of the Washington Post for parallels between the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980s. The article was titled, "In Putin's Ukraine quagmire, echoes of Soviet failure in Afghanistan." Read or listen here: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/02/ukraine-afghanistan-russia-parallels-quagmire

John H. Gill

2 and 8 March 20 two closed round kistan crises hoste Institute of Peach

2 and 8 March 2022 – Participated in two closed roundtables on the India-Pakistan crises hosted by the United States Institute of Peach (USIP).

16 March 2022 – Attended a lecture on the 2020 Sino-Indian border clashes and future Sino-Indian relations hosted by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). Along with NESA Center Dean Dr. Kangas, conducted several planning sessions with IISS reviewing previous activities and outlining future events. Professor Gill and Dr. Kangas also met with scholars from the London School of Economics (LSE) on South Asian issues.

Jeffrey S. Payne



9 February 2022 – This iteration of the NESA IOR Digital Series, led by NESA Center Professor Jeffrey Payne, features remarks by Pierre Morcos, who is currently a visiting fellow in the Europe, Russia, and Eurasia Program at the Cen-

ter for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Morcos, who also serves in the French Foreign Service, provided clarity on France's approach to the Indo-Pacific, the challenges facing the Indian Ocean Region, and the means by which challenges in economic development, security, climate, and information sharing can be addressed. https://nesa-center.org/nesa-ior-digital-series-with-mr-pierre-morcos

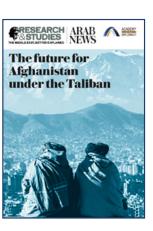
Ali Ahmad Jalali

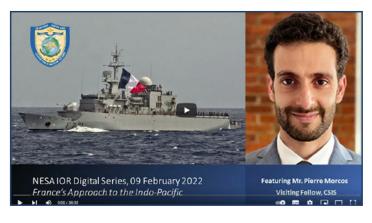


15 February 2022 – Published an article for Arab News titled, "The future of

Afghanistan under the Taliban," coauthored with Mark C. Donfried (Director of the Academy

for Cultural Diplomacy in Berlin). https://www.arabnews.com/node/2024646/future-afghanistan-under-taliban





8 March 2022 – Participated in the Heritage Institute South Asia Luncheon which was a private discussion on the Stability of the Quad in Reference to Australian and

NESA Faculty & Staff Engagement

Indian Indo-Pacific Engagement. The luncheon had 15 participants and was sponsored by Jeff Smith.

14 March 2022 – Along with NESA Center Dean Dr. Kangas, participated in the NIICE Nepal and Republica (Association of Political Science, Atma Ram Sanatan Dharma ARSD College, University of Delhi, India) two-day annual fest, 'Poliforum-2022'. Spoke in a session entitled "Russia-Ukraine Conflict and the Emerging Global Order" during the Inaugural session. The panel featured international viewpoints on the conflict in Ukraine, with Dr. Kangas providing analysis on the scale of conflict itself. Prof. Payne provided comments regarding the maritime dimensions of the conflict and the secondary effects on global shipping and Black Sea/Mediterranean Sea conditions. One hundred thirty-six participants took part in the event. https://youtu.be/n EPeGwJn4w



23 March 2022 – Along with William Thompson, published a post titled "Data as an Approach to Yemen's Maritime Security Challenges" for the Center for International Maritime Security (CIMSEC). https://cimsec.org/data-as-an-ap-proach-to-yemens-maritime-security-challenges



Richard Wiersema

17 February 2022 – Engaged representatives from the Uzbekistan Embassy in

Washington DC and Uzbekistan Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to discuss options for professional military education (PME) collaboration through NESA with a college component at National Defense University and in the DC region. NESA Center Dean Dr. Roger Kangas facilitated the meeting, in which fellow NESA Center faculty member Dr. Hassan Abbas participated as well. We anticipate a follow-up request from the Uzbekistan Embassy to coordinate an eventual Fort McNair site visit by an Academy delegation.

14 March 2022 – Lectured to the United Arab Emirates National Defense College on the topic "Perspectives on Professional Military Education." This was the first of three days of distance lectures Prof. Wiersema organized in response to UAE NDC's request for U.S.-focused national security classes in lieu of their scheduled visit to Washington DC and Fort McNair, which was canceled owing to public health restrictions and the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. The virtual seminar series continued through 15–16 March and included a keynote presentation from NESA Center Director LTG (Ret) Terry Wolff, lectures from NESA Center faculty Dr. Rick Russell and Dr. Gawdat Baghat, and invited experts Tom Wingfield from RAND and Dr. Vivian Walker from the U.S. State Department (both former NESA Center faculty at the Emirates NDC).

NESA Alumni Activities & Contributions

14 February 2022 – **Asanga Abeyagoonasekera (Sri Lanka)** published an analysis for VIF-India: <u>"Sri Lankan economy spiraling out of control; Requests IMF assistance."</u>

16 February 2022 – **Shanthie D'Souza (India)** published an Op-Ed for Asian Age: <u>"India needs to be more imaginative in framing policy over Central Asia."</u>

18 February 2022 – **Shanthie D'Souza (India)** published an Op-Ed for the Hindustan Times: <u>"In Afghanistan, the NRF can force a power shift."</u>

23 February 2022 – **Mustafa Fetouri (Libya)** published an Op-Ed for the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs: "Will 2022 Be Another Turbulent Year in Already Troubled North Africa?"

01 March 2022 – **Eduard Soler Lecha (Spain)** published an analysis for CIDOB: <u>"Communicating vessels: How does the</u> war in Ukraine affect the Middle East and North Africa?"

07 March 2022 – **Asanga Abeyagoonasekera (Sri Lanka)** wrote an Op-Ed for the NESA website: <u>"The Wall of Strength Against Aggression."</u>

13 March 2022 – **Asanga Abeyagoonasekera (Sri Lanka)** co-authored an Op-Ed for NIICE-Nepal: <u>"Information Warfare</u> between Ukraine and Russia."

20 March 2022 – **Uttam Kumar Sinha (India)** published an Op-Ed for the Hindustan Times: <u>"What India's Arctic policy aims to do."</u>

02 April 2022 – **Kamel Ben Younes (Tunisia**) published an Op-Ed for Asharq Al-Awsat. <u>Arabic Link Here</u>

05 April – **Antonia Dimou (Greece)** was quoted in an analysis for Middle East Eye: <u>"Russia-Ukraine war: Conflict boostshopes for East Mediterranean energy, experts say."</u>

NESA Upcoming Events

Washington Seminar | 21 April 2022 | Virtual

Lebanon FSCSC Visit | 18–22 April 2022 | Washington, DC

USF-CENTCOM NESA Great Power Competition Conference | 28–29 April 2022 | Hybrid

Track II Libyan Task Force – Senior Leaders Dialogue P1 | April 2022 | Virtual

Beyond the Geopolitics of the Quad – A Discussion of Efforts | 4–6 May 2022 | Bangkok

Saudi War Course Student Visit | 8–20 May 2022 | Washington, DC

Qatar Staff College Visit | 16–27 May 2022 | Washington, DC

SWC Electives: CIV CAS/LOAC | 22–26 May 2022 | Saudi Arabia

Post-Grad Sr. Military Exec. Seminar Farewell/Alumni Dinner | May 2022 | Washington, DC

Security in the Eastern Mediterranean Security | 30 May-3 June 2022 | Athens, Greece

Visit www.NESA-Center.org for additional information.

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