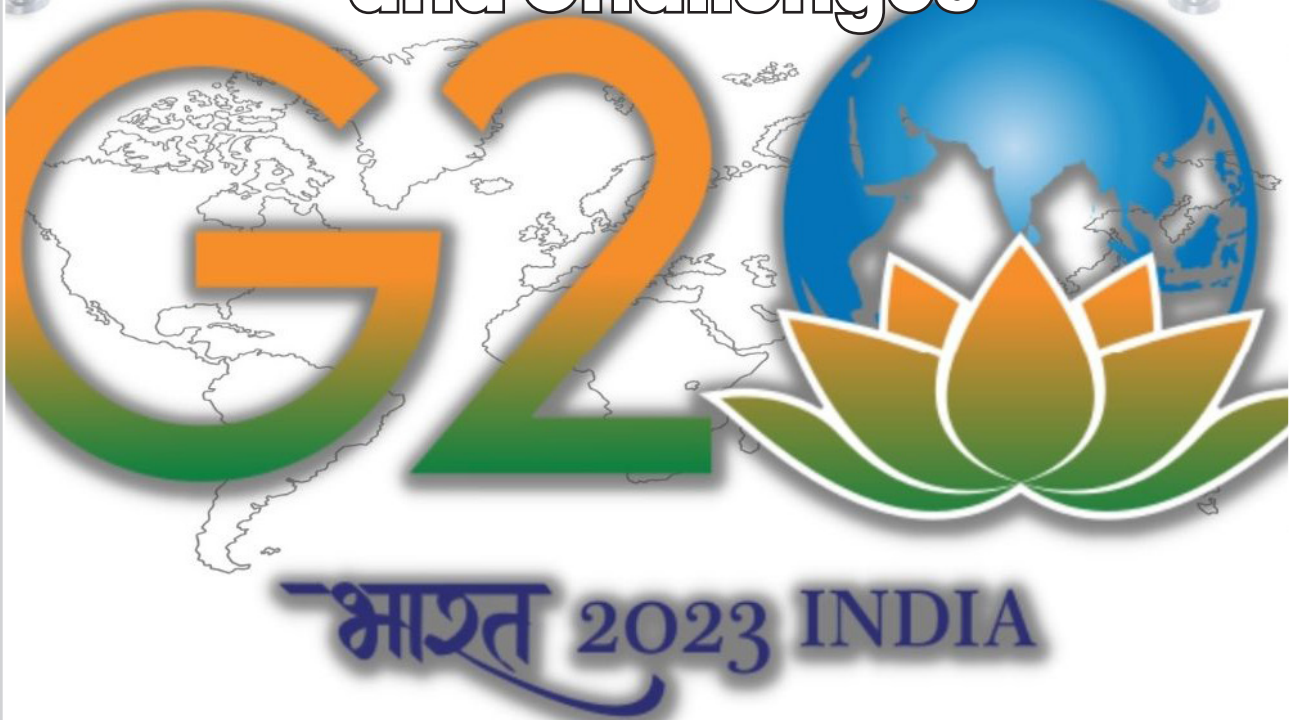




# ANKASAM bulletin

6 August 2023  
ISSUE: 2023/31

## Approaching G-20 Summit in India and Renewable Energy: Global Energy Transition, Renewable Energy Trends and Challenges



06

Solomon Islands in the  
Context of China-US  
Rivalry

08

Deep Cooperation on  
the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan  
Line

# CONTENTS

## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

- 03 Approaching G-20 Summit in India and Renewable Energy: Global Energy Transition, Renewable Energy Trends and Challenges**  
Doç. Dr. Ali Oğuz DİRİÖZ
- 06 Solomon Islands in the Context of China-US Rivalry**  
Zeki Talustan GÜLTEN
- 08 Deep Cooperation on the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Line**  
Şeyma KIZILAY
- 11 The Goal of the German Right: Return to Old Europe**  
Dr. Doğacan BAŞARAN
- 14 The Future of Tensions Between the West and North Korea**  
Zeki Talustan GÜLTEN
- 16 Russia on the Brink of a New Demographic Collapse**  
Aidana BAKTYBEK KYZY
- 18 Taliban's ISIS Policy**  
Ahmad Khan DAWLATYAR
- 21 "The 'Nuclear Threat' in the Asia-Pacific within the Context of South Korea-US Cooperation"**  
Zeki Talustan GÜLTEN
- 24 Algerian President's Visit to Beijing**  
Dr. Doğacan BAŞARAN
- 26 What is NATO's Plan to Counter China?**  
Dr. Cenk TAMER

## JOURNALS

- 29 Journal of International Crisis and Political Studies**

Journal of Regional Studies

Cankaya District, Cemal Nadir Street, No: 9, 06880.  
Cankaya - Ankara/Türkiye  
Tel: +90 312 474 00 46 | Fax: +90 312 474 00 45  
Email: info@ankasam.org

Design-String: Esra Karadağ

All rights to this publication belong to the Ankara Center for Crisis and Political Studies (ANKASAM). Except for reasonable quotes under the Intellectual and Artistic Works Act 5846, all or part of the publication cannot be printed, broadcast, reproduced or distributed by electronic or mechanical means (copy, record and information storage, etc.) without the permission of ANKASAM. The opinions and assessments in this work belong to the author, and do not reflect the official opinion of ANKASAM institutionally.



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

### Approaching G-20 Summit in India and Renewable Energy: Global Energy Transition, Renewable Energy Trends and Challenges

The ministerial meetings of the Group of 20 (G20) have already started and the approaching G20 Summit in India in September 2023 will be an important forum of world leaders. Several important issues will be addressed ranging from the environment, new crypto currencies regulation regime envisaged by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), artificial intelligence (AI) as well as geopolitics and geo-economics.

Host nation India has put forward a slogan of 'one earth, one family and one future', which clearly draws attention to global warming and environmental problems. This article will assess the global progress regarding renewable energies in light of the approaching G-20 Summit. Global Energy Transition and Renewable Energy trends and challenges will also be addressed, with some examples from the host nation India.



Doç. Dr. Ali Oğuz DİRİÖZ

The War in Ukraine and Russia, including the non-renewal of the grain corridor agreement so far (as of July 2023 the agreement was not extended for a 3rd time and uncertainties remain) has created significant uncertainties in global food security related issues. This will also be the first meeting since the host nation, India, became the most populous country in the world, ahead of China as of 2023. Therefore, this article particularly scrutinizes the upcoming G20 Summit with examples from India, in light of global challenges.

The Leaders (heads of state and heads of government) meeting in the 18th Summit of the Group of 20 (G 20), will be in New Delhi, India 9-10 September 2023. The G20 consists of the 5 Permanent member states of the United Nations Security Council (United States, Russia, China, France and the United Kingdom), 14 other leading global economies including Brazil, Germany, India, South Africa and Türkiye, and the European Union as a regional organization (G20, 2023). Typically some nations such as Spain are permanent invited guests. This tradition of summit meetings and Congress Diplomacy is dating back to the days of the Westphalia Peace in the 17th Century and the Congress of Vienna as well as the Concert of Europe in the 19th Century. Although concrete results are not always immediately observable in such multilateral platforms, they are still valuable settings for multilateral diplomacy and sustaining dialogue among major nations with sizable economies, considered as great powers and regional powers. Often such summits serve mainly as a consultative mechanism, in which challenges are discussed, and yet limited concrete commitments are made. Climate Change comes to mind as a major common global challenge to be addressed by all of G20, regardless of their various and differing political positions on many issues.

One of the main issue regarding climate 'Justice' and 'Equitable' sustainable development is the issue that many of the developed nations had for many years polluted and colonized the Global South in order to reach a certain level of industrialization and development. However, now the regions that were colonized and have many underdeveloped regions were expected to adopt policies that require considerable investment or renewable energy sources. Albeit technology is rapidly developing, output of energy from conventional coal powered plants are still cheaper and more readily available, but the consequences are considerable amounts of emissions. Air pollution is a considerable issue both in China's and India's capitals. Which is why the issue of equitable and affordable access to clean and renewable energy is one of the main topics that have been highlighted as understood by the One Earth, One Family, One Future motto by the 2023 G20 host nation India.

India has traditionally been an important actor vocal in anti-imperialist and post-colonial movements. In the Global South, India has a policy of balancing different actors. For instance, India is involved in the Quad groups of states along with the United States (India's Prime Minister Modi made an official visit to the United States and addressed the United States Congress in June 2023) on the one hand, and on the other hand has broad relations with non-OECD states such as Russia and China through the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) groupings. India is also part of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), albeit continuing to have differences of opinion with many of its member states. Nonetheless, advancing peaceful cooperation without being stuck on differences is essential to promote regional and global stability. However, the climate crisis nowadays requires more regional and global cooperation as the pollution of a single country can create significant global problems.

India, has a comparatively peaceful reputation in light of global politics, including membership to many global sustainability and renewable energy initiatives. India is a member of the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), as well as the founder of the International Solar Alliance (IRENA, 2023; Solar Alliance, 2023). The Solar Alliance, in particular, has been a major initiative by the current Modi government in India. India has also been a major investor in the Wind Power industry with increased investments. The 'cleanest' and one of the environmentally most friendly villages in Asia is the village of Mawlynnong, also located in India. Located in the North-eastern part of India, Mawlynnong does not allow plastic and typically has no plastic waste (if any, they are taken to a recycling center)

and inhabitants take daily cleanliness tasks and every Saturday are assembled to have their weekly tasks distributed by the village chief (WEF, 2023). Yet this is one tiny village of about 500 inhabitants in the most populous country in the World, hence the model has not been extended to a national level so far. By contrast, however, high population growth means that India is also responsible (from a neo-Malthusianism perspective) for causing more stress on many of the world's limited natural resources because of high growth rates. In 2021 at COP-26 (United Nations Climate Conference), India proclaimed a net zero Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emission target by 2070. Achieving this objective is not easy and would annually require significant investments to renewables; including Solar and Wind (Gupta, 2023). Furthermore, at this rate of global warming and climate related crises, targets of having zero emissions by 2070 may be too distant of a future while climate action is immediately required within this decade.

Shared global goals require enhanced cooperation for creating more sustainable opportunities in the future. In this context, it is worth remembering, for instance, that the new World Bank President, AJ Banga is a US citizen of Indian origin (born and raised in India and later became a naturalized citizen of the United States). Notable world leaders of Indian origin, who will likely be in the G20 include British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak (and possibly US Vice President Kamala Harris, if President Biden cannot attend). India's fast-growing population will be presenting challenges as well as numerous opportunities for our planet.

In this context, the importance of developing reasonable, balanced policies and principles that spread stability is also important for the rapidly developing inter-organizational cooperation such as more joint meetings between the G20 and other organizations such as the OTS. Türkiye, as a G20 member and still a candidate state for membership to the European Union (EU) needs to further abide by the norms and values of furthering Green transition and policies compatible to the EU's Green Deal. Such values and principles should also be encouraged and adopted by the host nation India, the biggest democracy in the world and now the most populous country in the world. Therefore, in the G20 summit, it is important that Türkiye and the other G20 countries continue to espouse principles of green economy and sustainability. It is unfortunate that as this article was being prepared, the Energy Ministers of the G20 had failed to reach an agreement on reducing global emissions and on how to proceed with energy transition. G20 energy ministers, specifically due to objections by major petroleum exporters Russia and Saudi Arabia, disagreed on the language relating to phasing down fossil fuels (Nandi and de Souza, 2023). However, a consolation of the July 2023 Goa Energy Ministers meeting can be that significant dialogue occurred prior to the upcoming COP-28 United Nations Climate Change Conference from November – December 2023 in Dubai, UAE.





## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Solomon Islands in the Context of China-US Rivalry

The containment strategy of the United States of America (USA) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against China is pushing these actors to build alliances and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific. Indeed, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam are the most prominent states in the alliance relations established regionally for this purpose. In such a conjuncture, it can be argued that China is regionally isolated and aims to build its own pole. Although China has a partnership relationship with countries such as North Korea and Russia in foreign policy-making processes based on anti-Western sentiments, it

can be said that Beijing aims to prefer actors with whom it will not have legitimacy problems for more concrete cooperation.

In this context, it can be expressed that the states in the region that have not been fully involved in Western-based alliances and that adopt a more balanced stance between Washington and Beijing and prioritize their own national interests in foreign policy making stand out.

At this point, the rapprochement between the Solomon Islands and China should not be overlooked. On July 10, 2023, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Solomon Islands Prime Minister Manasseh Soga-



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

vare made a comprehensive strategic partnership announcement, which is worth noting.[1] On July 9, 2023, Sogavare visited Beijing, the capital of China, and met with Chinese Premier Li Qiang. During the meeting, Sogavare made the following statements:[2]

“We are here to enhance and advance our relations. Solomon Islands has a lot to learn from China’s development experience.”

Li made the following statement:[3]

“Both governments have agreed to build a comprehensive strategic partnership based on mutual respect and common development. The relationship between China and Solomon Islands is moving forward at a very fast pace. It can be said to be extremely fruitful.”

In addition to all these words, Solomon Islands opened an embassy in Beijing on July 11, 2023, following the mentioned meeting. In fact, this embassy was opened four years after the two countries officially started diplomatic contacts. Sogavare described this as a “major milestone” that is expected to further enhance relations between the governments and peoples of the two countries.

Furthermore, Sogavare emphasized that in the future, through the embassy, bilateral relations between Honiara and Beijing, people-to-people ties and common values between the parties will be strengthened, and said that China, as a great country, is a reliable friend of Solomon Islands. In this framework, Sogavare said that it is important for other Pacific Island countries like Solomon Islands to enhance cooperation with China and that it would be “foolish” to miss the development opportunities offered by China. [4]

Considering that the Solomon Islands joined the Belt and Road Initiative[5] just six months after establishing diplomatic relations with China on September 21, 2019, it can be inferred that Honiara is a significant ally for Beijing.

As mentioned above, it is well known that in the context of the US-China competition, the West attaches significant importance to alliances in the Asia-Pacific region. Therefore, it can be argued that these developments have also directed Beijing towards regional collaborations. Hence, China is said to seek partners with whom it would not face legitimacy issues on a global scale. Solomon Islands, being one of these actors, is considered as such. The mentioned agreement signifies that the strong ties between Beijing and Honiara will continue in the future, and China aims to

respond to the containment policies pursued by the US through regional alliances.

As a result, the struggle between Washington and Beijing continues through cooperation and alliances. This is quite important. It can be predicted that these strategies will increase tensions first in regional competition and then in global competition.

[1] “China, Solomon Islands Ink Comprehensive Strategic Partnership to Upgrade Ties”, China Global Television Network, <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2023-07-10/Xi-meets-with-Solomon-Islands-PM-Manasseh-Sogavare-1lkndnfqIA/index.html>, (Date of Accession: 12.07.2023).

[2] “Xi Meets Sogavare, Urging Enhanced China-Solomon Islands Cooperation”, Xinhua, <https://english.news.cn/20230711/58f81aeac3204031aa927a687c467668/c.html>, (Date of Accession: 12.07.2023).

[3] “Solomon Islands Signs Controversial Policing Deal with China, Upgrades Ties with Beijing”, WION, <https://www.wionews.com/world/solomon-islands-signs-controversial-policing-deal-with-china-upgrades-ties-with-beijing-614126>, (Date of Accession: 12.07.2023).

[4] “Solomon Islands Officially Opens Embassy in Beijing, ‘A Big Milestone’ to Further Enhance Relations Between Countries and People”, Global Times, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202307/1294157.shtml> (Date of Accession: 12.07.2023).

[5] “Solomon Islands Joins China’s Belt and Road Initiative, as Leaders Meet in Beijing”, Australia Broadcasting Corporation, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-10-10/solomon-islands-joins-chinas-belt-and-road-as-leaders-meet/11590068>, (Date of Accession: 12.07.2023).





## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Deep Cooperation on the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Line

There are important developments in regional integration in the geography of Central Asia. The constructive attitudes of the countries of the region in their relations with each other also draw attention in the international arena. A process of developing solution-oriented approaches to border problems, strengthening partnerships and increasing cooperation agreements is occurring. In this context, it can

be said that the ties and peaceful stance developed by Uzbekistan with the states of the region come to the fore.

As a matter of fact, the President of Uzbekistan Mr. Shavkat Mirziyoyev paid a visit to Kyrgyzstan on 26-27 January 2023.[1] The visit is the latest development in Central Asia in terms of regional integration and strengthening of relations. As a result of



**Şeyma KIZILAY**

the negotiations, the issue of determining the border between Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan was formalized. On the issue of finalizing the border problems, the President of Kyrgyzstan Mr. Sadr Japarov made the following statements:[2]

“This is truly a historic event. We demonstrated readiness for a dialogue and search of mutually acceptable solutions for border issues.”

Solving this problem, which has been between the parties for many years and affects regional security and stability; it has had a positive impact on regional balances as well as bilateral relations. The relations that peaked in the last visit also mark a new stage in the dynamics of regional cooperation.

In addition to the development of Tashkent-Bishkek relations, the visit itself is important in itself. However, between 2000 and 2017, there was no leader-level visit between the parties. Therefore, with his visit in September 2017, Mr. Mirziyoyev became the first President of Uzbekistan to visit Kyrgyzstan after 17 years.[3] For this reason, it can be said that a new page has been opened between the two countries on the occasion of the said visit. After this landmark step, mutual visits were made for different reasons. The 4th edition held in June 2022. The Central Asian Leaders' Meeting is one of them. On the occasion of the meeting that brought together the leaders of the region, Mr. Mirziyoyev also went to Cholpan-Ata.[4]

In this sense, it is possible to say that the meetings held at the regional level created a positive atmosphere in the Uzbek-Kyrgyz rapprochement. In addition, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the Organization of Turkic States have increased the interaction between the parties. For example, at the 22nd SCO Leaders' Summit held in Uzbekistan in September 2022, China, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan signed a trilateral cooperation agreement for the Railway Line Project. Another factor affecting the ties between Bishkek and Tashkent is the closeness and solidarity shown during the epidemic period. In 2020, Uzbekistan sent humanitarian aid consisting of medical equipment and medicines to Kyrgyzstan, which accelerated the development of bilateral relations.[5]

On the other hand, the development of the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan Railway Line is also very important in terms of regional connectivity and cooperation dynamics. One of the most important elements effective in the revival of the project; increased diplomatic relations on the Tashkent-Bishkek line. In addition, the determination to complete the project is also effective in the crises and supply problems due to the Russian-Ukrainian War.[6] These issues, which cause the project to gain urgency, enable the parties to come together more. In the following processes, steps can be taken to develop common mechanisms. As a matter of fact, the Head of the Foreign Policy Department of Kyrgyzstan Muratbek Azimbakiev mentioned that bilateral negotiations will be held in different formats to discuss the plans.[7] Which indicates that the strategic partnership relationship on the Tashkent-Bishkek line will deepen.

During the meetings during the visit, it was also confirmed that they will continue to work together in the implementation of the projects for the construction of the Kambarata HEPP-1 Project. Kambarata HEPP-1 is an initiative to co-construct the Kambarata Hydroelectric Power Plant in Kyrgyzstan. The project will provide electricity to Central Asia and take an important step in meeting the water needs of the region. There is also a road map signed by the parties in this regard.[8] During Mr. Mirziyoyev's visit, an investment agreement was signed for the implementation of the project. Also, the parties agreed on the construction of small hydroelectric power plants in Kyrgyzstan, including the Chatkal River.[9]

The Uzbek-Kyrgyz Partnership, which opens the door to positive developments in many areas such as diplomacy, politics, economy and security, can bring about new processes. The progress of the countries of the region towards the creation of a new model of regional economic cooperation can be seen as one of these developments. Because, in addition to economic cooperation and trade, there is now talk of economic integration moves. With the Kambarata HEPP-1 Project, the hydroelectric potential of the region will be used jointly. This means the creation of a common energy market. However, their cooperation does not stop there. Because the steps taken have the potential to increase the visibility and competitiveness of the Central Asian economy in the world market.[10] Therefore, the project does not only mean a small cooperation between countries and has much more strategic effects.



The fact that the Central Asian geography has become more prominent in recent years is crowned with the developments among the countries of the region. The resolution of border problems between Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, the development of joint projects and the enhancement of cooperation mechanisms create regional and global impacts. At this point, the situation carries the region to a different stager. At the same time, it is witnessed that Central Asia has gained a new identity. Rapidly developing regional integration makes this geography an important model in the international arena.[1] There are also efforts to take important steps in security. This serves the purpose of increasing the stability of the region.

In this sense, a new stage is being passed in regional integration, a new model is emerging in economic cooperation, security problems are being solved, joint projects are being developed and political dialogue is deepening on the occasion of the periods that can be described as the "golden age" in Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan relations.

[1] "President Mirziyoyev Starts His State Visit to Kyrgyzstan", Aki Press, [https://akipress.com/news:692769:President\\_Mirziyoyev\\_starts\\_his\\_state\\_visit\\_to\\_Kyrgyzstan/](https://akipress.com/news:692769:President_Mirziyoyev_starts_his_state_visit_to_Kyrgyzstan/), (Date of Accession: 01.02.2023).

[2] "Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan Finalize Border Delimitation", Anadolu Agency, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/kyrgyzstan-uzbekistan-finalize-border-delimitation/2799015>, (Date of Accession: 01.02.2023).

[3] "Pannier: Uzbeks, Kyrgyz Cooperating to Level Unthinkable 10 Years Ago", Intellinews, <https://www.intellinews.com/pannier-uzbeks-kyrgyz-cooperating-to-level-unthinkable-10-years-ago-268449/>, (Date of Accession: 01.02.2023).

[4] "Fourth Consultative Summit of the Leaders of Central Asian States in Kyrgyzstan Laid Out a Joint Vision and Multiple Initiatives on Better Regional Aligning Against External Shocks", News Central Asia, <https://www.newscentralasia.net/2022/07/22/fourth-consultative-summit-of-the-leaders-of-central-asian-states-in-kyrgyzstan-laid-out-a-joint-vision-and-multiple-initiatives-on-better-regional-aligning-against-external-shocks/>, (Date of Accession: 01.02.2023).

[5] "Uzbekistan to Help Kyrgyzstan Build Two Hospitals Specialized in Treating Patients with Infectious Diseases", Kun.uz, <https://kun.uz/en/news/2020/11/18/uzbekistan-to-help-kyrgyzstan-build-two-hospitals-specialized-in-treating-patients-with-infectious-diseases>, (Date of Accession: 02.02.2023).

[6] "China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan Railway Back to Life", Asia Times, <https://asiatimes.com/2023/01/china-kyrgyzstan-uzbekistan-railway-back-to-life/>, (Date of Accession: 02.02.2023).

[7] "Mirziyoyev Lands in Kyrgyzstan for Long Delayed State Visit", The Diplomat, <https://thediplomat.com/2023/01/mirziyoyev-lands-in-kyrgyzstan-for-long-delayed-state-visit/>, (Date of Accession: 02.02.2023).

[8] "Kazakistan, Kirgizistan ve Özbekistan Birlikte Hidroelektrik Santrali İnşa Edecek", Anadolu Ajansı, <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ekonomi/kazakistan-kirgizistan-ve-ozbekistan-birlikte-hidroelektrik-santrali-insa-edecek/2781497>, (Date of Accession: 02.02.2023).

[9] "Uzbek-Kyrgyz Summit, Indicator of New Trends in Central Asia", The Korea Herald, <https://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20230201000837&np=1&mp=1>, (Date of Accession: 02.02.2023).

[10] The site mentioned.

[11] The site mentioned.



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# The Goal of the German Right: Return to Old Europe

One of the most frequently discussed topics in international politics in recent years is the impact of populist nationalist discourses on societies and the rise of the far right in this context. In this context, Germany is one of the countries where the far right is on the rise. As a matter of fact, it is seen that the votes of the far-right party Alternative for Germany (AfD), which re-

ceived 10.3% in the elections held in 2021 in the country in question, reached 18% in the polls published in June 2023.[1] This leads to discussions that the AfD could come to power after the elections in 2025.

Although German Chancellor Olaf Scholz has stated that the rise in the AfD's votes is cyclical



**Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN**  
ANKASAM  
AF-PAK Expert

and that he is confident that public support for the party will erode until the elections to be held in 2025 [2], it is necessary to state that there is a suitable social ground for the rise of the far right in Germany.

In the recent past, Germany witnessed the liquidation of the junta group calling themselves the "Imperial Citizens (Reichsbürger)" who planned to declare Prince Heinrich III, a real estate developer in Frankfurt, as emperor. The characteristic of the group in question is that it has internalized values that can be defined as far right. Moreover, radical organizations such as PEGIDA continue to exist in Germany. Considering the country's Nazi past, it is not surprising that neo-Nazi organizations such as the AfD have reached a certain level of social support.

Undoubtedly, as in other European countries, there are various factors that triggered the rise of the far right in Germany. Foremost among these is Islamophobia, which dates back to the 1973 Oil Crisis and reached its peak with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. It is also known that Islamophobia triggered anti-immigrant sentiment after the Arab Spring, especially after the Syrian Civil War. At this point, it is seen that various segments of society who think that immigrants are the cause of the economic problems and sociological changes they experience in their countries are driven to xenophobia.

It can be stated that the Russian-Ukrainian War that started on February 24, 2022 played a critical role in the recent rise of the far right in Germany. After the war, Continental Europe stood in solidarity with the United States of America (USA) and imposed heavy sanctions on Russia. In response to Moscow's use of energy as a trump card in this process, the European Union (EU) countries, on the one hand, sought alternative suppliers in order to reduce dependence on Russian natural gas, and on the other hand, implemented the price ceiling in oil against Russia.

This has led Europe to face an energy crisis. This has led to an increase in energy prices and the disruption of sectors with significant energy needs, such as industry. The cost of living for ordinary citizens has also increased. Of course, it is possible to say that Germany, the industrial giant of Europe and the economic driving force of the EU, has also been negatively affected by this process. As a matter of fact, far-right groups believe that the responsibility for their impoverishment stems from the collective attitude of continental Europe, which focuses on the interests of the US, and argue that their countries should pursue policies that focus on their own national interests. Therefore, the rise of the far-right means a "Divided West" and a widening of the cracks in trans-Atlantic relations.

As expected, the nationalist approach, which advocates that countries should put their national interests at the center, together with the far-right rhetoric of right-populist leaders, implies the rise of a sharp nation-state approach. This implies a perspective that actors should put their national interests above the interests of the EU.

In such an atmosphere, the fact that AfD leader Tino Chrupella's views advocating the controlled dismantling of the EU came to the agenda is an important event that cannot be characterized as a coincidence in any way. It is already known that the AfD's election manifesto, which is expected to be approved at the party congress on July 29, 2023, will include a promise such as "the controlled dismantling of the tyrannical EU". "We demand a reset for Europe in order to be able to use the potential of nation-states and rebuild the bridge to the east," Chrupella told Euractiv.[3]

The AfD leader's remarks are significant in that they demonstrate that the rise of the far right is the most serious challenge to European integration. Because the fact that the far right is already in power in Italy, forms part of the coalition in Sweden, is likely to come to power in Spain, and is reaching wider and wider social segments in France, taken together with the increasing votes of the AfD in Germany, it

can be argued that the future of the EU project is at stake. This can be interpreted as a harbinger of a Europe composed of fragmented states with conflicting interests. In other words, the process is leading not only to a "Divided West" but also to a "Fragmented Europe". This can also be called the "Return of Old Europe". Indeed, Chrupella's words and the statements that the AfD is preparing to include in its election manifesto at its congress indicate that this is the ultimate goal of the German right.

[1] "German far Right Surges in Polls, Alarming Mainstream Parties", Euronews, <https://www.euronews.com/2023/06/02/german-far-right-surges-in-polls-alarming-mainstream-parties>, (Date of Accession: 17.07.2023).

[2] "German Leader Confident That a Surging Far-Right Party Will Shrink Again Before the Next Election", ABC News, <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/german-leader-confident-surging-party-shrink-election-101268949>, (Date of Accession: 17.07.2023).

[3] "German Far-Right Works for EU's 'Controlled Dissolution'", Euractiv, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/german-far-right-works-for-eus-controlled-dissolution/>, (Date of Accession: 17.07.2023).





## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# The Future of Tensions Between the West and North Korea

North Korea is a significant nuclear power.[1] The country's autocratic structure and its increasing Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) and nuclear tests[2] are aimed at challenging the rules-based international order based on the United States (US) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) framework of "liberal democracy."

As part of its Juche policy, North Korea is intensifying its nuclear power and intercontinental

ballistic missile tests, with the objective of achieving economic, political, and military self-reliance. Pyongyang seeks to avoid any form of foreign assistance or dependence on others.

As expected, a crucial aspect of this policy and objectives is its nuclear power. Therefore, the Pyongyang government is making significant advancements in its nuclear capabilities. Nuclear power represents a critical stage of military independence.



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

Consequently, these developments have led to efforts within the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to impose sanctions on North Korea. However, these sanction measures face vetoes from China and Russia.[3]

In this context, it can be argued that the competition and tension between the US, NATO, and North Korea are escalating day by day. According to the North Korean state media, the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), Kim Yo Jong, the sister of North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, warned the US not to make a "foolish move" that would risk its security on July 17, 2023. Kim made this statement in response to White House National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan expressing concerns about Pyongyang conducting a new ICBM test. She criticized the visit of US nuclear-armed ballistic missiles to South Korea and stated that efforts to increase "extended deterrence" would only push Pyongyang further away from the negotiation table.[4]

The noteworthy aspect of this statement is that even measures like stopping military exercises or regional disarmament, as mentioned by Washington, would not deter North Korea. Therefore, despite Western efforts, there seems to be no sign of calming tensions or reducing hostilities through Pyongyang in the region. Given this situation, it can be suggested that North Korea is unlikely to abandon its current policies. The recent developments also seem to support this reading, indicating that Pyongyang will continue to increase both its nuclear capabilities and missile tests.

Furthermore, on July 20, 2023, according to KCNA, North Korean Defense Minister Kang Sun Nam stated that the deployment of US aircraft carriers, bombers, or missile submarines in South Korea could meet Pyongyang's criteria for using nuclear weapons and could potentially lead to the use of such weapons.[5] Kang mentioned in his statement:[6]

"The deployment of nuclear submarines and other strategic weapons may fall under the conditions for using nuclear weapons according to the North Korean Constitution."

As a result, it could be argued that South Korea, which is among the states closely feeling the nuclear threat from both the US and North Korea, may be creating a provocative effect on Pyongyang rather than acting as a deterrent with its actions. However, it is evident that escalating nuclear tensions in the region would not be in the interest of these states. Consequently, it can be predicted that relations between the West and North Korea will continue to be tense, and a short-term resolution at both regional and global levels is unlikely to be reached.

[1] "Is It Time to Accept North Korea is A Nuclear Power?", CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/10/28/asia/north-korea-nuclear-threat-solution-analysis-intl-hnk/index.html>, (Date of Accession: 21.07.2023).

[2] "North Korea Resumes Launching Missile Tests. How Worried Should We Be?", Time, <https://time.com/6266737/north-korea-ballistic-missile-tests-2023/>, (Date of Accession: 21.07.2023).

[3] "China and Russia Veto New UN Sanctions on North Korea for First Time Since 2006", CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/05/26/asia/us-north-korea-united-nations-intl-hnk/index.html#:~:text=Russia%20and%20China%20on%20Thursday,develop%20nuclear%20capable%20missile%20systems>, (Date of Accession: 21.07.2023).

[4] "North Korea's Kim Yo Jong Warns US Against 'Foolish Act' That Risks Security", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/north-koreas-kim-yo-jong-says-us-should-stop-foolish-act-that-risks-security-2023-07-17/>, (Date of Accession: 21.07.2023).

[5] "North Korea Threatens Nuclear Retaliation over US Displays of Military Force", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/north-korea-says-deployment-us-strategic-assets-meets-condition-its-nuclear-2023-07-20/>, (Date of Accession: 21.07.2023).

[6] Ibid.





## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Russia on the Brink of a New Demographic Collapse

One of the current problems of states is demographic issues. Countries are working to prevent demographic problems. This is because population is one of the basic building blocks and power elements of a nation. In this sense, population is the basis of its existence and development. Naturally, the people and the state are interconnected. In this sense, the size of the population, the quality of life and the level of development also shape the future of the relevant state.

Undoubtedly, demographic problems affect all areas of societies. Therefore, preserving the population, supporting its number and quali-

ty of life is one of the basic conditions for socio-economic development of countries and, moreover, for ensuring national security. In this sense, Russia is one of the countries that has been experiencing a demographic crisis for the last 30 years and has therefore been debating its potential.

The demographic situation in Russia is characterized by high mortality rates, low birth rates and a corresponding population decline. The increase in the population over 60 years of age and the high difference in the life expectancy of men and women point to a demographic crisis in the country.



**Aidana  
BAKTYBEK KYZY**

As is well known, the population in Russia, which had been growing until the second half of the 20th century, tended to decline after that period due to famine, wars and infectious diseases, especially among children. However, the high birth rate during this period compensated for the demographic damage. Today, Russia is facing demographic deterioration due to low birth rates, transformations in lifestyles, changes in the role of men and women in the family, the reflection of these changes on social roles and many other reasons.

As a matter of fact, the increasing labor demand of the Russian economy necessitates the recruitment of migrant workers. Therefore, there is a process that changes the socio-cultural structure of the country and the ethnic structure of the society is changing. All this weakens the demographic power of the country.

On the other hand, solving demographic problems requires significant resources and time. This difficulty in a matter of national security concerns Moscow. This is because, although the focus of attention when evaluating issues related to national security is mainly on external threats, the future of a state depends on its population, standard of living, level of education, needs and cultural development. Therefore, demographic problems are at least as important as defense, economy, ecology, etc. problems.

It should be noted at this point that according to Russia's "National Security Strategy", one of the country's long-term national interests is to ensure stable demographic development.[1] In this context, a Demographic Development Concept from 2001 to 2015 and a Demographic Policy Concept from 2007 to 2025 were developed to improve the demographic situation in Russia. The aim of these concepts was to increase fertility and reduce mortality. Thus, the aim was to stabilize the population between 2015 and 2025.[2]

At this point, it is necessary to recall the following speech of Russian President Vladimir Putin, who drew attention to Russia's demographic problems:[3]

"We have internal problems arising from the nature of Russia. They are primarily related to demographic problems. Russia has experienced two natural declines in its demographic development. The first one took place during the Second World War. The second one occurred after the collapse of the Soviet Union and lasted until the mid-1990s. In order to strengthen our state in the face of this humanitarian and economic problem, we need to solve the demographic problem. This is one of our main tasks."

Despite Putin's statement, it is seen that the demographic problems in the country have deepened after the Russia-Ukraine War. First the Covid-19 pandemic and then the war in Ukraine accelerated the decline in birth rates. Indeed, the Gaidar Institute predicts that in late 2023 and early 2024, the lowest annual birth rate in Russia's history may be seen.[4]

Moreover, the Russia-Ukraine war has led to a massive exodus. Although the number of people leaving the country is not disclosed by the official authorities, The Bell estimates that over 500,000 Russian citizens have left the country since the beginning of 2022.[5] Bloomberg forecasts that Russia will not reach its demographic stabilization target by 2030. Accordingly, Russia's population will decline by 416,700 by 2030. This will undermine potential growth. The Kremlin administration, on the other hand, will try to reverse the decline in the labor force through maternity policies and tight-fiscal policy.[6]

In conclusion, demographic problems in Russia are extremely complex and have a negative impact on the country. The war in Ukraine has further deepened the demographic problems in the country. Therefore, Russia is not expected to overcome its demographic problems until 2030.

[1] "О Стратегии национальной безопасности Российской Федерации", Consultant, [http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons\\_doc\\_LAW\\_389271/cdd1e8eed2bcebb6784f447b23a23ef965850237/](http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_389271/cdd1e8eed2bcebb6784f447b23a23ef965850237/), (Date of Accession: 10.01.2023).

[2] "Концепция демографической политики РФ на период до 2025 г", Consultant, [http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons\\_doc\\_LAW\\_71673/7a46cb-13de731db3333cd77a4f7887e468287e3/](http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_71673/7a46cb-13de731db3333cd77a4f7887e468287e3/), (Date of Accession: 10.01.2023).

[3] "Путин назвал демографию основной проблемой России", Vedomosti, <https://www.vedomosti.ru/society/news/2021/11/30/898265-demografiyu-osnovnoi-problemoi>, (Date of Accession: 10.01.2023).

[4] "Институт Гайдара: Следующий новый год РФ встретит с самым низким в российской истории числом рождений", Ng, <https://www.ng.ru/news/757093.html>, (Date of Accession: 10.01.2023).

[5] "Сколько россиян в 2022 году уехало из страны и не вернулось", The Bell, <https://thebell.io/skolko-rossijan-v-2022-godu-uekhalo-iz-strany-i-ne-vernulos>, (Date of Accession: 10.01.2023).





## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Taliban's ISIS Policy

It is claimed that there are various terrorist organisations operating in Afghanistan, particularly the State of Iraq and al-Sham (DAESH), Al-Qaeda and Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan (TTP). Among the aforementioned organisations, DAESH often makes a name for itself with its attacks in Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, after the Taliban took over Afghanistan in August 2021, the terrorist organisation DAESH attacked Kabul Airport. More than 100 people lost their lives in this attack.

In addition to Taliban elements, DAESH also attacks Shiites/Hazaras living in the country and mullahs supporting the Taliban. In addition, the terror-

ist organisation is also known to have carried out various attacks in front of the Kabul Embassies of states that have a positive dialogue with the Taliban. Most recently, on 11 January 2023, the terrorist organisation DAESH carried out a suicide attack in front of Afghanistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, killing 20 diplomats. It was also claimed that the timing of this attack coincided with the meeting of a Chinese delegation with Taliban officials. [i]

DAESH is aware of the geopolitical importance of Afghanistan in the context of its global strategy. In this context, DAESH believes that it can easily reach China, Russia, Central Asian states and Iran when it



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

gains strength in Afghanistan and therefore strengthens its position in Afghanistan. Regardless of its name, DAESH sees a strong Afghan administration as an obstacle to its goals and uses all its trump cards to overthrow or weaken the Taliban.

Looking at the Taliban's discourse and actions, it is seen that the Taliban sees DAESH as the primary threat and focuses on DAESH in the context of its counterterrorism policy. In this context, the Taliban characterises DAESH as an "external organisation" and therefore defines the fight against DAESH as a religious obligation.

Periodically, the Taliban organise operations against DAESH cells in various provinces of Afghanistan and neutralise some armed elements. In this context, the Taliban announced in its latest statement that it conducted operations in Kabul and Nimruz and neutralised eight terrorists. [ii]

Moreover, the Taliban arrested some Salafi mullahs on the grounds that they were associated with the terrorist organisation DAESH. As a matter of fact, some DAESH commanders surrendered as a result of Taliban operations. It can be stated that the Taliban wants to achieve some of its goals through the fight against DAESH.

First of all, through the fight against DAESH, the Taliban is trying to send the message that it is committed to the Doha Agreement of 29 February 2020 and that there is no terrorist threat against other states from Afghanistan. This is because any terrorist organisation operating in Afghanistan is a violation of the Doha Agreement.

It can be said that another goal of the Taliban is to gain the sympathy of the Afghan people. According to various sources, the elements of DAESH terrorist organisation in Afghanistan are mostly composed of foreign fighters. Therefore, it does not have a strong bond with the Afghan people. On the other hand, Taliban leaders and fighters emerged from the Afghan people. Therefore, through its operations against the terrorist organisation, the Taliban sends a message to the people that "you are not alone". This strengthens the idea that the Taliban is the actor providing security and increases sympathy for the Taliban.

Additionally, the Taliban may also be aiming to gain the support of regional states in its claim to fight DAESH. This is because Russia, China, Iran and Central Asian countries consider DAESH as a threat to their national security and territorial integrity. Already since 2014, the regional states have established relations with the Taliban in line with the argument of fighting DAESH. Therefore, the Taliban seems to want to sustain this support in the current situation.

At this point, the Taliban's claim that the US is supporting DAESH and thus implementing a project to destabilise the region is important. [iii] Because this claim accelerates the rapprochement of Russia and China with the Taliban. For this reason, Taliban Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaki has stated that the non-recognition of the Taliban is in the interest of DAESH. [iv]

As a result, the Taliban believe that DAESH cannot be recognised by the Afghan people and the international system. Therefore, it tries to consolidate its power in Afghanistan by fighting against the terrorist organisation. According to the Taliban, the international community has no choice but to support the Taliban in the fight against DAESH.

[i] "تفريذېدې ار هلمج تىلوئوسم شعاد، دندش هتشرک ۲۰ ات ۵ نىب؛ نابلاط هجراخ ترازو هب یراجت نا هلمج"، BBC, <https://www.bbc.com/persian/articles/c98x1yzzpjxeo>, (Date of Accession: 02.01.2023).

[ii] "داد ربخ تايلمع کى نا یرج رد «شعاده» وضع 8 ندش هتشرک زا نابلاط"، Al-Arabia, <https://l24.im/hbv>, (Date of Accession: 02.01.2023).

[iii] "دندش تىامج ناتسناغفا رد شعاد زا یراهنې تروص هب اکیرمآ: وکسم"، Mashreghnews, <https://l24.im/dvVo>, (Date of Accession: 02.01.2023).

[iv] "دوشىم مامت شعاد دوس هب، نابلاط نتخانشن تىمسرهه دىوگىم یقتم ناخ ریم"، Afintl, <https://www.afintl.com/20211017227640>, (Date of Accession: 02.01.2023).





## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# “The ‘Nuclear Threat’ in the Asia-Pacific within the Context of South Korea-US Cooperation”

North Korea, one of the world’s major nuclear powers[1], conducted a record number of nuclear drills and Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) tests during the year 2022.[2] The actions of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the region appear to be not deterring Pyongyang but rather provoking it. In this context, it can be argued that

the US and the West are pursuing numerous alliances and collaborations in the Asia-Pacific region. Indeed, the fault lines of global politics are shifting towards the Asia-Pacific.

On the other hand, the dynamics in the region are shaped by poles and alliances. For instance, it can be argued that countries such as



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



Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Vietnam, Japan, South Korea, and Indonesia are important allies of the United States and NATO in the region. However, among all these countries, South Korea and Japan stand out in the context of North Korea. This is because these nations are the ones most directly affected by Pyongyang's nuclear threat. This situation compels these actors to rely on "American Deterrence." Seoul and Tokyo, too, view American deterrence as their hope.[3]

As of now, joint exercises against Pyongyang are being conducted in the Asia-Pacific region through collaboration between Washington, Seoul, and Tokyo.[4] For instance, on July 18, 2023, a US nuclear-armed ballistic missile submarine (SSBN) visited to South Korea. This development has garnered attention as it marks the first visit of a US nuclear submarine to South Korea since the 1980s. Following this, the White House confirmed the visit during a joint declaration made by Indian-Pacific Coordinator Kurt Campbell and South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol at a summit held in Washington in April. During his statement to journalists in Seoul, where he participated in the first Nuclear Consultative Group (NCG) discussion with South Korean officials, Campbell said, "While we are talking, an American nuclear submarine is arriving in Busan today. This is the first visit of an American nuclear submarine to South Korea in decades." [5]

It can be argued that the United States provides military support and assurance of assistance to Japan and South Korea in potential crises. Just a few days after the US nuclear-armed submarine's arrival in a South Korean port, another nuclear-powered submarine belonging to Washington has reached South Korea.[6] The South Korean navy announced that the USS Annapolis entered a naval base on Jeju Island in the south of South Korea to load military equipment. In the statement, it was mentioned, "With the arrival of USS Annapolis, the two countries' navies aim to strengthen their joint defense posture and conduct exchange activities in commemoration of the alliance's 70th anniversary." [7]

On the other hand, the Pyongyang administration tries to pursue an independent perspective in security, economy and politics within the framework of the Juche policy, which can be called the official state ideology of the country. The Juche policy is founded on the idea of self-reliance, aiming for North Korea's self-sufficiency. Hence, it can be argued that North Korea will not abandon its nuclear program. According to this ideology, there are certain principles that governments should follow, which include political independence, economic self-reliance, and the capability to defend the nation in the realm of national defense.[8] North Korea's nearly continuous pursuit of its nuclear program since its establishment can be seen as a important pillar of the country's grand strategy, aligned with these principles.[9]

As a result, North Korea is not expected to give up its nuclear capability. Therefore, South Korea's threat perception and the West's influence in the region will not diminish. Unless an effective denuclearization program is implemented in the region, it is evident that the tension between North Korea and South Korea will not come to an end.

[1] "Is it Time to Accept North Korea is A Nuclear Power?", Cable News Network World, <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/10/28/asia/north-korea-nuclear-threat-solution-analysis-intl-hnk/index.html>, (Date of Accession: 25.07.2023).

[2] "North Korea's Record Year of Missile Testing is Putting the World On Edge", Cable News Network World, <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/12/26/asia/north-korea-missile-testing-year-end-intl-hnk/index.html>, (Date of Accession: 25.07.2023).

[3] "Biden and South Korea's Yoon Announce Agreement to Deter North Korea, Including Deploying Nuclear-Armed Submarine", Cable News Network World, <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/04/26/politics/biden-yoon-south-korea-state-visit/index.html>, (Date of Accession: 25.07.2023).

[4] "Japan, S Korea, Us Conduct Drill Amid Tension With N Korea", Al Jazeera, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/4/17/north-korea-condemns-us-military-drill-with-japan-and-south-korea>, (Date of Accession: 25.07.2023).

[5] "Us Nuclear Missile Submarine Visits S.Korea As Allies Talk War Planning", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/us-sko-rean-officials-huddle-new-nuclear-war-planning-talks-2023-07-18/>, (Date of Accession: 25.07.2023).

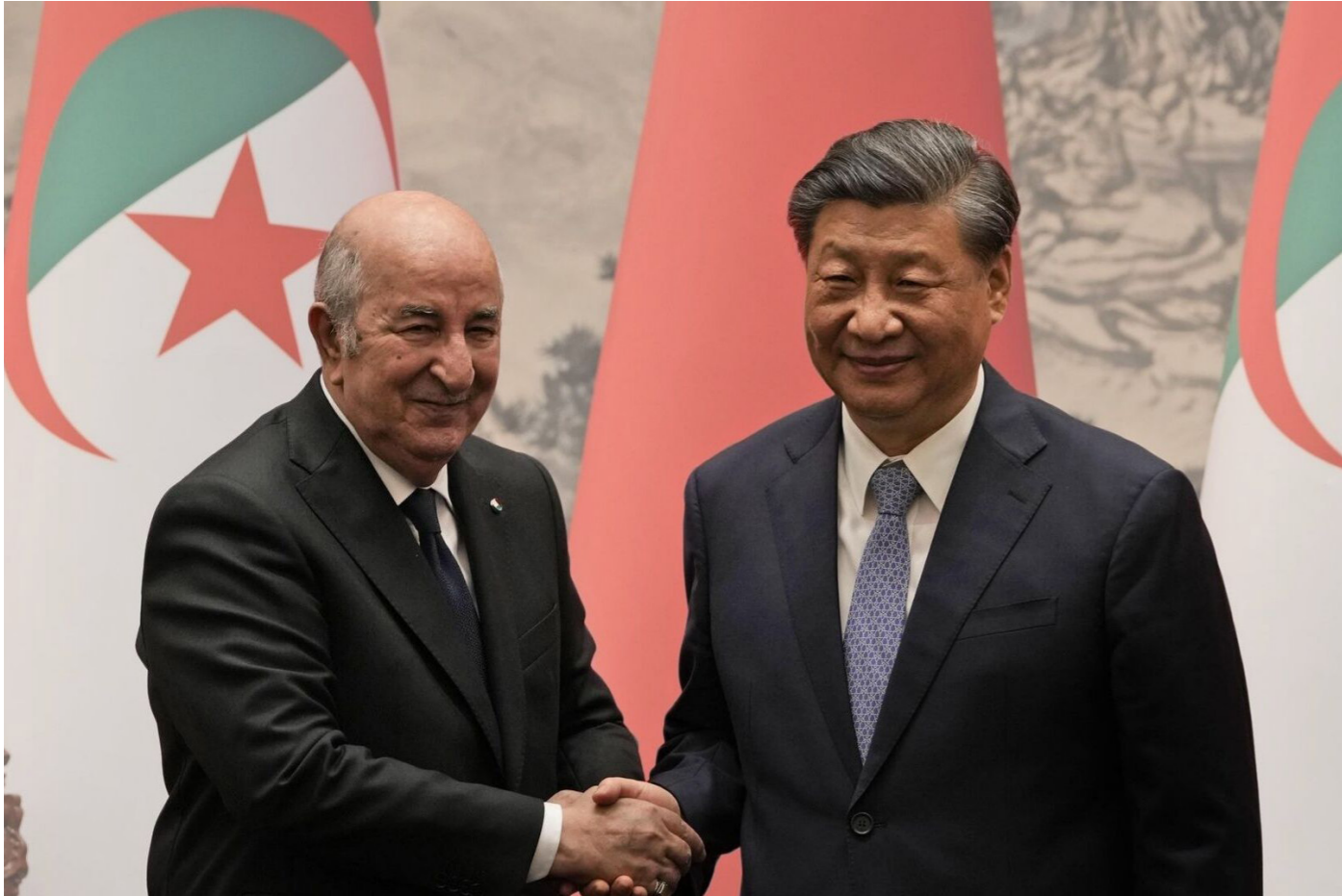
[6] "Second US Submarine Arrives in South Korea Amid North Korea Tensions", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/second-us-submarine-arrives-south-korea-amid-north-korea-tensions-2023-07-24/>, (Date of Accession: 25.07.2023).

[7] "Second Us Nuclear Submarine Arrives in South Korea Amid Tensions With North", The Hill, <https://thehill.com/policy/defense/4115764-second-us-nuclear-submarine-arrives-in-south-korea-amid-tensions-with-north/>, (Date of Accession: 25.07.2023).

[8] "Juche, The State Ideology That Makes North Koreans Revere Kim Jong Un, Explained", Vox, <https://www.vox.com/world/2018/6/18/17441296/north-korea-propaganda-ideology-juche>, (Date of Accession: 03.03.2023).

[9] Kahraman Süvari, "Nükleer Silahların Yayılması Örneği Olarak Kuzey Kore", Çağdaş Üngör, der, Asya Pasifik Çalışmalarında Yeni Ufuklar, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul 2020, s. 16.





## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# Algerian President's Visit to Beijing

Algerian President Abdelmajid Tebboune visited Beijing on 17-21 June 2023. The visit can be interpreted as a turning point for the future of Algerian-Chinese relations. On this occasion, the parties signed a joint declaration and agreed to expand cooperation in technological fields, including aviation, nuclear and information and communication technologies.[1] This is extremely important in terms of showing that the cooperation between the two countries tends to expand and deepen.

At this point, it should be noted that; Algeria has improved its relations with Beijing since joining the Belt and Road Initiative. As a matter of fact, China has increased its economic influence in this country, which is a former French colony, and

has reached the position of Algeria's main exporter through constructive relations shaped by the win-win logic.[2] According to 2022 data, the trade volume between the two countries has reached 7.42 billion dollars. Of this, 6.28 billion dollars was China's exports; At the level of 1.14 billion dollars, exports from Algeria to China are realized.[3]

While economic relations meet Algeria's investment needs; these investments serve the interests of Algerians by creating jobs. Aware of this situation, Tebboune met with Chinese President Xi Jinping in Beijing and the following statements made by Tebboune at the press conference held with the participation of the two leaders were at the forefront of the international public agenda:[4]



**Dr. Doğan BAŞARAN**  
ANKASAM  
AF-PAK Expert

"Algeria is willing to actively participate in the construction of the Belt and Road Initiative. The current international landscape is very unstable, and we are grateful to China for playing a key role in promoting a more open and inclusive world and a more just and rational international order."

As can be understood, Algeria's expectation in its relations with Beijing is to maximize its economic interests and to this end support the construction of a more just international system. In this sense, it should be stated that the Tebboune administration supports the search for a multipolar world and approaches the Belt and Road Initiative from this perspective.

Moreover, Algeria aspires to join the BRICS, which is of symbolic importance in terms of the quest for multipolarity and consists of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. In fact, Tebboune visited Moscow on June 14-16, 2023, and during this visit, he met with Russian President Vladimir Putin and called for the acceleration of Algeria's accession process to BRICS.[5] Therefore, although Tebboune's visit to Beijing aims to expand economic cooperation and make gains in this context on the axis of the Belt and Road Initiative, it is also closely related to Algeria's goal of BRICS membership. In this sense, the visit can also be interpreted as a continuation of the Algerian President's contacts in Moscow. Tebboune has already thanked Beijing for supporting his country's BRICS membership.[6]

Of course, Tebboune's visit to Moscow and then to Beijing within a month of each other is a concrete indication of Algeria's attitude in its quest for multipolarity. However, it is obvious that this stance will attract the reaction of the West. However, it can also be argued that this geopolitical choice has something to do with the West's Algeria policy. The fact that Western countries, especially Spain, are positioned close to Morocco's theses on the Western Sahara Problem creates discomfort in Algeria and triggers anti-Western sentiment. As a reflection of this situation, it is seen that the Tebboune administration is turning to Moscow and Beijing.

In addition, Algeria's stance is also triggered by the country's anti-colonial struggle. In other words, it can be said that the French colonialism in the historical memory of the country is effective in the background of Tebboune's statements about the construction of a more just world. That is why Algeria became the first Arab country to establish a "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership" with China in 2014.[7]

On the other hand, the fact that China has the world's largest population and its strong industrial sector is dependent on natural gas due to its increasing influence in the global economy en-

courages Beijing to improve relations with Algeria, an energy-rich country. Because Algeria is the world's fourth-largest exporter of natural gas and has the third-largest untapped shale gas resources. The country also ranks sixteenth in proven oil reserves. [8]Therefore, the Beijing administration, which seeks to diversify its energy suppliers, sees Algeria as an important partner. While this means a form of relationship in which the need for resources will be met for the Beijing administration; It means that Algeria also meets the needs of customers. In other words, it is possible to talk about a relationship that is suitable for the interests of both sides.

As a result, Algeria is uncomfortable with the approach of Western actors, especially Spain, to the Western Sahara Problem and advocates the search for a multipolar world with the reflection of the impact of French colonialism on the historical memory of the country. In this context, the Tebboune administration is getting closer to Moscow and Beijing and wants to become a member of BRICS. The country, which is also a part of the Belt and Road Initiative, also attaches importance to relations with China in terms of investment and energy exports.

[1] Zhao Ziwen, "Algerian President Meets China's Xi Jinping in Beijing to Expand Tech Ties and Build on Belt-and-Road Relationship", South China Morning Post, <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3228133/algerian-president-meets-chinas-xi-jinping-beijing-expand-tech-ties-and-build-belt-and-road>, (Date of Accession: 20.07.2023).

[2] "Tebboune in China to Plead Algeria's Accession to BRICS", Africa News, <https://www.africanews.com/2023/07/17/tebboune-in-china-to-plead-algerias-accession-to-brics/>, (Date of Accession: 20.07.2023).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Tebboune Urges Acceleration of Algeria's BRICS Accession Process", Anadolu Agency, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/tebboune-urges-acceleration-of-algerias-brics-accession-process/2923459>, (Date of Accession: 20.07.2023).

[6] Tebboune in China..., a.g.m.

[7] "China to Deepen Security, Defence Cooperation with Algeria", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/xi-says-china-will-deepen-cooperation-with-algeria-several-key-sectors-2023-07-18/>, (Date of Accession: 20.07.2023).



## ANKASAM ANALYSIS

# What is NATO's Plan to Counter China?

Over the past decade, Russia and China have emerged as forces advocating multipolarity, opposing the Western-led world order and the unipolar world view. The establishment of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) in 2017 to maintain an open and free Indo-Pacific led to a shift in the West's focus from Russia to China. Since 2019, the Western world, under the leadership of the United States (US), has intensified its efforts to confront China in its foreign policy. Within the Western world, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are trying to integrate their strategies to counter Beijing's rise in the international

system. However, there is not a complete alignment in the methods employed by the Western world to deal with either Russia or China.

The Western world's war against Russia began with the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and accelerated after its invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. In the process, China's public refusal to condemn Russia for its actions in Ukraine caused the West to recall the so-called "Chinese threat" in the Asia-Pacific. While Europe is trying to focus on the war with Russia, NATO is simultaneously trying to figure out how to counter China. In the run-up to the Madrid



**Dr. Cenk TAMER**  
ANKASAM  
Asia-Pacific  
Expert

Summit in 2022, the UK insisted that lessons should be learned from Ukraine and that Europe should be prepared for war in response to a possible "Chinese aggression" in Taiwan.

As a consequence of the United States' warnings and pressures, Europe has begun to take strategic steps within the framework of NATO to counter China's rise. The first of these steps was the participation of country leaders from Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, and Australia in last year's summit from the Asia-Pacific region. By doing so, NATO has started to develop strategic partnerships in the region in order to halt China's alleged "aggressive actions" in the Asia-Pacific and counter them effectively.

At this point, the question arises as to how the West will counter China, especially within NATO. Leaving aside the debate on the Alliance's mandate, it is clear that there is no consensus among member states on China. European states emphasize that China is not an enemy, but could be a major competitor. On the other hand, the powers led by the US and the UK are making efforts to make China the number one enemy after Russia.

Asia-Pacific countries, which have been negatively affected by the rivalry between the US and the European powers, are being forced to make a choice to engage in an open struggle with China. In this context, Japan is one of the countries in the region facing the most pressure. This is both because it is close to China and because it bases its security on its treaty with the US. In other words, without the support of the US, Japan will not be able to protect itself from China.

Therefore, Tokyo may feel compelled to act in accordance with Washington's demands. Hence, it can be said that Japan is the most receptive Asia-Pacific country to cooperate with NATO in order to counter China's actions. In connection with this matter, the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo has stated that NATO's expansion plans into the Asia-Pacific region violate United Nations rules and that Japan's interaction with NATO undermines regional security.[1]

Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and South Korea, considered as unofficial partners of NATO in the Asia-Pacific region, participated in the summit held in Vilnius this year, following the NATO Leaders Summit held last year. This repeated participation highlights the increasing importance of the Asia-Pacific region for NATO and the organization's growing relationship with regional

partners.[2] During the Vilnius Summit, Japan and Australia reiterated their support for Ukraine and pledged assistance to Kiev. Additionally, NATO approved individual partnership agreements focusing on areas such as cyber security, defense, and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region with Japan and South Korea.

Furthermore, proposals to establish a NATO liaison office in Japan were rejected due to France's veto. This was interpreted as a disappointment for the US and the UK, the driving forces of the alliance. In addition, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg stated that the opening of a liaison office could be considered at a later stage and that negotiations are ongoing.[3] NATO's attempts to open an office in Japan provoke China and increase regional tensions. In fact, NATO's mandate does not include the Asia-Pacific. Nevertheless, the aim is to counter China through regional partnerships. This leads to divisions within NATO.

While the US-led powers argue that NATO should provide more support to Japan and South Korea and thus contain China, European actors aim to contribute to Asia-Pacific security through NATO's regional partnerships. In other words, the US is trying to shift NATO's trajectory towards the Asia-Pacific. In doing so, Washington wants all NATO member states to confront and polarize against Beijing and, if necessary, to risk a hot confrontation with China. NATO's European members, on the other hand, argue that peaceful regional partnerships can be enough to stop China, while dangerous alliances can only increase regional tensions and lead to war.

There is always the possibility of NATO getting involved in a conflict in the Asia-Pacific region. For instance, an attack on American forces could trigger the activation of NATO's Article 5. As seen in the case of Afghanistan, NATO can conduct operations outside its geographical area of responsibility. However, unlike in Afghanistan, NATO members may not want to act collectively against China. Considering that China is the largest trading partner for Europe, NATO might be hesitant to get too involved in Asia-Pacific issues. Nevertheless, the case of Russia is also relevant. Despite Europe's significant energy dependence on Russia, NATO had to provide support to Ukraine under pressure from the US. This support is closely related to European security concerns.

On the other hand, Europe may not want to take sides in the China-Taiwan question, which is not closely related to its own



security. The most important argument used by the US to bring Europe to its side is the preservation of the rules-based international order. Washington claims that Russia has broken this order and China is next in line. According to the US, China is following in Russia's footsteps and may soon disrupt the rules-based order by attacking Taiwan. What needs to be done, then, is to ensure that NATO somehow deals with global problems. The Strategic Concept adopted at NATO's Madrid Summit last year for the first time recognized China as a systemic competitor and emphasized global security. In this context, NATO's plan to counter China is essentially about ensuring global security. From now on, NATO will act with the motto of "the preservation of international peace and security." As in the United Nations Charter, NATO's Asia-Pacific problem is essentially one of ensuring global security. This is the only way NATO will be able to deal with Asia-Pacific problems and especially with China.

[1] "China Warns Japan On NATO, Hopes It Refrains From Undermining Trust in Region", Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/china-warns-japan-nato-hopes-it-refrains-undermining-trust-region-2023-07-24/>, (Date of Accession: 24.07.2023).

[2] "3 QUESTIONS-Is Indo-Pacific a new frontier for NATO?", AA, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/analysis/3-questions-is-indo-pacific-a-new-frontier-for-nato/2948372>, (Date of Accession: 24.07.2023).

[3] "3 QUESTIONS-Is Indo-Pacific a new frontier for NATO?", AA, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/analysis/3-questions-is-indo-pacific-a-new-frontier-for-nato/2948372>, (Date of Accession: 24.07.2023).



**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.**

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

# JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES

**The latest issue of the Journal of Regional Studies, an international peer-reviewed journal operating within the Ankara Crisis and Political Research Center (ANKASAM), has been published. Our journal is scanned by Academic Keys, ASOS Index, CEEOL, Cite Factor, DRJI, Index Copernicus, Ideal Online, Research Bible, Index and TUBITAK DERGIPARK databases. You can reach our journal via the link below.**

ANKASAM JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES VOLUME VII, ISSUE I.

