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Russian-Chinese Entente Against Collective Western Alliance



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**Struggle on Gerasimov Doctrine:
War on Information and
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**Chinese-Central
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ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Struggle on Gerasimov Doctrine: War on Information and Propaganda

Military field manuals mean that the war emerges of two parts: conventional war strategies and unconventional warfare. Thus, most of the weaponized wars in the world emerged as one of the two war strategies. Conventional warfare continued to change in accordance with developing technologies; however, the basic presumption remained the same. With the

technological developments, the infantry was replaced by armored infantry, cavalries were replaced by tank troops, cannons and howitzers evolved into more developed cannons/howitzers and rockets, yet the basic duties of those troops remained the same. Today, none of the armies give up their infantry, tank and cannons, just enhancing the capabilities of



Doç. Dr. Şafak OĞUZ
ANKASAM
Security Advisor

those troops with the developing technologies. Even the states have concepts and doctrines about unconventional warfare, the unconventional warfare strategies depend on the creativeness of the decision-makers and the capabilities of application. The implementation and success of these methods depend on the participation of other elements of the state, especially intelligence organizations, in addition to the military personnel trained and equipped for the purpose is important. In every period of the history, irregular warfare has important effects on the results of the war. However, the decisive point has become the conventional warfare. In the Cold War period, the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Western states, who escaped from nuclear war, therefore hesitated to struggle face to face, emerged as “proxy wars” and irregular warfare elements of both sides have supported the third side fighting with each other.

In the post-Cold War period, the United States of America (US), who wanted to consolidate its political, economic, and technological hegemony militarily, carried out Gulf Operations in a way that brought the conventional operation to the fore. However, the moves that will support the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1999 and 2004 and push the borders of Russia, which has strengthened under the leadership of Russian President Vladimir Putin and opposes the American hegemony, necessitated a new understanding of security. In other words, the irregular warfare gained importance, colorful revolutions, in the context of civil commotion, which cares about security essentials. That situation has revived the spirit of proxy wars of the Cold War in a modern way.

Colorful revolutions have caused significant changes on the security understanding of Russia, who focused on conventional warfare in the Post-Cold War period, and was unprepared for new and creative war strategies of the West. Although they do not accept it, the role of Western states in color revolutions and the fact that color revolutions occur in states that Russia sees as red lines, on the one hand, reveal the need to develop defense methods against the threats; on the other hand, it has led to the determination of new and creative struggle principles in the struggle with the Western states. In that context, Russia has foreseen changes in the new warfare in terms of Gerasimov Doctrine, claimed by Chief of Staff Valerie Gerasimov.[1]

Gerasimov has stressed that Arab Spring and color revolutions have taught a lesson, and the color revolutions has become a

strategy of new warfare, and the states has started using more non-military strategies on reaching their aims. In the end, Moscow administration has put weight on conventional warfare strategies in the Russian-Georgian War in 2008, she has also applied the elements mentioned by Gerasimov. Gerasimov highlighted that Russian Army has been working on those issues as well, and the military structure of the country should be shaped in accordance with this. Thus, Moscow administration has used untraditional warfare in 2014 against the second color revolution in Ukraine and catch the West unawares.

Even it was not clarifying in the official documents or in the expression of the officials, Russian warfare strategies, which were identified as “Mixed War” or “Hybrid War” by NATO, has put weight on irregular warfare instead of conventional troops.

As it can be understood, Russia has begun to reconstruct with the West’s color revolutions, and NATO has begun to reconstruct with the Russia’s mixed warfare strategy.

Within the framework of this preparation, both sides envisaged to increase the level of readiness of conventional troops, as well as to increase the effectiveness of unconventional warfare elements. Of course, in this process, it is not as easy as Russia for NATO, which has a structure of 30 states, decides unanimously and includes states that have secret agendas against each other even though they are allies, to meet in a common policy that includes unconventional warfare methods.

In modern Russian warfare methods called mixed warfare by NATO, one of the most important tasks of conventional troops is to create political and military pressure. As a matter of fact, in the Russia-Ukraine Crisis in 2014, the Moscow administration piled its conventional troops on the Ukrainian border and supported the unconventional war operation in Ukraine by intimidating “I can invade at any moment.” It instrumentalized the presence of its military units on the border, especially neighboring states, with exercises in which scenarios based on occupation were applied.

Gerasimov has highlighted the importance of information warfare, and its importance on decelerating the military potential of the enemy. On that issue, Russia, knowing the superiority of the Western states, is developing the capabilities on information operation and propaganda. For instance, it is clear in the Russian-Ukraine tension. However, the Western states, especial-

ly the US, has an absolute superiority on shaping public opinion. Russia has frustrated NATO’s attempt of turning Black Sea into close waters, by annexing Crimea. Also, she turned the Eastern Ukraine into a “frozen conflict” zone and made Ukraine dependent on herself. She deployed military troops in the border of Ukraine, and by making military drills with loyal ally of herself Belarus, she pressured Ukraine in terms of military and politically. Besides, she threatened the states, which plan helping Ukraine militarily. She supported this move with economic methods, primarily using the natural gas weapon. During the occupation of Crimea, Moscow used irregular warfare elements and did not accept responsibility until the occupation was completed. With the passports it distributed to the people of Crimea, it tried to legitimize this occupation and annexation, which is against international law, within the framework of its policy of helping the Russian people abroad.

The crisis between Moscow and Kyiv continues. Kremlin administration is testing the strength and solidarity between the Western states and Ukraine. Time is running in Russia’s favor. As time goes by, the West’s solidarity weakens, and the cracks occur.

Lately, especially the US and the Britain is claiming that Russia will invade the East of Ukraine; even they give dates for the invasion. Moscow, on the other hand, identifying those comments as illogical. It is definite that those two states’ persuasiveness is dissolving, as the invasion was not realized.

Although they promised military, political, and economic aid, the USA and NATO, which did not undertake any other commitment other than economic sanctions against Russia in case of any occupation, are breaking the endurance and hopes of the Ukrainian people and state.

On the other hand, it is seen that the statements made by the West are provocative to Russia and in a sense, mean giving way to Russia. Because the Washington administration, on the one hand, states that Russia will invade Ukraine; on the one hand, it states that it will impose severe sanctions. However, the USA also says in advance that the American soldiers will not help Ukraine because it will cause the World War III. The said approach; she aims to lure Russia into the quagmire, to put Moscow in a difficult position in the eyes of the international public opinion, and to bridge the rift between the Western states through the Russian threat.

AS MENTIONED ABOVE, GERASIMOV HAS HIGHLIGHTED THE IMPORTANCE OF INFORMATION WARFARE. RECENTLY, NATO AND THE USA, WHICH HAVE BEEN OPERATING UNDER THE CONCEPT OF STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION ON INFORMATION WARFARE (STRATCOM), ARE TRYING TO KEEP THE ALLIANCE’S UNITY ALIVE BY CLAIMING THAT RUSSIA WILL INVADE UKRAINE. HOWEVER, THE PROCESS WORKS AGAINST THE USA AND NATO. PARALLEL TO THE NON-OCCUPATION, THE USA IS LOSING ITS CREDIBILITY JUST LIKE IN AFGHANISTAN.

Russia, which works in favor of time, is very unlikely to invade Ukraine. In fact, this war is the struggle of the West’s information warfare and Russia’s modern warfare methods, which are defined as mixed warfare. Russia’s continued political and military pressure through the above-mentioned activities, the weakening of the solidarity and unity of the alliance will result in the weakening of the will of the Ukrainian people, who cannot see the commitments they want from the West, and the weakening of their trust in the West. This situation will already lead Russia to achieve her goals. The Russian modern warfare method also aims at this. If the invasion does not occur, it can be predicted that the USA and NATO, which are superior in matters such as information warfare and perception operations, will say that their moves deterred Russia and that Moscow could not invade because of this.

[1] Russian Chief of the General Staff Valery Gerasimov presented the principles of the new doctrine in his statement titled “Major Style and Shape Change Trends in the Use of Military Force, Current Studies for the Perfection of Military Sciences” in 2013. For detailed information about the statement, see. “Ценность науки в предвидении”, Vpk-News, <https://vpk-news.ru/articles/14632>, (Date of Accession: 14.02.2022).



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Russian-Chinese Entente Against Collective Western Alliance

On February 4, 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin has visited China. This visit realized to participate in the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics held in China. Putin also has met with Chinese President Xi Jinping. In the meeting, a declaration, which focuses on bilateral relations, was signed that shows the aim of sustainable development aims. The articles of the declaration areas in the following:

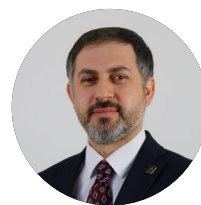
There is a concern about AUKUS, the alliance between the United States of America (US)-the United Kingdom (UK)-Australia.

The US shall give up deploying short and medium-range missiles to Europe and Asia-Pacific.

Covid-19 pandemic shall not be politicized.

China should support Russia's security guarantees delivered to the West.

As it is known, Pekin supported Moscow in the meetings of Russia with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The leaders demanded the non-deployment



**Dr. Sabir
ASKEROĞLU**
ANKASAM
Eurasia Expert

of the middle and long-ranged missiles to especially Europe and Asia-Pacific region. In addition, the sides have confirmed that they would not interrupt the domestic politics of the other. Besides, they have clarified that they are against the color revolutions.

Shortly, Putin and Xi have sent a clear message to the collective West and reacted to the USA. The reality of the declaration is Russia's inconvenience on the existence of the USA in the post-Soviet region and Chinese in the Asia-Pacific.

On the other hand, although China is defined as a rising superpower, it is aware that it is rapidly becoming isolated in global politics. For this reason, even if it does not want to enter into a military alliance with Russia, it needs the support of Moscow.

The United States has seen China as its main competitor in the administrations of Donald Trump and Joe Biden, as it did under Barack Obama. Therefore, despite the differences in method, the priority of the decision-makers in the White House is to contain and limit China. In this process, the Kremlin's support of China is significant for Beijing.

Although some academics in the USA argue that the Washington administration should draw Moscow to its side in the fight against Beijing, the USA has not been successful in this regard. There are some reasons for this failure. The most important reason is that while China-Russia relations developed in the post-Soviet period; Crises marked the relations on the Washington-Moscow line.

Ultimately, Russia and China emerged with the multipolar world order discourse and came together in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and revealed that they would act together on Asian-centered security issues. In other words, Russia has sought to reconcile with its neighbor China in minimum commonalities and has taken a stance against the USA by adopting more global goals.

On the other hand, the coordinated increase of the pressure on China and Russia by the USA has also effectively established close and strong ties between the two countries. In other words, the parties focused on finding a way out by producing standard policies against Washington's economic and political pressures. This type of relationship served the interests of both Moscow and Beijing.

However, if the pressure were applied only to Russia, China's sense of solidarity with this country would be less. There are already examples of this in history. For example, while Henry Kissinger's "Ping-Pong Diplomacy" during the Cold War brought about a rapprochement between the USA and China; It isolated the Soviet Union. For this reason, experts in the West see the understanding of politics that marginalizes both countries as a failure. Moreover, it is tough to put pressure on two great powers with imperial pasts simultaneously. Especially if this pressure leads the actors to act together, success decreases even more.

AS CAN BE UNDERSTOOD, THE POLICIES OF THE USA ENABLED CHINA TO RECEIVE THE SUPPORT OF RUSSIA IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION. IN THE PRESSURES APPLIED TO RUSSIA IN EUROPE AND THE BLACK SEA, MOSCOW FEELS THE SUPPORT OF BEIJING BEHIND IT. THEREFORE, THE WASHINGTON ADMINISTRATION'S SUPPRESSION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES HAS CREATED A PROCESS THAT FAVORS MOSCOW AND BEIJING.

As a result, while the Summer Olympics took place in China in 2008, Russia, which declared war on Georgia and intervened in Ukraine while the Winter Olympics were held in Sochi in 2014, may now invade Ukraine during the Winter Olympics in China. In this environment, the meeting between Putin and Xi, the statements in the joint statement, and the symbolic stance at the opening ceremony of the Olympics are critical. It can be said that Moscow and Beijing acted in a spirit of self-confident alliance against the United States.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Chinese–Central Asian Relations in the 30th Year

On January 25, 2022, Chinese President Xi Jinping, held an online summit that Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan leaders have participated in. The Summit was realized in the context of the 30th year of the establishment of official relations. On the other hand, 2023 is the eve of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). At that point, it can be said that this summit is very important for BRI Project, which is China's most important tool for foreign policy. Because China wants to strengthen her relations with the Central Asian countries.

China wants to develop the relations with the Central Asian states in a multilateral sense, based on economy and culture primarily. The real aim of the summit is that. In his speech, Xi has put five recommendations for the development of the Chinese–Central Asian relations.[1] The first one is the development of neighboring relations. In that article, it was suggested that friendship, in the context of intimacy, mutual benefit and inclusion, the needed mechanisms should be established and the development of the relations. Besides, the color revolutions were also highlighted. Chinese President also clarified that they are against of intervention of internal affairs of the other countries.

Secondly, it was recommended that the economic relations should be developed, and the ties should be strengthened. Thus, Xi claimed that China is ready for open her markets to



Emrah KAYA
ANKASAM
Foreign Policy
Expert

Central Asia and until 2030, the trade volume should be increased to the 70 billion dollars between the countries. In that sense, he claimed that they will establish unimpeded corridors for the escalate the process between the countries and they will accelerate the Railway Project between China–Kyrgyzstan–Uzbekistan.

On the other hand, the third recommendation referring to the relations is shaped in terms of security. In that sense, it was highlighted that the cooperation on common terrorism should be deepen radicalism, separatism and cyber dangers, and the regional safety net should be strengthened. Thus, Afghanistan is the neighbor and the partner of both China and Central Asian states. In that process, Xi claimed that they demanded the establishment of an inclusive government in Afghanistan with dialogue and the country should be clarified from terrorist groups.

The fourth recommendation in the speech of Xi is that the cultural sense of the relations should be developed as well. Thus, change enriches the cultures. For that aim, Chinese President has suggested the opening of cultural centers mutually and clarified that they are ready for making the Central Asia as a favorite travel destination for the Chinese people. In addition, China has declared that they will grant scholarship to the young people of Central Asia in five years under the Confucius Institutes. Lastly, Chinese President has expressed they will grant 500 billion USDs for Central Asian states and they are making initiatives for sustainable development under the United Nations (UN) and they will give seminars on different issues from health to agriculture.

The explanations that Xi made is aiming to deepen the relations between China and Central Asia. It is obvious that Central Asian countries also demand to develop the relations with China in terms of the neighborhood. Because, the big percent of the Central Asian states are applying pragmatic and balancing, multilateral policies. At that point, the gains of the states in the region would increase with developing relations with such a strong state. Moreover, the economic advantages of China are charming the states of the region.

Kazakhstan, who participated the summit that China held, is one of the most important powers of the region and is interesting with her geopolitical importance. Thus, China, who is opening to the World with BRI, perceives Kazakhstan as the gate, which is opening to the West. The principal foreign policy of Kazakhstan, which is multilateralism, is supporting

the establishment of good relations with China. During the summit, Kazakhstan administration also clarified their will on developing the relations based on good neighborhood and mutual benefit.[2]

Kyrgyzstan is another important country for China. Because the Bishkek Administration wants to utilize the gains from the BRI Project. In that context, Bishkek is mentioning that the China–Kyrgyzstan–Uzbekistan Railway should be one of the important lines in the region.[3] Thus, while Kyrgyzstan aiming to be a main country between China and Uzbekistan, she could also reach to the West over Caspian Sea by using the Central Line.

Tashkent Administration has replied to the Chinese recommendations with a suggestion and suggested the establishment of “Intellectual Silk Road.” In that sense, they claimed that they are ready for development of the relations in different domains, such as health, agriculture, food security, decreasing of the poverty, environmentally friendly development, and security.[4]

The bilateral relations were praised by Tajikistan during the summit. In addition, the intention was expressed to continue the constructive dialogue between the two countries and to enrich the strategic partnership, both bilateral and multilateral. Stating that mutual trade should be increased, the Dushanbe administration argued that a suitable environment should be created for mutually beneficial investments.[5]

The Turkmenistan administration is able to support healthy relations with China. He stated that cooperation between countries contributes to global peace and stability. However, Turkmenistan stated that the interaction created by the Great Silk Road passing through the lands of Central Asia played an important role in the development of the world.[6]

As a result, china, and central asian countries; it wants to strengthen its relations by acting within the framework of mutual interest, good neighborliness, and regional stability. this is in line with the policies of china, which wants to become a global power. at the same time, it can be said that central asian states that want to cross the borders of the region they are in, by getting closer to china, aim to increase their economic gains, establish regional cooperation, prosperity, stability, and security, and further strengthen the versatility, which is one of the main principles of their foreign policies.

[1] “Full Text: Remarks by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the Virtual Summit to Commemorate the 30th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations Between China and Central Asian Countries”, Xinhuanet, <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/20220125/3227dd74149e43bf89507f382e1451b4/c.html>, (Date of Accession: 05.01.2022).



NEWS ANALYSIS

Germany's Approach to Ukraine Crisis

While escalation in Russia-Ukraine crisis, many Western countries have supplied defence aids; yet Germany followed a dignified foreign policy and that was questioned a lot. Berlin administration has declared that they are not taking kindly aiding Ukraine military due to that might escalate the problem and hurt diplomatic ways of reconciliation.

Germany's Chancellor Olaf Scholz has claimed that "We are not supplying weapons to the crisis regions and we are not aiding attacking weapons to Ukraine. My predecessor did this, this was true and remain true."

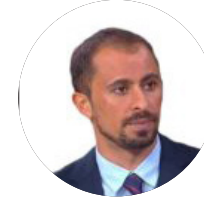
While Germany's approach caused discussions internally and externally; Berlin government has

declared that they will aid Ukraine with military hospital and helmets. Germany's offer of aiding helmets caused reactions as if it is a joke in Ukraine. Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Dmitry Kuleba has reacted by saying that "Our German friends should stop encouraging Russian President Vladimir Putin against starting a new attack to Ukraine."

The experts analyzing Germany's approach to the crisis by giving financial aids instead of weaponry, has expressed their views to Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM), by claiming Berlin administration has followed their economical benefits in that situation.



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator



Doç. Dr. Nuri KORKMAZ
Supervisor of
ANKASAM on
EU-Balkans

"Germany is considering her economical benefits."

Supervisor of ANKASAM on EU-Balkans, Assoc. Prof. Nuri Korkmaz has highlighted that Britain is diversified for Germany from North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) allies and from the European Union (EU) in general, and he claimed that countries like Poland is not supported by Berlin administration due to their harsh policies.

Korkmaz stated that Germany's reluctance to provide weapons to Ukraine is related to what might happen in the event of a possible war in the middle of Europe. Claiming that Germany's aforementioned stance stems from the risk of closing the borders and the concerns that the economy might be adversely affected in the face of a large influx of refugees, Korkmaz said, "Germany argues that the economic aid it provides to Ukraine is much more than the aid provided by other countries. The negative response to a request for weapons aid is a sign that Kiev is trying to discourage it from going to war." he said.

Saying that he fears that Germany's Nord Stream 2 Project might be endangered in the event of a possible war in the region, Korkmaz said, "Germany is being criticized by the United Kingdom and the United States of America (USA) for not saying this openly. In fact, starting from the Donald Trump era, the fact that Germany signed a Nord Stream 2 Natural Gas Pipeline agreement with Russia in order to provide its energy source was a subject that was frequently criticized by the USA. The same issue continues under Joe Biden." said. In addition, Korkmaz stated that Germany acts in line with its economic interests and added that it avoids escalating tensions in the region compared to the USA and England.



Prof. Dr. Birgül DEMİRTAŞ

"Germany is determined to continue its policy focused on "civil power"."

Expressing that Germany's balance-oriented foreign policy was met with reaction from allied countries, Turkish-German University International Relations Department Lecturer Prof. Dr. Birgül Demirtaş stated that some of her NATO allies expect Germany to take a tough stance against Russia.

Demirtaş, who stated that Berlin continued its foreign policy focused on "civil power" against all these expectations, stated that the Berlin Government wanted to solve the problem in the region through diplomatic means. In addition, Demirtaş said, "Germany, II. After World War II, it used military force exceptionally in only two cases and began to evolve into 'realist civilian power'. The first is the NATO intervention during the Kosovo War in 1999, and the second is the military operations carried out during the NATO International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan. Made its assessment.

Demirtaş stated that due to Germany's Nazi and military power-oriented foreign policy history, it focuses more on soft power compared to its allies such as the USA, France and England. Explaining the main reasons for Berlin's refusal to send weapons to Ukraine, on two economic and political grounds, Demirtaş said that Berlin's policy is to consider its economic interests because it supplies its energy needs from Russia, and the concern that armed conflict may create a domino effect in global politics.



**Dr. İntigam
MEMEDOV**

“Germany is a more independent actor than other European countries.”

Stating that Germany has a special position in the Ukraine Crisis, Dr. İntigam Memedov said that Germany is in solidarity with Western states regarding the crisis. Emphasizing that Germany is one of the few European countries that do not want the conflict with Russia to escalate, Memedov highlighted that the current political system in Berlin is not homogeneous and said, “The German Foreign Ministry and the bureaucracy have different views on some issues. For this reason, while trying to protect the development of economic cooperation with Russia; On the other hand, we are witnessing the implementation of contradictory policies that limit the broadcasts of the Russian media.” used the expressions.

Pointing out that European neighbors, especially Poland, put pressure on Germany not to initiate the Nord Stream 2 Project, Memedov stated that Germany had to prove its commitment to the common stance to the USA and European countries. Memedov said, “Germany is a more independent actor than other European countries. It is thought that the development of anti-Russian or anti-Russian relations will not be a strategy for Germany.” Made his comment.



Murat BILHAN
Retired Amba-
sador

“Ukraine has a strategic importance for Germany.”

Pointing out that Germany’s stance on the tension between Russia and Ukraine should be evaluated together with the EU, Retired Ambassador Murat Bilhan stated that Eastern Europe has a special place in Germany’s strategies. Bilhan said, “Although Poland is the sensitive point here, Russia is the focus of ‘Ostpolitik’. Germany’s security concerns always focus on these points. The concept of diffusion has also been in this direction. Ukraine has always been seen as a buffer for Germany, both during its dependence on Russia and during its independence period. used the expressions.

Emphasizing the importance of Kiev for Berlin, Bilhan said, “The current importance of Ukraine for Germany is that it is on energy routes. Germany also needs to consider its responsibilities in NATO solidarity. So Ukraine is important for Berlin in many ways.” said.



**Prof. Dr. Mesut
Hakkı CAŞIN**

“The outbreak of war in Ukraine would be a great blow to the German economy.”

Claiming that Germany’s attitude is due to its need for Russian energy resources, Prof. Dr. Mesut Hakkı Caşın said that the Berlin Government wanted to revive the Normandy Format. “According to some of its Western partners, Germany has an untrustworthy approach to NATO. In fact, it is useful to read the expansion here as a new period after the unification of Berlin in the context of NATO and European security.” Used the expressions.

Stating that the path of diplomacy is still open in the Ukraine-Russia Crisis, Caşın stated that Russia demanded security guarantees from the West and that Germany would play an important role in this regard.

Drawing attention to three scenarios in the current process, Caşın suggested that granting autonomy to Donbas, excluding the status of Crimea and providing economic and commercial support to the Vladimir Zelenski administration would carry the EU and Germany to a leadership position. Caşın added that the continuation of the tension will put NATO and Germany in a difficult situation and that if Ukraine is invaded, there will be a major crisis in Europe. Caşın said, “Germany and Turkey will suffer the most from this crisis. In my opinion, 10 million immigrants will come to Germany and 5 million will come to Turkey. Germany’s gas and oil will be cut off. This will inflict a huge blow to Germany’s economy.” used the expressions.



Hüseyin GÖKÇE
Journalist

“Germany’s balanced attitude is a strategic choice as it is dependent on Russia in energy.”

Journalist Hüseyin Gökçe, who said that Germany followed a more balanced policy compared to other European countries, drew attention to the foreign policy reflection of the recent change of duties in the Berlin administration.

Gökçe said, “The foreign dependency of Germany, which is the most energy consuming country in the region with its strong industry, is a fact. With these characteristics of the country, it seems understandable that it prefers a strategy not to want to be a party to the tension between the two countries, which are the important energy sources of the region. made its assessment.



NEWS ANALYSIS

European AUKUS: Alliance of Ukraine–Poland–England

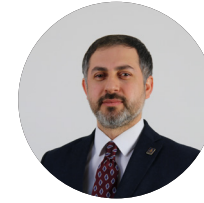
Defense assistance to Ukraine by Western countries has increased the tension on the Moscow-Kyiv line. Diplomatic talks which are targetting the resolution of the crisis between Western leaders and Moscow did not yield any results. The biggest support for the Kyiv administration has come from England and Poland. Making a statement after British Prime Minister Boris Johnson visits Kyiv, Defense Minister Ben Wallace has announced that they will provide defense weapons and military training to Ukraine against the Russian invasion. Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki, who visited Kyiv, has also promised support to Ukraine. In the aftermath of the British and Polish senior officials' announcement about their defense support to Ukraine, it was proclaimed that the Ukraine-Poland-England Alliance, which was considered as a front against Russia, would be established. The Prime Minister of Ukraine, Denis Shmygal, has stated that the new regional format, which envisages cooperation for the con-

solidation of regional security, will be officially announced in the near future. Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba has also expressed that Ukraine is working on the creation of a tripartite alliance. Kuleba made a statement, "We cannot wait until we become a member of the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the future, to achieve prosperity and a safe environment. We need these today. For this reason, we are getting stronger by uniting friendly and close-minded countries in small alliances." Through the Triple Alliance, it is targeting not only to strengthen the regional security atmosphere but also to increase trade relations between the parties has aimed.

Evaluating the Ukraine-Poland-England Alliance, which is considered the European AUKUS, to the Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM), experts think that the alliance in question that is created is significant cooperation against the Russian threat.



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator

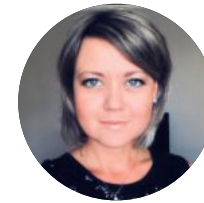


Dr. Sabir ASKEROĞLU
ANKASAM
International
Relations Expert

"Ukraine needed alliances."

Reminding that Ukraine seeks to become a member of NATO, ANKASAM Expert Dr. Sabir Askeroglu, emphasizing that this situation will not be realized in a short time, has said that it was inevitable for the Kyiv administration to establish a deterrent mechanism against the Russian threat.

Underlining that Ukraine necessities for building alliances, Askeroglu said, "Eastern European countries also faced obstacles from states such as Germany and France, despite their desire for Ukraine's NATO membership. For this reason, Poland and England are trying to support Ukraine, which cannot be a member of NATO, with bilateral or trilateral agreements.



Yevgeniya GABER
International
Relations Expert

"Poland and England have given major support to Ukraine."

Reminding that the Ukraine-Poland-England Alliance is a foreign policy strategy of Kyiv, International Relations Expert Yevgeniya Gaber; emphasized that Ukraine has made such small alliances with its close allies in order to establish peace, stability, and security in the region.

In this direction, Gaber; draws attention to the importance of cooperation in alliances such as the Association Trio, consisting of Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova, and the Lublin Triangle, of which Ukraine, Poland, and Lithuania are members.

Gaber, which is stating that the triple alliance should be considered in a broader perspective, said that Poland supports Ukraine's NATO membership against the Russian threat and that allying should be considered natural. Referring to the role of the UK in the alliance to be established, Gaber said, "The relations between the UK and Ukraine are very good condition. Recently, these relations have started to develop further especially since the signing of the Strategic Partnership Agreement. No other state has supported Ukraine as much as England, particularly in maritime security and strengthening of the armed forces. Therefore, London gives great assistance to Kyiv in the field of defence." In addition, Gaber added that the Baltic countries will join the triple alliance in the future.



**Hulusi
KILIÇ**
Retired
Ambassador

“Georgia will be included in this alliance in the future.”

Retired Ambassador Hulusi Kiliç, who stated that Russia’s pressure on Ukraine was dragging the Kyiv administration into cooperation, said that England and Poland are friends of Ukraine. Pointing to the position of the alliance countries in international politics, Kiliç said that it is crucial for NATO members Britain and Poland to cooperate with Ukraine and that the three states have joined forces.

Reminding those similar alliances were realized in different regions, Kiliç said, “The D8 Alliance, which consists of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nigeria and Egypt, and MIKTA, which consists of Mexico, Indonesia, North Korea, Turkey and Australia, It sets an example for similar geographically distant countries to cooperate.” said. Underlining that the cooperation developed by the Ukraine-Poland-England trio at this point is different from the said alliances, Kiliç claimed that the triple rapprochement emerged against the Russian threat.

Suggesting that Georgia may also be included in the said alliance in the future, Kiliç expressed, “Georgia has wanted to be a member of NATO from the very beginning. I think Georgia will also apply to join this alliance after the triple alliance is established,” said.



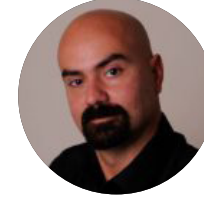
**Prof. Dr. Sait
YILMAZ**

“The Triple Alliance should be seen as a defense structure against the Russian threat.”

Emphasizing that the alliance developed by Ukraine, Poland, and England is not an alternative to NATO and the EU, Prof. Sait Yılmaz made his comment, “Despite the triple alliance is defined as a political union, it should be seen as a defense structure against the Russian threat.”

Alleging that the alliance will receive the support of the United States of America (USA), Yılmaz said, “Eastern Europe and the Black Sea are getting accustomed to such small alliances. In 1991, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary formed the Visegrad Group. The Northern and Baltic countries also have a cooperation structure that brings eight countries together. Another body is the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (GUAM) between Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova. Furthermore, similar small alliances have always been formed in the region.”

Yılmaz reminded that Britain would impose sanctions if Russia invaded Ukraine by claiming that Britain sent anti-tank ammunition to Ukraine from Germany’s airspace. Moreover, Yılmaz emphasized that Polish support is also prominent in this regard.



Deniz BERKTAY
Journalist

“The fact that some important countries such as Germany prevented arms sales to Ukraine prompted Kyiv to seek urgent solutions.”

Journalist Deniz Berktaş, who said that the triple alliance is still in the establishment stage, stated that the proposal for the alliance was voiced by Ukraine in November of 2021. Berktaş said, “On the one side, there is a reality about Ukraine’s NATO membership will not take place in the near future; On the other side, the fact that some leading countries, such as Germany, in NATO, prevented arms sales to Ukraine, prompted Kyiv to seek urgent solutions.” said.

Referring to the comments of the Ukrainian experts on the alliance, Berktaş stated that the experts believe that limited alliances such as the Small Entente will be more functional than the alliances in which many countries with significant differences of interest are located.

Berktaş said that Poland has also taken similar initiatives by stating that the UK has been leading anti-Russian initiatives in Eastern Europe for the last two years, Berktaş claimed, “Poland seeks to create a security cordon for itself against Russia. In this context, it supports pro-Western governments in Belarus and Ukraine and tries to bring anti-Russian groups to power. This is partly why Poland intervened so quickly in the migrant crisis with Belarus and supported the pro-Western revolutions in Ukraine in 2004 and 2014.” Finally, Berktaş added that if the triple alliance is established, the tension between Russia and the US-British Bloc may increase even more.



NEWS ANALYSIS

Political Aspect of 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics: Sports Diplomacy

The decision of the countries led by the United States of America (USA) to boycott the Winter Olympics, which started on February 4, 2022, hosted by China, has left its mark on the events. In addition to the USA, England, Canada, Australia, Lithuania, Kosovo, Belgium, Denmark, and Estonia have announced that they boycotted the Olympics. Announcing of India that they are not going to participate because of diplomatic boycott due to a conflict with China; New Zealand, Austria, Slovenia, Sweden, and the Netherlands, has stated that they will not nominate representatives to the Olympics by the reason of Covid-19 pandemics. Russian President Vladimir Putin was among the leaders who at-

tended the opening ceremony of the Olympics at the invitation of Chinese President Xi Jinping.

Apart from Russia, Presidents of countries such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Singapore, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Pakistan, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Poland, and Egypt has attended the opening ceremony of the Olympics. Xi, who has suspended his foreign contacts since the beginning of the pandemics has met face-to-face with the leaders of the countries participating in the opening ceremony, speeding up the diplomatic traffic.



Sibel MAZREK
ANKASAM Media
Coordinator



Dr. Emre OZAN
ANKASAM Advisor

“We have entered into the process of which Olympics have become politicized again and boycotts are at the top of the agenda.”

Evaluating the 2022 Winter Olympics, ANKASAM Advisor Dr. Emre Ozan has said that the US boycott decision encouraged Western countries. Stating that the boycott was interpreted as an intervention in internal affairs by China, Ozan said, “The Olympics have witnessed such boycotts many times in the past. It is known that the representatives of the Eastern and Western bloc have boycotted each other many times, especially during the Cold War years. However, post-Cold War era, the unifying spirit of sports has gained more significance. Even the athletes of the countries that had issues and conflicts with each other gave messages of friendship in the competitions they took on. Recently, we have entered into the process of which Olympics have become politicized again and boycotts are at the top of the agenda.”



Dr. Zhangji ZHOU
International Col-
laboration Center
Director

“Boycott attempt of the US has failed.”

Stating that anti-Chinese countries are politicizing the sport on the occasion of the 2022 Winter Olympics, Dr. Zhangji Zhou claimed that bribes have been offered to athletes by anti-Chinese countries to sabotage the Olympics.

Asserting that Beijing has gained the support of the international community for hosting the Winter Olympics, Zhou said that the US boycott attempts were unsuccessful and the leaders of many states participated in the Olympics. “18 US government officials have applied for visas to participate in the Winter Olympics, 15 of them were officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and three of them were officials from the Ministry of Defense,” he said.

Zhou has told, “The Winter Olympics are being held during the Covid-19 pandemic. China has made all its preparations and will continue to focus on athletes. The Beijing administration has full competence to ensure the health and safety of athletes and related personnel. The Chinese people warmly welcome the athletes, staff and leaders of the countries participating in the Olympics and international organizations.”



**Doç. Dr. Fahri
ERENEL**
Istinye University
Faculty Member

“At the Olympics, the Putin-Jinping meeting was discussed more than sports.”

Assoc. Prof. Fahri Erenel used this phrase, “We witnessed that they could not prevent the execution of politics over sports. It is remembered that Russia and Georgia entered into an armed conflict on the first day of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Now, also it seems that politics came to the fore at the Winter Olympics which is held in China.”

Pointing out that the Olympics were held in a period of tension between Russia and Ukraine, Erenel said that the meetings of leaders who participated were discussed more than sports. “In 1980 and 1984, the Olympics has witnessed extensive boycotts between the two blocs of the Cold War. For this reason, the preparations of the athletes who worked for the Olympics for four years went down the drain.” On the other side, Erenel has given the instance of “Ping Pong Diplomacy”, which reduced the tension between the USA and China after the World Table Tennis Championships held in 1971, and stated that even it’s rare, the results of such boycott decisions came out positive.

Drawing attention to the boycott decisions taken in the current situation is different from the previous ones, Erenel said, “In the past, such boycotts managed to remark to certain problems, but they did not create a significant change, and therefore only athletes would lose. It would be unfair for them to include the athletes who have been waiting and preparing to participate in the world’s largest sports organization for four years. However, these athletes can also support the boycott with the messages, actions and various symbols they give during the games. In fact, such messages can be more effective than any message governments try to conduct. I think this is one of the issues that China is most concerned about.”

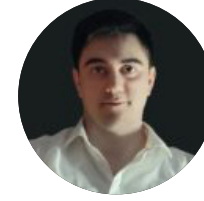


**Aydın
NURHAN**
Retired
Ambassador

“The demonstrates the Winter Olympics as “the showroom of authoritarian regimes.””

Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, has pointed to the fact that the USA boycotted the Winter Olympics, said that “It is seen that the athletes participating from countries other than Western states in recent organizations have started to receive more medals than before.”

While claiming the West has lost its former superiority in the Olympics, Nurhan said that the Olympics have become a propaganda tool for authoritarian countries. Underlining that Turkey did not participate in the diplomatic boycott, “Turkey is not played the game of the West.” he stated.



**Mehmet Emre
ÖZTÜRK**
Journalist

“The Winter Olympics will be turned into an opportunity.”

Stating that the tension between China and the USA has spread into the Olympics, Journalist Mehmet Emre Öztürk talked about Olympics were intended to be turned into an opportunity within the framework of public diplomacy. Öztürk said, “The boycott decision can be evaluated as a covert pressure exerted by the USA on its allies in order to legitimize the ideological and political conflicts through the Olympics. Thusly, In the Asia-Pacific, the open rejection of South Korea’s boycott decision, which the USA needs and trusts most after Japan, is an indication that countries have begun to avoid joint action with the USA.

Referring to the meeting between Putin and Xi, Öztürk used these phrases. “The polarization campaign launched by the USA against China has brought the other side to take action as well. Sino-Russian relations demonstrating built o a common policy against the West.”

ANKASAM IN PRESS

14 February 2022

While the tension between Russia and Ukraine continues, Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the developments in the region for Milat Newspaper.

14 February 2022

ANKASAM Specialist Emrah Kaya evaluated the Shusha Declaration to Media Türk.

14 February 2022

The International News Agency (UHA) featured ANKASAM Expert Emrah Kaya's work titled "The Construction Process of New Kazakhstan".

16 February 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine tension on Media Türk TV.

16 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol spoke to İhlas News Agency (İHA) regarding the ongoing tension on the Russia-Ukraine border.

17 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's comments on the ongoing tension on the Russia-Ukraine border were published on SonDakika.com

17 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the ongoing tension on the Russia-Ukraine border were published in Star Newspaper.

17 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the ongoing tension on the Russia-Ukraine border were published in Yeni Akit Newspaper.

17 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM) President Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the ongoing tension on the Russia-Ukraine border were published in TGRT Haber.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

17 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM) President Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's comments on the ongoing tension on the Russia-Ukraine border were published on Haberler.com.

17 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM) President Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the ongoing tension on the Russia-Ukraine border were published on Istanbul Haber and Haber Ankara news sites.

17 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Politics Studies (ANKASAM) President Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the ongoing tension on the Russia-Ukraine border were published in the White Newspaper.

18 February 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine crisis in the News Agency program on TRT Haber.

19 February 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine crisis in the Channel B Weekend program.



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

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

JOURNAL OF REGIONAL STUDIES

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 VI, ISSUE I.

