



Council on Geostrategy

# Annual Report

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2022

*New geostrategic thinking for  
a more competitive age*

# 2022 in Numbers

PAGE | 01



96

Britain's World articles



8

Geostrategy Forums



35

Multimedia interviews



7

GeoAtlas maps



23

Podcast episodes



3

Policy Papers



14

Events



2

Primers



9

Explainers



1

Report



9

Speaking engagements



1

Conference



## Policy Papers

### 'Global Britain' and the Black Sea Region

By Alexander Lanoszka and James Rogers

Geopolitics Programme; Strong Britain Initiative; Ukraine and the Black Sea

In this Policy Paper, the authors outline Britain's growing political and economic relationship with the Black Sea region and hypothesise four potential outcomes of the war in Ukraine.

They make a series of recommendations for the Government to consider in order to bolster the security of the region after the war ends.

### Deepening British-Ukrainian relations in a more competitive era

By Alexander Lanoszka, James Rogers and Hanna Shelest

Geopolitics Programme; Strong Britain Initiative; Ukraine and the Black Sea

In this Policy Paper, with a foreword from Liz Truss, British Foreign Secretary, and Dmytro Kuleba, Ukrainian Foreign Minister, the state of British-Ukrainian relations is assessed and avenues for deepening it in the diplomatic, informational, military and economic domains are outlined.

### Geopolitics in the Himalayas: Towards a British Strategy

By Gray Sergeant

Geopolitics Programme

In a new Policy Paper by Gray Sergeant, the Robert Swinhoe Associate Fellow in Chinese Geopolitics at the Council on Geostrategy, the geopolitics of the Himalayas are explored in the context of the United Kingdom's 'tilt' to the Indo-Pacific Region.

The author states that Britain's Indo-Pacific approach ought to include a strategy for the Himalayan region, deepening cooperation in the region and countering PRC influence.



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Policy Paper  
Geopolitics Programme  
No. 58/2022  
March 2022

### 'Global Britain' and the Black Sea region

By Dr Alexander Lanoszka  
James Rogers

New geostrategic thinking for a more competitive age  
<https://www.geostrategy.org.uk>



Council on  
Geostrategy

Policy Paper  
Strong Britain Initiative  
No. 59/2022  
July 2022

### Deepening British-Ukrainian relations in a more competitive era

By Dr Alexander Lanoszka  
James Rogers  
Dr Hanna Shelest

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<https://www.geostrategy.org.uk>



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Policy Paper  
Geopolitics Programme  
No. 60/2022  
November 2022

### Geopolitics in the Himalayas: Towards a British strategy

By Gray Sergeant

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<https://www.geostrategy.org.uk>

# Research publications



## Report

### A new energy policy for Europe: The significance of Ukraine

By Alexander Lanoszka, James Rogers and Patrick Triglavcanin  
Geopolitics Programme; Ukraine and the Black Sea

In this Report for the Council on Geostrategy, entitled 'A new energy policy for Europe: The significance of Ukraine', the authors highlight how the EU has become increasingly reliant on Russian energy imports. Over the past 10 years, the EU has transferred just over €1 trillion to Russia for fossil fuels, as shown by the chart below.



Report  
Geopolitics Programme  
No. GPM01  
June 2022

### A new energy policy for Europe: The significance of Ukraine

By Dr Alexander Lanoszka  
James Rogers  
Patrick Triglavcanin

New geostrategic thinking for a more competitive age  
<https://www.geostrategy.org.uk>

## Primers

### China's carbon-intensive rise: Addressing the tensions

By William Young and Jack Richardson  
Strong Britain Initiative  
Environmental Security Programme; On China

In this Primer our Environmental Security Programme, William Young, and Jack Richardson explain how the United Kingdom's environmental policy towards the People's Republic of China is becoming outmoded.



Primer  
Environmental Security Programme  
No. ESP005  
May 2022

### China's carbon-intensive rise: Addressing the tensions

By William Young and Jack Richardson

For many decades, there was a wide acceptance that the People's Republic of China (PRC), as a developing nation, did not bear the same responsibility as developed countries in addressing climate change – a concept known as 'Common but Differentiated Responsibilities' (CBDR). CBDR was agreed after the Rio Summit in 1992. The Rio Declaration, which followed the summit, outlined the concept in the following way:

In view of the different contributions to global environmental degradation, States have common but differentiated responsibilities. The developed countries acknowledge the responsibility that they bear in the international pursuit of sustainable development in view of the pressures their societies place on the global environment and of the technologies and financial resources they command.<sup>1</sup>

CBDR was founded on a three-part logic: first, that the vast majority of historic emissions have been produced by developed countries – or 'high income

<sup>1</sup> 'Rio Declaration on Environment and Development', United Nations, 12/06/1992, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2210923> (checked: 22/09/2022).

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<https://www.geostrategy.org.uk>

### Taiwan: Invasion in not likely, but deterrence remains vital

By Charles Parton  
Geopolitics Programme; On China

In the Primer for the Council on Geostrategy entitled 'Taiwan: Invasion is not likely, but deterrence remains vital', author Charles Parton OBE argues that an invasion of Taiwan by the CCP is still not likely, despite rising tensions across the Taiwan Strait.



Primer  
Geopolitics Programme  
No. GPM01  
September 2022

### Taiwan: Invasion is not likely, but deterrence remains vital

By Charles Parton

In May 2022, Lord Hague, the former British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, devoted his weekly column to the need to military deter the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from launching an invasion of Taiwan. He is not the first – or last – to worry about an imminent threat. In March 2022, in testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee United States (US) Admiral Philip Davidson saw the threat of invasion 'manifesting' itself by 2027.<sup>1</sup>

This Primer argues that, despite his increasingly belated rhetoric and his reaction to the visit of Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the US House of Representatives, to Taiwan, the CCP will not invade Taiwan in the next decade. Nor will it impose sustained blockades. The main restraint upon the CCP is the economic consequences. The resultant cratering of the global and Chinese economies would go beyond 'lifting a stone and dropping it on one's foot', in the Chinese expression. An economic crash would follow, leading to large-scale unemployment in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Without an adequate social security net, unemployment would lead to unrest, which would be directed

<sup>1</sup> William Hwang, 'US must make clear it would fight for Taiwan', *The Times*, 30/05/2022, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1365-2189.12121>.

<sup>2</sup> Akiya Nakano, 'China could invade Taiwan in the next 6 years, senior global leadership role, US admiral warns', *NBC News*, 30/05/2022, <https://www.nbcnews.com/2022/05/30/china-invasion-taiwan-12345678> (checked: 05/09/2022).

New geostrategic thinking for a more competitive age  
<https://www.geostrategy.org.uk>

# Research publications



This year we have published nine explainers. Learn more about each one below.

## **China watching in the ‘New Era’: A guide**

By Charles Parton *Geopolitics Programme; On China*

Charles Parton OBE provides a practical guide to ‘watch’, analyse and understand the People's Republic of China.

## **Net Zero: The geostrategic rationale for ‘Global Britain’**

By Jack Richardson *Environmental Security Programme; Strong Britain Initiative*

Jack Richardson explains why the United Kingdom’s Net Zero agenda is essential for its geostrategic interests.

## **China: Between the National People’s Congress and the Party Congress**

By Charles Parton *Geopolitics Programme; On China*

Charles Parton OBE explores the main political and social angles of the Chinese Communist Party’s ‘Two Sessions’ in 2022.

## **China’s ‘Two Sessions’ paper over cracks in a troubled economy**

By George Magnus *Geopolitics Programme; On China*

George Magnus explores the economic and policy backdrop to the ‘Two Sessions’ and how the main economic challenges facing China are being addressed, or not.

## **What is China’s Global Security Initiative?**

By Chris Cash *Geopolitics Programme; On China*

Chris Cash outlines China's Global Security Initiative and why it matters before making suggestions as to how the United Kingdom should respond.

## **The Chinese economy: Troubled times ahead**

By George Magnus *Geopolitics Programme; On China*

George Magnus investigates the ailments affecting the Chinese economy and the necessary measures required to solve them.

## **The CCP’s 20th Party Congress: What to look out for**

By Charles Patron *Geopolitics Programme; On China*

Charles Parton OBE dissects the workings of a Chinese Communist Party Congress and what to watch for at the 20th.

## **The 20th Party Congress: What it means for the CCP and the world**

By Charles Patron *Geopolitics Programme; On China*

Charles Parton OBE assesses the 20th Party Congress and explains what it means for the Chinese Communist Party and the wider world.

## **The Chinese navy: from minnow to shark**

By Kevin Rowlands and Edward Hampshire *Geopolitics Programme; On China*

Dr Kevin Rowland and Dr Edward Hampshire explore the modernisation of the Chinese navy and its geostrategic implications.



This year we have hosted over twenty fantastic events. Find out more about each of them below:

## Conference – ‘Geopolitical realignment in a maritime century’

*With Adm. Sir Ben Key KCB CBE, First Sea Lord*

On July 19th, the Council on Geostrategy was delighted to host a conference entitled ‘Geopolitical realignment in a maritime century’ at The In and Out Club in St James’ Square, London.

We were honoured to welcome the First Sea Lord, Admiral Sir Ben Key KCB CBE, who gave a keynote speech to open the conference.

The conference further developed the themes discussed at the Council on Geostrategy’s inaugural naval conference ‘Extending “Global Britain” through naval diplomacy’, hosted last October by Wilton Park.



**Panel 1:** Intensifying geopolitical competition: Decay of the rules-based system



**Panel 2:** The emergence of geo-economic statecraft: Implications for the open international order



**Panel 3:** Upholding an open international order: The importance of maritime power



**Panel 4:** ‘Global Britain’ as an ‘aligning power’



## ‘The war in Ukraine and the future of European security’

*With Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Gabrielius Landsbergis*

On Monday 23rd May, the Council on Geostrategy was delighted to host a roundtable event at the In and Out Club with Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Gabrielius Landsbergis delivering a speech and taking questions from the audience.



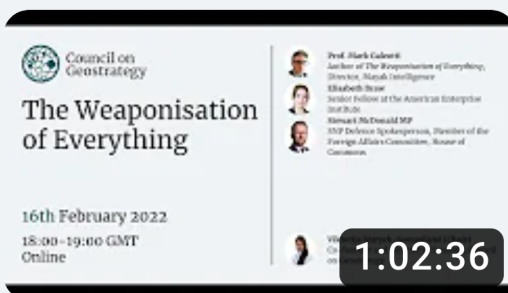
## China: The strategy of denial

*Wednesday 12th January (online)*  
Find out more about the event [here](#).



## Heating up? The geopolitics of the Arctic

*Tuesday 1st February (online)*  
Find out more about the event [here](#).



## The weaponisation of everything

*Wednesday 16th February (online)*  
Find out more about the event [here](#).



## ‘Global Britain’ and the Black Sea Region

*Monday 25th April (Palace of Westminster)*  
Find out more about the event [here](#).



## Are modern alliances ready for geostrategic competition?

Thursday 5th May (online)

Find out more about the event [here](#).



## A new energy policy for Europe: The significance of Ukraine

Wednesday 29th June (Palace of Westminster)

Find out more about the event [here](#).



## Deepening British-Ukrainian relations in a competitive era

Wednesday 20th July (online)

Find out more about the event [here](#).



## Britain's Indo-Pacific 'tilt': regional responses to China

Wednesday 7th September (Palace of Westminster)

Find out more about the event [here](#).



## Why we should help Ukraine win

Monday 31st October (Palace of Westminster)

Find out more about the event [here](#).



## China's Global Security Initiative

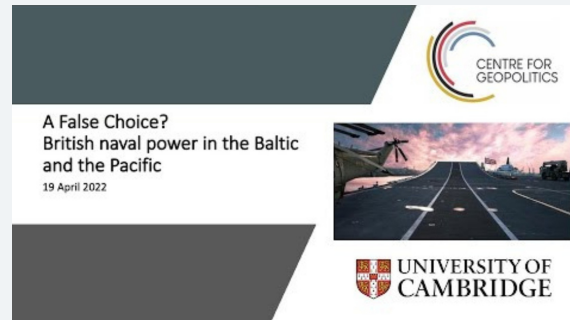
Wednesday 2nd November (Palace of Westminster)

Find out more about the event [here](#).

# Speaking engagements



**James Rogers and Alessio Patalano speak to the Indo-Pacific APPG**



**Viktorija Starych-Samuolienė chairs a Cambridge Geopolitics panel**



**Viktorija Starych-Samuolienė spoke at a Women 2 Win event**



**James Rogers spoke on a panel at PISM's Strategic ARK conference**



**Viktorija Starych-Samuolienė spoke on a panel at the World Economic Forum**



**Viktorija Starych-Samuolienė spoke at a Black Sea and Balkans Security Forum**



**Viktorija Starych-Samuolienė spoke on a panel at the Conservative Party Conference**



**James Rogers attended the Diplomatic Press Attaches Association as a panellist**

*On 1st December Viktorija Starych-Samuolienė also spoke in a webinar session on 'State of Play – Politics and the Economy' ran by The Australia-UK Chamber of Commerce.*

# Geostrategy Forum



This year we launched our Geostrategy Forum. Between March and December we held eight breakfast sessions at the In and Out Naval and Military Club. Find out more [here](#).



## **The United Kingdom–Australia Strategic Partnership in a more competitive age** With H.E. George Brandis QC – Australian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom

On Tuesday 22nd March, we welcomed H.E. George Brandis QC to our first Geostrategy Forum event to discuss the partnership between the UK and Australia.



## **The United Kingdom's role in Euro–Atlantic Security**

With Angus Lapsley – Director, International Security, Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office

On Wednesday 20th April, we welcomed Angus Lapsley to our second Geostrategy Forum session to discuss the UK's role in Euro–Atlantic security.



## **India and the Indo–Pacific: Opportunities for British–Indian cooperation**

With H.E. Gaitri Issar Kumar – Indian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom

On Thursday 26th May, we welcomed H.E. Gaitri Issar Kumar to our third Geostrategy Forum session to discuss opportunities for British–Indian cooperation.



## **Finland's security environment after Russia's aggression against Ukraine**

With H.E. Jukka Siukosaari – Finnish Ambassador to the United Kingdom

On Tuesday 28th June, we welcomed H.E. Jukka Siukosaari to our Geostrategy Forum session to discuss the Finland's security environment, NATO membership and what his country can teach the Baltics and others about Russia.

# Geostrategy Forum



## After the Integrated Review: The future of the Royal Navy

With Rear Admiral Jude Terry – Director, People and Training, Royal Navy

On Tuesday 12th July, we welcomed Rear Admiral Jude Terry to our Geostrategy Forum session to discuss the future of the Royal Navy and the Integrated Review.



## AUKUS: Enhancing Indo-Pacific Security

With Brigadier Grant Mason – Head of the Australian Defence Staff, London

On Tuesday 6th September, we welcomed Brigadier Grant Mason to our Geostrategy Forum session to discuss Indo-Pacific security and what to do about it.



## Key Geopolitical Challenges in the 2020s: How to Secure the Interests of the UK

With Mark Power – Director of Geopolitics, Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office

On Tuesday 25th October, we welcomed Mark Power to our Geostrategy Forum session to discuss the key geopolitical challenges facing the UK in the 2020s.



## Russia's war against Ukraine: A conversation with H.E. Vadym Prystaiko

With H.E. Vadym Prystaiko – Ambassador of Ukraine to the UK

On Wednesday 14th December, we welcomed H.E. Vadym Prystaiko to our final Geostrategy Forum session of the year to discuss Russia's war against Ukraine.



This year we have continued to talk to key stakeholders in geostrategic discussions on our Geostrategy 360° podcast this year.



**23 episodes**



**11.5 hours**

Find links to some of our most popular episodes of the year below.

**E44: The future of NATO with Sir Lawrence Freedman**



**E45: Deepening British-Ukrainian relations with J. Rogers, A. Lanoszka and H. Shelest**



**E37: Global Britain and the Royal Navy with Alessio Patalano**



**Episode 33: The Balkans with Baroness Helić**



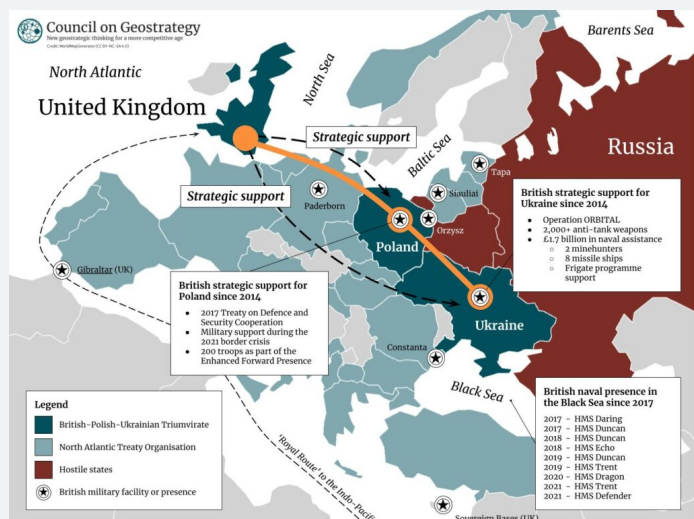
**Episode 35: Military Alliances in the 21st Century with Dr Alexander Lanoszka**



For all other episode of the Geostrategy 360° podcast, click **[here](#)**.

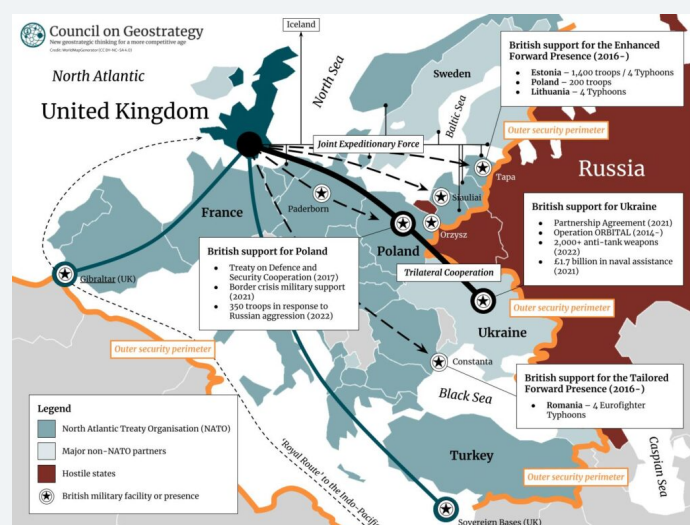


One of the major successes this year at the Council on Geostrategy has been our GeoAtlas publications, visually depicting geostrategic developments and phenomena.

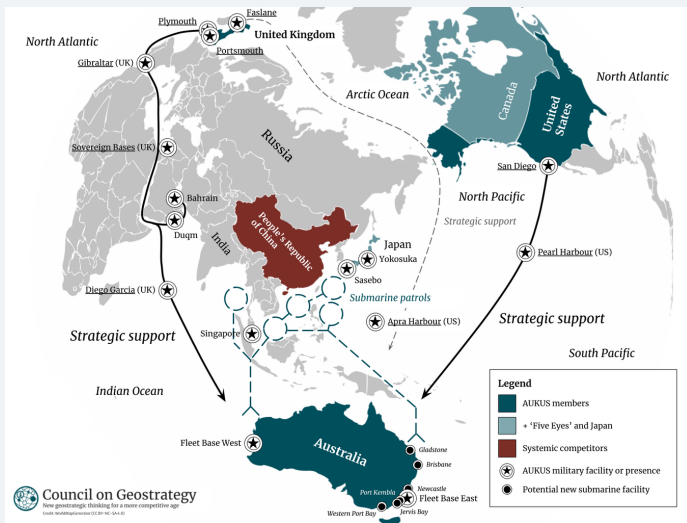


Map depicting the triumvirate of Poland, Ukraine and the United Kingdom  
[Click here to enlarge](#)

Map depicting 'Global Britain' and its role as a Euro-Atlantic power  
[Click here to enlarge](#)

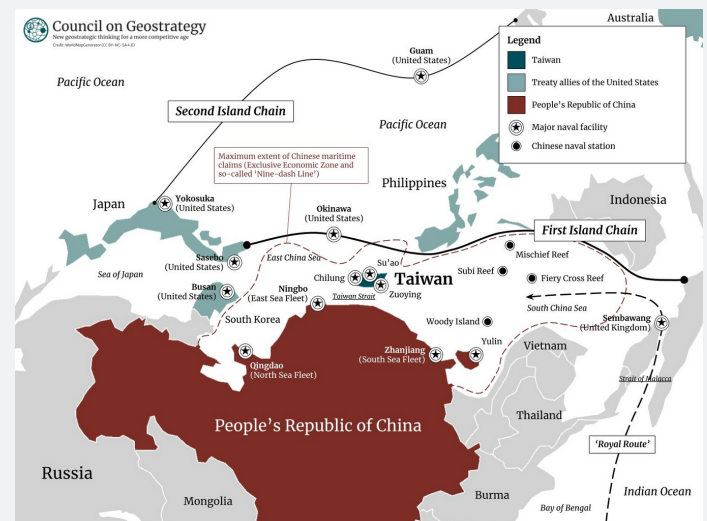


Map of the Black Sea region after the renewed Russian offensive against Ukraine  
[Click here to enlarge](#)

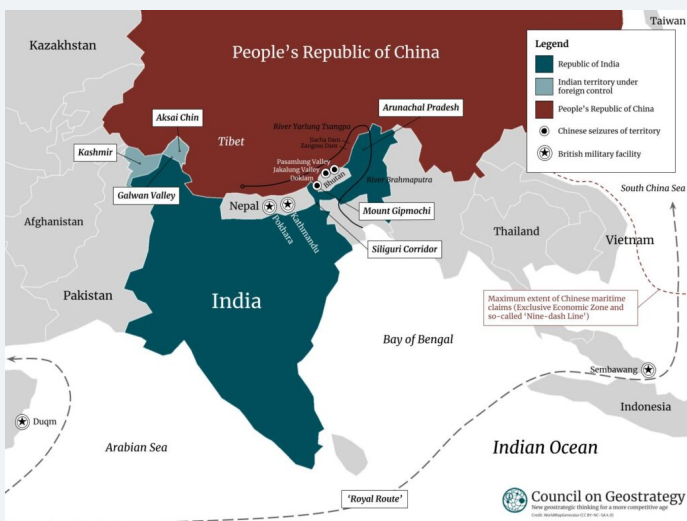


**Map depicting the AUKUS agreement (updated)**  
[Click here to enlarge](#) | [View the original](#)

**Map depicting the Chinese perspective of the Indo-Pacific region**  
[Click here to enlarge](#)



**Map depicting the geopolitics of the Himalayan region**  
[Click here to enlarge](#)



**[Find all GeoAtlas maps here.](#)**



Selected below is a curated list of our most popular articles from each month of 2022.

## January

### **Towards deeper British-Japanese intelligence cooperation**

Dr Philip Shetler-Jones argues that enhancing intelligence cooperation is an essential next step to deepening British-Japanese defence cooperation

## February

### **'Global Britain': The European security activist**

James Rogers and Professor Richard Whitman explain the growing role 'Global Britain' is playing in European security

## March

### **After the invasion: The future of China-Russia relations**

In the second part of this two-part series, Charles Parton OBE assesses the impact of the invasion of Ukraine on China-Russia relations

## April

### **The case for the Energy Security Strategy**

Jack Richardson examines the Government's energy security strategy and argues that it continues to transition Britain towards clean energy

## May

### **Chinese university students in Britain: challenges and opportunities**

Patrick Triglavcanin investigates the implications of increasingly high numbers of international Chinese students in Britain

## June

### **Britain, Australia and climate cooperation in the Indo-Pacific**

Kate Clayton assesses how Britain and Australia can cooperate and learn from each other in tackling climate change in the Indo-Pacific



## July

### British-American relations beyond Ukraine

Joshua Huminski explores how the already strong British-American relationship can be deepened further still

## August

### Taiwan Strait: A key geostrategic consideration for Britain

Professor Alessio Patalano provides an overview of why tensions across the Taiwan Strait will be of importance to the next prime minister

## September

### Russian submarines: Threats and opportunities for Britain

Victor Abramowicz investigates what Russia's new Belgorod submarine and continuing undersea activity means for Britain and AUKUS

## October

### What matters for the 'update' of the Integrated Review?

James Rogers argues that the 'update' to the Integrated Review needs to focus on long-term geopolitical objectives

## November

### Germany and China: No 'Zeitenwende' in sight

Sir Paul Lever assesses Germany's relationship with China and where there has been continuity despite geopolitical tensions

## December

### Time to focus not just on Putin's Russia, but what will follow

Professor Mark Galeotti investigates the next steps for Britain in supporting Ukraine and preparing for a post-Putin Russia

[Find all Britain's World articles here.](#)

# Members, Partners & Sponsors



Below find a list of our members, partners and sponsors.

- AthenaLab
- AT&T
- Australian National University
- Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy
- Central European Institute for Asian Studies
- Centre for Public Policy and Economic Analysis
- Centre for Strategic Studies
- Centre for the Study of Democracy
- Conservative Environment Network
- CQS
- Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies
- DTEK
- Eastern European Studies Centre
- Embassy of Lithuania
- Embassy of Poland
- Embassy of Ukraine
- Ferrexpo PLC
- Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office
- Foreign Policy Council 'Ukrainian Prism'
- GeoCase
- Indian High Commission
- Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade
- Institute for International Relations Prague
- Institute for New Europe
- JETRO
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- New Strategy Centre
- Taipei Representative Officer
- The Genesis Initiative
- The Open University
- The Polish Institute of International Affairs
- University of Ljubljana
- Wilton Park



## About Us

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Since our official launch in March 2021, the Council on Geostrategy has established itself as a reputable think tank dedicated to generating a new generation of geostrategic thinking for a more competitive age. Our non-profit organisation focuses on shaping British strategic ambition in the international environment increasingly defined by geopolitical competition and the environmental crisis. We seek to empower the United Kingdom, together with key allies and partners, to succeed and prosper in the twenty-first century, with a particular focus on our naval power and reach. We promote a strong Britain, working closely with allies and partners, to uphold an open international order – for a more secure and prosperous future.

In addition, the Council on Geostrategy produces cutting-edge research, hosts private and public events and conferences for key stakeholders (in Westminster, Whitehall, and the business community) and actively engages with the media both nationally and internationally. As a non-partisan organisation, we are guided by a diverse Advisory Council. Our Leadership, Staff and Associate Fellows combine next-generation thinkers with well established names in the field.

More information about our mission, work and expertise can be found at:



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