



# ANKASAM

## bulletin

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### **“Enhanced Strategic Partnership” Between Turkey and Kazakhstan in Changing Global Geopolitics**



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The Impact of UAVs on  
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## ANKASAM OUTLOOK

# “Enhanced Strategic Partnership” Between Turkey and Kazakhstan in Changing Global Geopolitics

The friendly relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan, shaped on the basis of historical and cultural ties, have become one of the most reliable partnerships in the Eurasian region for the last 30 years. The relations established since the day Kazakhstan gained its independence have been expanding steadily. With the “Strategic Partnership Agreement” signed in 2009, relations have moved to a new dimension. During the visit of the President of Kazakhstan, Mr.

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev to Turkey, the relations were raised to the level of “Enhanced Strategic Partnership”.

The developing relations between the two countries create significant results not only at the bilateral level, but also at the regional and international level. Both countries are going through a period in which they are redefining their international positions. The two countries,



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which have a common interest in increasing international and regional peace, security, stability and prosperity, adopt a common foreign policy vision. The "Enhanced Strategic Partnership Agreement" can be accepted as an indicator of this.

### International Position of Kazakhstan

Developments in international politics point to the birth and construction process of a multipolar system against all odds. In this new process, Asia is gaining importance, and Central Asia, located at the center of this great continent, is becoming one of the focuses of the international power struggle. Central Asian countries are trying to determine a new role for themselves in the new international system. In this context, the foreign policy of Kazakhstan, which is bordered by the two great powers of Asia, Russia and China, is one of the central countries of Central Asian geopolitics, and has an important position on the route connecting Asia to Europe, gains importance.

In the 30th anniversary of its independence, Kazakhstan is in the process of transformation in its domestic politics as well as international developments. For this reason, how Kazakhstan will cope with the problems it faces at home, what kind of foreign policy it will follow and what role it will play in the geopolitics of Central Asia are substantial questions. These questions are important not only for Kazakhstan but also for all regional countries and global actors.

First of all, if we look at the international level, Kazakhstan's geographical location excludes any dependency relationship with any global actor. The worst-case scenario for Kazakhstan, which borders both Russia and China, is to be stuck between these two great powers. For this reason, Kazakhstan should follow a balanced policy, and establish close relations with both countries, but these relations should not turn into a relationship of dependency. The dependency relationship that Kazakhstan will enter with one of these two countries may provoke the other and create notable security problems for Kazakhstan.

The western connection also remains important for Kazakhstan. The war in Ukraine has placed energy security at the center of international debate, and there are significant opportunities for energy-rich Kazakhstan. Also, Kazakhstan has the potential to play a positive role in terms of food security triggered by the Ukraine war. In order for Kazakhstan to realize these potential opportunities, it needs to establish an active relationship with Western as well as Eastern countries. It is also obvious that this balance-based multi-vector policy is an important way out in the context of saving Kazakhstan from geopolitical pressure and stuckness. Therefore, Kazakhstan has to follow very sensitive and delicate diplomacy that does not compromise its full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and keeps the balance between global powers.

At the regional level, the importance of Kazakhstan has been also increasing. As the center of power in international competition shifts to Asia, the Central Asian region gains importance. On the other hand, the importance and weight of geopolitical conflicts in international competition is increasing. For example, developments in Afghanistan and the war in Ukraine are important geopolitical conflict areas. Developments in energy security increase the strategic importance of the Caspian Sea. Kazakhstan is becoming an extremely strategic corridor in both East-West and North-South axis.

Regional developments create serious security risks for both Kazakhstan and Central Asian countries. It does not seem possible for any country to fight these risks alone. Therefore, regional cooperation has gained more importance than ever before. Kazakhstan plays a decisive role in ensuring regional cooperation. For Kazakhstan, which is a much more stable country economically, politically and socially compared to other countries in the region, regional stability must be ensured in order to maintain this stability. The countries of the region also need Kazakhstan for more cooperation and stability.

Kazakhstan follows a strategy in favor of peace and stability both in its relations with global powers and in its regional policies. This strategy is a requirement of a multi-vector foreign policy understanding. Multi-vector foreign policy means contributing to the stability and prosperity of the region while maintaining balances between global power centers. As such, Kazakhstan is turning into a model for the region.

### Turkey and Kazakhstan in Eurasian Geopolitics

In terms of Kazakhstan's global and regional role, its relations with Turkey are of particular importance. First of all, there are similarities between Turkey's foreign policy priorities and Kazakhstan's priorities. Both countries follow a foreign policy that protects the balances and contributes to the peace in the region, preserving their full independence and strategic autonomy, without being dependent on any global power. Therefore, it is possible for Turkey and Kazakhstan to cooperate in the face of various global and regional problems and play a constructive role in solving the problems.

In terms of economy, Turkey is an important country in terms of Kazakhstan's access to the Western market. Trade relations between the two countries tend to increase constantly. Mr. Tokayev's visit to Turkey has been an important turning point in which agreements that will further revive economic relations have been signed. Economic relations between the two countries will not only increase the trade volume but will also facilitate Kazakhstan's access to European markets. Therefore, Kazakhstan-Turkey relations will positively affect Kazakhstan's economic and political relations with the West. This is of great importance in terms of Kazakhstan's policy that observes global balances.

Relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan continue to contribute to regional security. As the leading countries of the Organization of Turkish States, Turkey and Kazakhstan carry their regional relations to an institutional basis. It acts in a participatory and inclusive manner without excluding any country in the region. Both the regional integration process has been accelerated and the will to maintain global peace and stability has been demonstrated.

### Consequences of Mr. Tokayev's Visit

Mr. Tokayev's visit to Turkey is of great importance in terms of embodying the friendship and common interests between Turkey and Kazakhstan. During the visit attended by 6 Ministers and many high-level officials, both Mr. Tokayev and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan gave extremely positive messages and displayed friendly images. However, this visit was not only a visit where symbolic messages of friendship were given but also an important milestone in which concrete steps were taken.

First of all, bilateral relations have been moved to the Enhanced Strategic Partnership level. In this context, a total of 15 agree-

ments were signed in the fields of the defense industry, military intelligence, information technologies, transportation, culture, agriculture, transportation, trade, customs, environment, education, youth, communication and archives. These agreements show that the relations have both moved to strategic areas and gained a very wide scope. In addition, it has been determined as a target to increase the trade volume between the two countries to 10 billion dollars.

The concrete results of Mr. Tokayev's visit to Turkey can be listed as follows.

After the tragic events in January, the message was given that Kazakhstan has largely overcome the problems in domestic politics and that foreign policy is carried out strongly while the internal restructuring process continues.

The message was given that the January events did not create a break in Kazakhstan's foreign policy and that Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy, which takes care of the balance, is maintained.

It has been one of the best examples of what Mr. Tokayev's multilateral-vec-tored foreign policy move meant.

It has shown that some perceptions such as pan-Turkism are out of place.

It has also been seen that Kazakhstan does not remain indifferent to global events/developments in foreign policy, plays a constructive role, and in this context, approaches every country, especially its neighboring countries, at an equal distance in the construction of the corridor/bridge between Central Asia and Europe.

The importance given to Turkey has been shown in Kazakhstan's foreign policy, and Turkey has shown that it is ready to further develop its relations with Kazakhstan.

The relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan have not only been accepted as a partnership that serves the common interests of the two countries, but the two countries have given the message that they are ready to play leading roles in multilateral cooperation structures to strengthen regional peace, stability and prosperity. The signed agreements point to an expanded strategic partnership that covers all areas of relations between the two countries.

It has been seen that the relations will grow even more with the action initiated by the leaders, as Turkey welcomed Mr. Tokayev like a brother.

The two countries have confirmed that they have a common attitude towards the challenges posed by the change in global geopolitics and regional security problems. The game of table tennis emerges as a symbolic dimension/message of this.



The message was given that it will continue to contribute to the establishment of international peace and security by complying with international law.

Turkey's strong support for the reforms carried out by Kazakhstan in domestic politics has been confirmed. As a matter of fact, this visit can be seen as a reflection of Turkey's friendship and solidarity during the January events. Therefore, in this visit, the message that Turkey will stand by Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people was given once again clearly.

The Role of Leaders in Turkey-Kazakhstan Relations

Leaders have a significant impact on the realization of the foreign policy visions of Turkey and Kazakhstan. Both Presidents follow a balanced, pragmatic and constructive foreign policy strategy.

Mr. Tokayev plays a significant role both in Kazakhstan's foreign policy and in the internal reform process. Both international trends and regional problems require Kazakhstan to conduct very sensitive and tactful diplomacy. In this respect, Mr. Tokayev's experience in foreign policy and his sensitivity to geopolitical issues are of great importance for the "New Kazakhstan". Mr. Tokayev's experience in the field of foreign policy is also an indication that his country will follow active diplomacy.

When we look from the eyes of Turkey, it is seen that the new reform movement initiated in Kazakhstan is the biggest guarantee of Kazakhstan's growth and expansion.

Kazakhstan's active diplomacy also requires a closer relationship with Turkey. Turkey and Kazakhstan constitute an important corridor between the East and the West, both politically and economically. For this reason, Mr. Tokayev's visit to Turkey was not an ordinary leaders' summit. Mr. Tokayev was welcomed by Mr. Erdogan at the highest level and the leaders of both countries showed a strong will for the development of relations. This will is an indication that the relations of the two countries, which are based on deep-rooted friendship, will continue to strengthen in the same direction. Therefore, although this visit of time is short, it is very intense, and it is a historical step towards further strengthening and moving the existing relations forward.

The original of this article was published on 11.05.2022 in the leading newspaper of Kazakhstan, Egemen Qazaqstan. <https://egemen.kz/article/311759-turkiya-%E2%80%93-qazaqstan-kenheytilgen-strategiyalyq-seriktestik>



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# The Impact of UAVs on Permanent Peace in Central Asia

For the Central Asian states that gained their independence after the end of the Cold War, their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unitary structures were among the most uncompromising issues. As a result of the developments in the 30-year independence process, the states of the region have experienced that the main argument that should be applied in order not to compromise on these values and principles and to make regional development sustainable is peace and solidarity.

In this process, states and leaders adopted an attitude of reconciliation rather than competition and showed a strong will to overcome various problems. For this reason, the conflicts in the region in some periods were greeted with serenity by the actors and the conflicts were replaced by calmness thanks to the high-level contacts. At this point, it should be emphasized that the prudent attitude of the states of the region in the face of crises is admirable. As a result of this awareness, Central Asia is experi-



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encing one of the most stable and peaceful periods in the current conditions. In addition, the peace and stability environment in the region has taken on a structural character based on a win-win understanding through various regional integration moves and developed cooperation projects.

Despite the steps taken to establish regional stability, the biggest disadvantage of Central Asia is that it is located in the near vicinity of Afghanistan. In particular, the fact that Uzbeks, Turkmen and Tajiks live in Afghanistan and that various terrorist organizations operate in that country cause the states in Central Asia to be more careful and pay maximum attention to their security. For this reason, increasing their defense capacity to ensure their security is one of the priorities of the countries in the region. For this aim, it is seen that these countries have recently purchased armed and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) as a part of their security policies. It is known that the countries that come to the fore in UAVs exports are the United States of America (USA), Israel, China, France and Turkey.

The main Central Asian states that strengthen their defense capacity by importing UAVs from various countries are Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. It is not correct to claim that UAVs purchased to ensure border security against regional threats causes a security dilemma. Because when the use of UAVs in a wide geography from Libya to Africa, from Ukraine to Karabakh as recent examples is examined, it is not an attack; They appear to be defensive weapons. States strengthen their defense capacities and increase their deterrence against threats by means of these weapons.

The situation in question reveals that the UAVs exporting countries are not party to any conflict or destructive attitude with their sales, on the contrary, they support the sovereignty and security of the regional states against aggressors by contributing to the defense of the countries. Because importing countries can benefit from UAVs as a deterrent against aggressor states. This reveals that the UAVs exporting actors have an approach that supports the defense capacities of the states with which they have commercial relations and aims at peace.

In addition, UAVs are an important tool, especially in the fight against terrorism, with their performance. UAVs, which have become a necessity in the fight against a threat such as terrorism, are of great importance for the states neighboring Afghanistan. Radical and separatist organizations in the region are one of the main factors threatening the security of Central Asia. Because in today's conjuncture, where terrorist organizations are getting stronger day by day, geography is no longer an advantage.

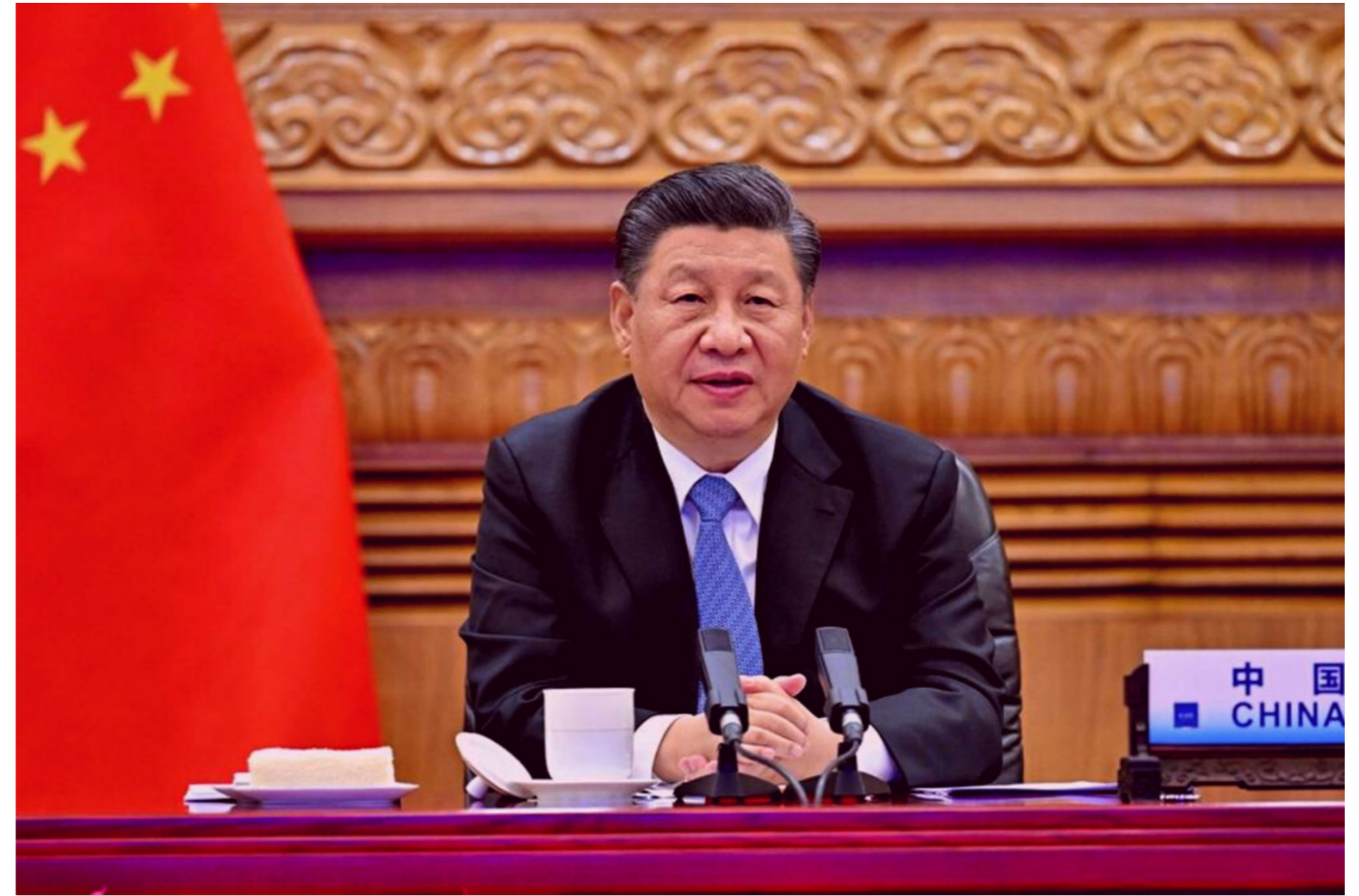
However, UAVs have facilitated the neutralization of terrorist organizations in difficult geographies where they are used. As a matter of fact, there is no example of any state receiving UAVs using these weapons for the purpose of attacking other states.

Actually, the fact that any state does not use UAVs in violation of international law and the sovereignty of countries shows the reliability and sincerity of exporting countries, not only on the basis of discourse; but confirms on the basis of action.

Aware of the contribution of UAVs to the regional security environment, the regional states have started to take concrete steps in the production of these weapons. For example, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are the main actors taking steps in UAVs production in Central Asia. However, this process did not cause the two countries to move away from each other and to see each other as a threat. In fact, the parties decided to strengthen the relationship between them and increased their relations to the level of strategic partnership and alliance. It is possible to say that UAVs will have a similar effect in strengthening the relations between other regional states due to their contribution to the regional security environment.

In short, states that can produce UAVs technology export UAVs to various countries of the world. As can be seen from these sales, the aforementioned weapons are not used in a way that would harm the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states or in violation of international law. Therefore, UAVs exports do not mean arming a state against other states. As already stated, the fact that UAVs have come to the forefront as effective deterrent technologies against the occupying forces or terrorist organizations that are the source of instability in the geographies, they use has served to establish an environment of stability and security. Recent developments in the Caucasus and Central Asia also reveal that UAVs, as effective instruments, contribute to a more structural peace and tranquility in order to develop trust-based regional cooperation.

As a result, UAVs contribute to the security, peace and stability of Central Asia. In this sense, UAVs sales to the countries of the region do not contribute to the deterioration of the balances and equations, but to the settlement of them in a much stronger way. Because the countries with UAVs come to the forefront as states that can establish partnerships rather than being the actors whose will of foreign powers can be imposed. Therefore, UAVs play a significant and constructive role in establishing peace and stability in Central Asia, strengthening the defense capacities of the regional states and improving interstate relations.



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# China's New Strategy: Global Security Initiative

The declaration of the end of the Cold War as a result of the summit held in Malta on 2-3 December 1989 between Former President of the United States of America (USA) George Bush and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev (USSR) actually triggered the beginning of a new era rather than an end.

After the Second World War, the United States, which had won the war militarily, politically, and technologically, began to write the rules of the

global system as the world's final hegemon state, gaining ideological hegemony after the Cold War. The new Atlantic Order, which was established in Europe and the United States, has achieved superiority over Asia in ideological, military, technical, cultural, and economic fields, and has followed a policy of resource control to preserve its hegemony in various geographies of the world. While making comments on the state that brought the end of history for the USA, which entered the period of



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absolute power, the thesis that this process would bring anarchy and instability was also emphasized.

Every rising power will eventually reach saturation and enter a phase of decline. As a matter of fact, the hegemony of the USA has opened the door to new difficulties. In particular, the military interventions carried out by the USA created debates in the world public opinion, brought an economic burden and were interpreted by many academics as the beginning of the collapse. Because the increasing anti-US thought in conflict regions has relatively reduced America's position in the global balance.

After the 2000s, the world tried to move from the unipolar order of the USA to a multipolar structure. In this new era, in which the USA is the leading actor, it has become possible to talk about an international relations order in which different powers appear in the world arena and various alliances have been established. Reasons such as Russia's comeback under Vladimir Putin's leadership, and China's transformation into an economic power as a consequence of the economic and cultural reforms implemented since 1980 are among the main motives for this process. In his article "The Age of Nonpolarity" Richard Haas explains the players in this new order as a:[1]

"At first glance, the world today may appear to be multipolar. The major powers – China, the European Union (EU), India, Japan, Russia, and the United States – contain just over half the world's people and account for 75 percent of global GDP and 80 percent of global defense spending."

The globe, which moved to a multipolar structure after 2000, is now showing signs of shifting to a bipolar order, with China emerging as one of the new poles, leaving other countries behind. It is fair to state that China has undergone rapid development and economic growth from Deng Xiaoping's development policy to the now. Thanks to its double-digit production data, cheap labor advantage, and low value/competitive currency, it surpassed Japan in the economy league, ranking second after the United States. As the former Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew remarks, perhaps exaggerating, the situation is as follows:[2]

"The size of China's displacement of the world balance is such that the world must find a new balance. It is not possible to pretend that this is just another big player. This is the biggest player in the history of the World."

In another statement Yew gave in the same interview, the expressions he used actually form the backbone of China's silent rise today:[3]

"The Soviet Union was contesting with the United States for global supremacy. China is acting purely in its own national interests. It is not interested in changing the world."

During the Cold War, China, which was a component of the communist bloc, invited the American Table Tennis team to visit their nation and pursued a softening policy that became known as ping-pong diplomacy in literature. The reason for this softening is expressed as follows in a secret intelligence report written on April 19, 1971:[4]

"The Chinese believe that the international situation is becoming favorable for them and that Washington will have to adjust itself to the changing situation."

China's development of relations with the West and immediately after the export-based development model that was initiated with the reforms it implemented, ensured its integration into the global economic system. Beijing, claiming to be seeking a peaceful rise, focused on economic growth and avoided the challenges that great power rivalry may bring. Increasingly attractive to global companies, China has become the focus of foreign direct investors and has been called the "Factory of the World". The economic growth of China, which became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, accelerated and caused it to be named as the world's largest economy in future projections. However, the rise of China, which started peacefully, eventually reached the point of establishing a Sinocentric order after a certain period of time.

According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, a statement Deng Xiaoping made to himself in the early 1990s was perhaps the most striking statement showing how he defined China's approach to foreign policy and general strategy:[5]

"Observe calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs calmly; hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership."

This statement by Xiaoping is indeed a significant statement as it reflects the philosophical roots underlying China's rise. The first moment Beijing felt that the right time had come, acting within the framework of a hide and bide strategy, or in other words, a

low-profile policy (Tao Guang Yang Hui), was the global economic crisis in 2008.

The global financial crisis in 2008 deeply affected many European countries and the USA. China, which emerged partially with little damage, has started to claim more rights in the global system. Beijing perceived the crisis as a chance to boost its soft power by providing economic aid as well as joining the European market through direct firm purchases. Seeing this crisis as a victory of Socialism with Chinese characteristics against Western liberalism, Beijing took the first steps to follow a proactive policy. This approach of China was also welcomed by the leaders of the developing countries. The statement of Luis De Silva, President of Brazil at the time, is an important statement made in this direction:[6]

"This was a crisis that was fostered and boosted by the irrational behaviour of people that are white, blue-eyed, that before the crisis looked like they knew everything about economics. Now they have demonstrated that they don't know anything about economics."

Since that date, China has initiated attempts to force elements of the current global system. With the coming to power of Xi Jinping in 2012, the Sino-Western rivalry became clear, and China's actions were now regarded as part of a great power conflict. Attempts to abolish the dollar as the world's reserve currency, the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank as an alternative to the World Bank and, most importantly, the economic, diplomatic, and military power gains that began with the Belt-Road Project announced in 2013 have all deepened disorder between the US-China. The participation of nations in the Atlantic system such as England, France, and Germany in this Chinese initiative, despite US pressure, has also further widened the gap between the US and Europe. These developments also illustrate that the United States misread China's rise. For instance, the words "I've been very explicit in saying that we have more to fear from a weakened, threatened China than a successful, rising China:"[7] that Barack Obama said in an interview with Jeffrey Goldber can be described as strategic blindness. From the American perspective, Beijing is undoubtedly busy rejecting this claim.

Since 2013, a new step has been added to China's global leadership efforts. Many changes resulted from the geopolitical turmoil that began with Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The world, which has entered a period in which the legitimacy of the Unit-

ed Nations (UN) is questioned and an ideological war between the West and Asia is experienced, is also witnessing some attempts to encircle China in the region. In such a period, the concept of "Global Security Initiative", which was expressed by Xi at the Bao Forum, which was initiated as an alternative to the Davos Summit, draws attention as a substantial initiative for the future of the global system.

Although Xi does not give details about this initiative, it can be considered as a step taken to turn the current crisis situation into an opportunity. By presenting the current crisis as an Asian-West ideological conflict, China aims to attract the countries of the region to its side. It should be known that the acceleration dynamics of the Atlantic, which rose after the Second World War, are gradually weakening. Asia is increasingly coming to the fore in terms of the world's economic mobility, dynamic and young population demography, and underground and aboveground resources. Due to this feature, it is located at the center of great power competition.

Recent developments in the region have worried China and made it feel surrounded. It is understood that the most important step to be taken by China, which wants to break the siege, is to establish an organization that includes the countries of the region and represents the spirit of Asia, unlike the Atlantic-centered formation in the UN. Indeed, the themes of Xi's speech show Beijing's stance on the Asian-West split:[8]

"Having been through hot and cold wars, hardships and tribulations, people in Asia deeply cherish the value of peace and understand that development gains do not come easily. Over the past decades, Asia has enjoyed overall stability and sustained rapid growth, making possible the Asian Miracle. When Asia fares well, the whole world benefits. Therefore, we need to continue developing and strengthening Asia, demonstrate Asia's resilience, wisdom and strength and make Asia an anchor for world peace, a powerhouse for global growth and a new pacesetter for international cooperation."

In the subtext of Xi's speech, there is the prediction that Asia will become increasingly unstable and a containment step will be taken against China. On the other hand, China brought all of Asia to the fore and considered itself an anchor of peace.

When considering the most vital point of Xi's speech at the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia in 2014, it is necessary to remember the Chinese Presi-

dent's words: "Matters in Asia must ultimately be taken care of by Asians, Asia's problems must ultimately be resolved by Asians, and Asia's security must ultimately be protected by Asians." [9] Because the current situation shows that the thought system of Xi did not change during the period from 2014 to 2022 and he was locked towards a target. Although there have been 8 years in between, these statements, which are parallel to each other, reveal that this initiative was not put forward arbitrarily and that it had a theoretical background and intellectual depth.

Although it is unclear the route this movement will go, it is obvious that it is being proposed as a strong alternative to the Western world. The comments that will be made and the actions that will be performed in the following months will reveal the path of the "Global Security Initiative"

[1] Richard N. Haass, "The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance", Foreign Affairs, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/usa/2008-05-03/age-nonpolarity>, (Date of Accession: 27.04.2022).

[2] Graham Allison-Robert Blackwill, "Interview: Lee Kuan Yew on the Future of U.S.- China Relations", The Atlantic, <https://www.theatlantic.com/china/archive/2013/03/interview-lee-kuan-yew-on-the-future-of-us-china-relations/273657/>, (Date of Accession: 27.04.2022).

[3] Ibid.

[4] "Intelligence Memorandum: Ping Pong Diplomacy", CIA, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/search/site/Ping%20Pong%20Diplomacy>, (Date of Accession: 27.04.2022).

[5] Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Major Foreign Policy Challenges for the Next US President", International Affairs <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27694919>, (Date of Accession: 27.04.2022).

[6] James Chapman, "White, Blue-Eyed Bankers Have Brought World Economy to Its Knees: What the Brazilian President Told Gordon Brown" Daily Mail, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1165089/White-blue-eyed-bankers-brought-world-economy-knees-What-Brazilian-President-told-Gordon-Brown.html>, (Date of Accession: 27.04.2022).

[7] Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine", The Atlantic, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/04/the-obama-doctrine/471525/>, (Date of Accession: 27.04.2022).

[8] "Full text: Xi Jinping's Speech at 2022 Boao Forum for Asia", CGTN, <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2022-04-21/Full-text-Xi-Jinping-s-speech-at-2022-Boao-Forum-for-Asia-19ppial90Eo/index.html>, (Date of Accession: 27.04.2022).

[9] "China President Speaks Out on Security Ties in Asia", BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-27498266>, (Date of Accession: 27.04.2022).



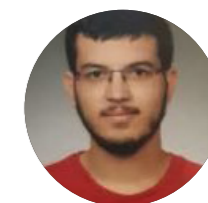
## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# French Presidential Election: Did the Far-right Really Lost?

The 2022 French presidential election, held on 10 and 24 April, resulted in the re-election of Emmanuel Macron, representing the Republic on the Move (En Marche). Macron has been the first person to be elected as the French president twice in the past two decades. Macron, a centrist, secured 58.5% of the total votes in the second round and defeated his rival, Marine Le Pen, representing the far-right National Rally (Rassemblement National). World leaders, including Russian President Vladimir Putin,

China's President Xi Jinping, the prime ministers of Belgium and Luxembourg, and European Council President Charles Michel, congratulated Macron for defeating the anti-establishment and anti-immigrant politician Le Pen. [1] Macron's victory was received positively especially by the European Union (EU) due to his commitment to the EU, unlike his opponent. [2]

While many leaders were relieved after the election since Le Pen did not win, it should be



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noted that she is now one step closer to the presidency. The Le Pen family, first the father and now the daughter, has been in presidential elections since 1974, and yet they had never been able to convince so many French of the idea that multiculturalism is dangerous for France. [3] Le Pen aims to ban the wearing of the headscarves in public as part of her counter-terrorism plan. She also prioritizes French citizens for getting jobs and housing.[4] Moreover, Le Pen benefited from another candidate, Eric Zemmour, a former pundit and political journalist. Zemmour has been repeatedly convicted of hate speech. He made racial arguments about the dangers of replacing white French people with non-European refugees and migrants during the election. Although Zemmour received only 7.1% of the total votes in the first part of the election, his racist statements caused Le Pen to be seen as a more central candidate than Zemmour. In addition, contrary to what happened in the previous elections, Le Pen drew attention not only to immigration but also to health and housing issues in France in this election. This situation increased the perception that she was closer to the center than before. Le Pen and Zemmour, two far-right politicians, received 32% of the total votes in the first round.[5]

Another possible reason for the increase in Le Pen's vote rate is the increase in immigrants coming to France. This increase has been continuing regularly since the early 2000s. Accordingly, the proportion of people born outside of France and living in France corresponds to 10% of the population. Therefore, although the issue of immigration was not used by Le Pen in this election as much as in the previous elections, it still had an essential place.[6]

Another factor affecting the election was the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It is known that Le Pen is on good terms with Putin and supports many of Putin's policies. Aware of these ties, Macron accused Le Pen of taking advantage of Russia economically, as Le Pen's party reportedly requested loans from various Russian banks. Moreover, Russia's opposition leader Alexei Navalny, who was poisoned last year and in prison since returning to Russia, also criticized Le Pen for being linked to Moscow and urged French voters to vote for Macron. While Le Pen criticized the Russian invasion of Ukraine, she also criticized some of the sanctions imposed on Moscow since these sanctions could also hurt French businesspeople.[7] In short, although Le Pen's bond with Putin was known, this bond became more questionable after Russia invaded Ukraine.

In conclusion, although Le Pen lost the election, almost half of the French people supported her policies by voting for her. Thus,

Le Pen and her extremist policies are closer to power than ever before. Considering that Macron may adopt some extremist policies to attract Le Pen voters to stay in power, it would not be correct to say that the far-right lost in France. Instead, it would be more accurate to say that the far-right is not currently in power in France, but its impact on politics is gradually increasing. In short, the far-right could become mainstream policy in France, which could endanger democracy. Considering that the far-right leaders in Europe are working with each other, it is not only France but also European democracy that is at stake. The 2022 French election shows us that European democracy is in more danger than it has been for many years.

[1] "French Election: World Leaders Congratulate Macron on Victory", Al Jazeera, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/24/french-election-2022-europe-reacts-as-macron-beats-le-pen>, (Date of Accession: 04.05.2022); John Leicester, "Election Loss Still a Victory for Far-right in France: Analysis", CTV News, <https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/election-loss-still-a-victory-for-far-right-in-france-analysis-1.5874612>, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2022).

[2] "Relieved European Leaders Congratulate Macron After His Reelection", Le Monde, [https://www.lemonde.fr/en/2022-presidential-election/article/2022/04/24/european-leaders-swiftly-congratulate-emmanuel-macron-after-french-presidential-election-victory\\_5981533\\_16.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/en/2022-presidential-election/article/2022/04/24/european-leaders-swiftly-congratulate-emmanuel-macron-after-french-presidential-election-victory_5981533_16.html), (Date of Accession: 04.05.2022).

[3] Leicester, op. cit.

[4] "Le Pen Vows Headscarf Fines in Tight French Election Battle", France 24, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220407-le-pen-vows-headscarf-fines-in-tight-french-election-battle>, (Date of Accession: 05.05.2022).

[5] Leicester, op. cit.

[6] David Brown, "French Election: A Really Simple Guide", BBC, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60799845>, (Date of Accession: 06.05.2022).

[7] Silvia Amaro, "Russia Ties Haunt Far-right Candidate Le Pen as France Gears Up for Election Day", CNBC, <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/04/22/france-elections-russia-ties-haunt-far-right-candidate-le-pen.html>, (Date of Accession: 07.05.2022); Kim Willsher, "French Far-right Leader Marine Le Pen Forced to Defend Putin Links", The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/02/french-far-right-leader-marine-le-pen-forced-to-defend-putin-links>, (Date of Accession: 07.05.2022).

# ANKASAM IN PRESS

## 16 May 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran evaluated the application of Sweden and Finland to NATO membership in A Haber.

## 16 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran made comments to Media Türk regarding the visit of the President of Kazakhstan Kasım Cömert Tokayev to Turkey.

## 16 May 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the application of Sweden and Finland to NATO membership in A Haber.

## 16 May 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran evaluated the application of Sweden and Finland to NATO membership on TVNET.

## 16 May 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran evaluated the application of Sweden and Finland to NATO membership in the National Channel Main News.

## 16 May 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the current developments in foreign policy on TVNET.

## 17 May 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the application of Sweden and Finland to NATO membership on TVNET.

## 17 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran made evaluations to the National Channel regarding the NATO membership of Finland and

## 17 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran made evaluations to A Haber on the NATO membership of Finland and Sweden.



# ANKASAM IN PRESS

## 17 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğacan Başaran's assessments on the NATO membership of Finland and Sweden to the National Channel were published on the North Macedonia-based news portal Seagirt.

## 17 May 2022

President of the International Turkic Academy Prof. Dr. Darhan Kırdalı's article "New Kazakhstan: President Tokayev and His Foreign Policy", written for ANKASAM, was published in Jas Qazaq Newspaper.

## 17 May 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the NATO membership of Sweden and Finland in the National Channel Gün Ortası program.

## 18 May 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the latest developments in foreign policy in the Bengütürk TV Düşünce Haritası program.

## 18 May 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the visit of Sweden and Finland to Turkey on TRT Arabic.

## 19 May 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's speech on "Kazakhstan President Tokayev's New Kazakhstan Model in Changing Global Geopolitics" at the roundtable meeting titled "Kazakhstan in the Renewal Process: Renewal and Modernization Path" organized by the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Ankara was broadcast on TRT Avaz.

## 19 May 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's speech on "Kazakhstan President Tokayev's New Kazakhstan Model in Changing Global Geopolitics" at the roundtable meeting titled "Kazakhstan in the Renewal Process: Renewal and Modernization Path" organized by the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Ankara was published in Star.

## 19 May 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's speech on "Kazakhstan President Tokayev's New Kazakhstan Model in Changing Global Geopolitics" at the roundtable meeting titled "Kazakhstan in the Renewal Process: Renewal and Modernization Path" organized by the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Ankara was published in Yeni Akit.

## 19 May 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's speech on "Kazakhstan President Tokayev's New Kazakhstan Model in Changing Global Geopolitics" at the roundtable meeting titled "Kazakhstan in the Process of Renewal: Renewal and Modernization Path" organized by the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Ankara was published in Diplomatic Observation.

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ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's speech on "Kazakhstan President Tokayev's New Kazakhstan Model in Changing Global Geopolitics" at the roundtable meeting titled "Kazakhstan in the Process of Renewal: Renewal and Modernization Path" organized by the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Ankara, Haber!, Hbrma.com, Sahipkiran, Haberimizde.com, Ulusalgundem.com, Kartaldanhaberler.com.

## 19 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's speech on "Kazakhstan President Tokayev's New Kazakhstan Model in Changing Global Geopolitics" at the roundtable meeting titled "Kazakhstan in the Renewal Process: Renewal and Modernization Path" organized by the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Ankara, Kazakhstan-based Tolqyn.kz, El. kz and published on Kazgazeta.kz.

## 19 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol made evaluations to Kazak24 regarding Turkey-Kazakhstan relations.

## 19 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol was a guest in the program "Gün Ortası" hosted by Yeşim Eryılmaz on the National Channel.

## 19 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the Russia-Ukraine War were shared with The Epoch Times in Oil Price.

## 19 May 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğacan Başaran evaluated the NATO membership of Sweden and Finland in the National Channel Gün Ortası program.

## 20 May 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the speech of Kyriakos Miçotakis at the American Congress on TVNET.

# ANKASAM IN PRESS

## 20 May 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğacan Başaran made evaluations to the Azerbaijan-based Eurasia Diary regarding the normalization process between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

## 21 May 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the current developments in foreign policy in Al Jazeera Arabic.

## 22 May 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the current developments in foreign policy at TRT World.



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

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

# JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES

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