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The Direction of New Kazakhstan in the Process of Strong Reforms

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ANKASAM OUTLOOK

The Direction of New Kazakhstan in the Process of Strong Reforms

Following the end of the protests that broke out in Kazakhstan in the first days of 2022, strong reforms began to be implemented in the country led by Mr. Kasım-Cömert Tokayev. In other words, since 2019, when Mr. Tokayev became President, he took the process called "The State Hearing the Voice of the People" to a much higher level.

The President of Kazakhstan, who does not deny the problems in the country, demonstrates a strong will to overcome these problems. In this sense, the interview in Kazakh language that Mr. Tokayev gave to the Habar National Channel on 17 February 2022 contains significant messages about the direction of the reforms in the country.



Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL
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Kazakhstan Reform Period

In the interview in question, the Kazakh leader stated that the demonstrations started with peaceful attribution and that there was no destruction in the first stage, and revealed that he did not turn his back on the people who took to the streets with well-intentioned demands.

In this context, it is very important that Mr. Tokayev does not equate people who make relatively just demands with terrorists. The reforms carried out in Kazakhstan also reveal that well-intentioned demands are taken into consideration. However, as Mr. Tokayev stated, terrorist-related, specially trained criminal groups that caused the events to spiral out of control provoked actions. As a matter of fact, while Kazakhstan is making reforms that will increase the welfare of its people; It also takes a determined stance at the point of punishing those who are associated with terrorism and takes some measures to prevent similar attacks against the national security of the country.

According to Mr. Tokayev, the events in question are a coup attempt against the security of the country and the integrity of the state. Undoubtedly, New Kazakhstan will emerge from this process much stronger. Because the risk of seizing power by specially trained armed groups has been avoided. Now, the construction process of a strong Kazakhstan has been accelerated. So, it is time for reform.

Saying "The state is for the people" in the continuation of his interview, Mr. Tokayev also revealed the direction of the reforms carried out in his country. As stated by the President of Kazakhstan, the aim of the reforms in the country is to establish an equitable society, eliminate monopolies, ensure economic development, and put political transformation on a reliable basis. Because, according to Tokayev, well-intentioned people who participate in protests and are not terrorized have justifications. The majority of the population is poor. All the wealth of the state is in the hands of a small group. In other words, there is a serious inequality in income distribution. This is the reason why the protests started.

What makes the President of Kazakhstan successful is that he showed great democratic maturity and remarked that the state had learned the necessary lessons from the protests. Moreover, Mr. Tokayev has repeatedly expressed his views on this issue on various platforms, especially in the Kazakhstan Parliament.

Using the term "oligopoly" by stating that a limited number of people dominate the economy, the Kazakh leader said, "This is an obstacle to justice in general and indeed to real competition. If we do not solve this problem, our economy will not develop and the domestic political situation will worsen. Therefore, my main aim is to abolish monopolies in both economy and politics."

Undoubtedly, Mr. Tokayev's words mean that the country will focus on integration into the free market economy and serious steps will be taken in terms of democratization in politics. In other words, Mr. Tokayev displays a determined attitude towards liberalization.

Pointing out that not only the state but also citizens need to work hard to create a prosperous society, the Kazakh leader emphasized that the most urgent problem is the need to instill the idea of industriousness into the society and said, "Despite the known negative factors in the country, there are many opportunities for effective work. No one can say more about good and bad than the great Abay. The advice of Abay's, effort, contemplation, gratitude and compassion is very important."

Therefore, while the President of Kazakhstan wants to create a prosperous society through reforms in his country; He also knows that everyone has to work hard. This is a requirement for Kazakhstan to reach the place it deserves in the world.

The Aim of New Kazakhstan: Consolidation of Independence and Sovereignty

As it is known, Kazakhstan has passed through difficult and slippery roads and has survived many troubles and has managed to become a respected member of the international community. Kazakhstan, one of the most stable states in Central Asia, has succeeded to overcome the events in January 2022 thanks to the accumulation of its deep-rooted history. Saying that "During the tragedy, our people showed their unity. We must pass it on to other generations" Mr. Tokayev pointed out that the events in January 2022 strength-

ened the sense of togetherness in Kazakh society, in line with the phrase "There is good in every evil" used in Turkish. Adapting the feeling of being a great and strong nation and state for Kazakhstan to future generations requires consolidation of independence and sovereignty.

Emphasizing that the country has a bright future, Mr. Tokayev stated that they will reinforce the sovereignty and independence of the state. Stating that the independence of the country is more valuable than anything else, the Kazakh leader said, "It is our common duty to protect it like the apple of our eye."

In addition, Tokayev also touched upon language policies in the context of independence and sovereignty. In this context, Mr. Tokayev said, "As for our language, we will protect it. It will not be otherwise. Because in the most difficult periods of our history, our language has survived thanks to our foresighted elders and ordinary people. However, we need to regulate the language" he pointed to language reform.

However, the President of Kazakhstan said, "The problem is not a quick transition to the Latin alphabet. This issue should be thoroughly discussed. It should be thoroughly researched. We should not rush unnecessarily" and underlined those fundamental reforms need time. Because the steps are taken in hurry sometimes do not give the expected results.

In fact, it is possible to express this situation for the reform processes in Kazakhstan in general. In the construction process of the new Kazakhstan, Mr. Tokayev shows an example of visionary leadership and is determined to take the necessary steps according to the needs of the country. But it is clear that some issues need time. What matters is the strength of the will for reform. Mr. Tokayev reveals that he is a very consistent leader in this regard.

Balanced Multi-Vector-Directional Foreign Policy and Russia

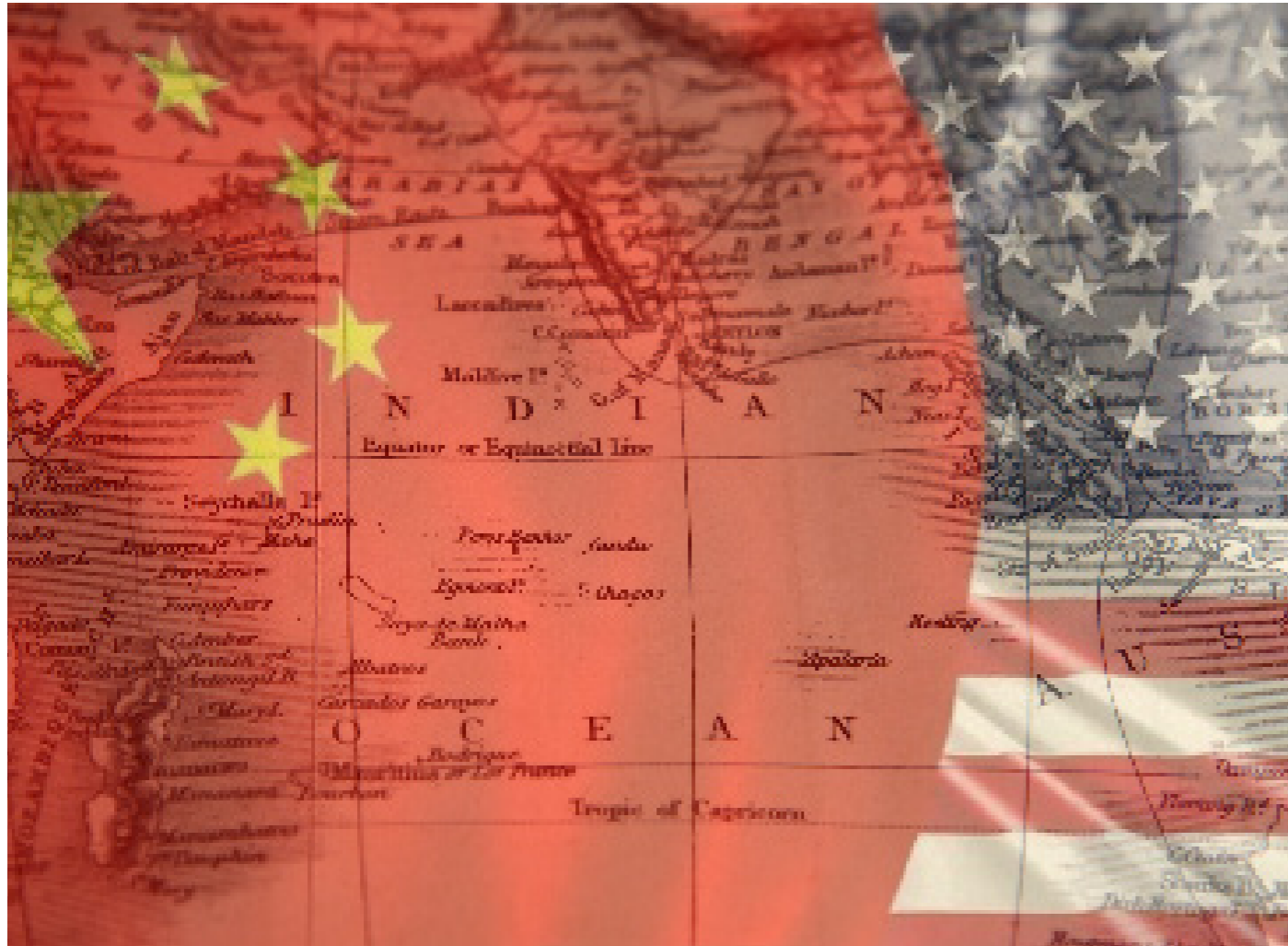
The foreign policy of Kazakhstan, which is one of the most dynamic states in Central Asia, has a great impact on its success. In fact, the most notable architect of this policy is Mr. Tokayev. Because the President of Kazakhstan, who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1994-1999 and 2002-2007, contributed greatly to Kazakhstan's becoming a respected member of the international community during the said period.

Mr. Tokayev, who was known as the only Foreign Minister in the world who spoke Chinese during his tenure and was actually an expert on China, also knows Russia deeply. Ultimately, Kazakhstan's success in international politics is the result of the balanced policy it has established with these two great powers, which are its neighbors. In addition, Mr. Tokayev has established good relations with Western states due to his work as the United Nations (UN) Deputy Secretary-General. This situation has been instrumental in the successful implementation of Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy.

In the protests in January 2022, Mr. Tokayev asked for help from the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), the security organization of which his country is a member, in a very normal way. As a matter of fact, the support of the CSTO prevented the protests from getting out of control.

In this direction, the President of Kazakhstan, who also made evaluations about Russia in the interview, said, "Russia is Kazakhstan's neighbor and partner. In such a situation, it is quite normal for them to come to us for help. Not as "saving Kazakhstan"; It should be described as "an action to save our common interests".

In addition, Mr. Tokayev stated that they are not indebted to Putin and said, "The CSTO unit is not a military unit affiliated to Putin or Russia. The military composition of this organization consists of soldiers of all member states. In addition to Russia; Belarus, Armenia, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan also have military units. Kazakhstan is also a founding and full member of this organization. Therefore, everything is legal and reasonable." made his comment. In addition, Tokayev said, "As for Russia, this great power has defended its geopolitical interests. Russia needs Kazakhstan's stability... In general, we don't owe anyone anything. Kazakhstan is a sovereign state. That's why our policy is independent."



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

What is the Goal of the United States' New Indo-Pacific Strategy?

The increasing China-United States of America (USA) rivalry in recent years draws attention as the most significant geopolitical conflict that will force international relations to a new transformation. China's demand for more power and rights, which began with the Xi Jinping administration, caused the USA to turn to the region and adopt new strategies. Diplomatic and economic policy towards Indo-Pacific in the Barack Obama term has evolved into se-

curity format in Donald Trump period. Especially, Trump's harsh discourse towards China and security-based view triggered international relations to focus on that geography and the "Chinese threat" phrase was frequently expressed. Joe Biden after Trump also followed the path of his predecessors and combined the policies of both Presidents and created the strategy in the basis of "economy-diplomacy-security".



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As it is known, the containment of China and the steps taken by the USA towards the region have been identified with the concept of "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" for a while. As a matter of fact, the Indo-Pacific Strategy document, which was announced for the first time by the Trump administration, was evaluated as a report that reflects the perspective of the USA on Beijing together with its allies. For this reason, the Indo-Pacific Strategy to be announced by the Biden administration has been waited for a long time in terms of showing the steps to be taken for the future. In this context, the Biden administration announced the expected Indo-Pacific report on February 11, 2022.[1]

In the report titled Indo-Pacific Strategy of the USA, the 5 main objectives of the Washington administration regarding the region are listed as follows:

- Advance a free and open Indo-Pacific
 - Build connections within and beyond the regions
 - Drive Indo-Pacific Prosperity
 - Bolster Indo-Pacific Security
 - Build Regional Resilience to 21st Century Transnational Threats
- To implement this strategy, USA will pursue ten core lines of effort in the next 12 to 24 months:

- Drive new resources to the Indo-Pacific
- Lead an Indo-Pacific economic framework
- Reinforce Deterrence
- Strengthen an empowered and unified the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
- Support India's continued rise and regional leadership
- Deliver on the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD)
- Expand U.S.-Japan-South Korea cooperation
- Partner to build resilience in the Pacific Islands
- Support good governance and accountability
- Support open, resilient, secure and trustworthy technologies

While the aforementioned report announced by the Biden administration once again confirms that the USA is a Pacific country; his approach to the region was also expressed in the following words:[2]

"Under President Biden, the United States is determined to strengthen our long-term position in and commitment to the Indo-Pacific. We will focus on every corner of the region, from Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, to South Asia and Oceania, including the Pacific Islands."

Contrary to the two reports announced during the Trump era; it can be said that the new report has been written more clearly and target oriented. It is also a fact that the report emphasizes the policies announced by the US decision makers in the past. However, there are also lines in the report that are open to interpretation and give clues about the U.S.'s future plans.

First of all, contrary to previous reports, the emphasis on South Korea creates the impression that the USA will launch an initiative to solve the problems between its two notable allies, Japan and South Korea. In recent months, North Korea's missile tests have enabled the US-Japan-South Korea mechanism to work more actively. With this rapprochement, the resolution of the conflicts between Japan and South Korea under the leadership of the USA will allow both countries to focus more on China and will increase the strength of the strategy of containment of China economically.

Another issue highlighted in the report and opened under a separate heading is India. While India is defined in the report as an important actor in the Indo-Pacific policies of the USA; positioned as a regional power. However, the expression in question, which was used at a time when Indian nationalism was dominant, created dissent in New Delhi. The reasons such as not being included in the AUKUS process, the discomfort felt by the emphasis on Ukraine in the last QUAD meeting, European countries, especially England, which the USA tried to attract to the region, and naturally the Anglo-Saxon point of view can be interpreted as develop-

ments that will make India's stance questioned. For this reason, New Delhi will demand its role evaluated again as a global scale rather than regional in the coming period.

Another remarkable point in the report is the emphasis on ASEAN. ASEAN, which is formed by the countries located in the center of the Indo-Pacific region, has come to the fore with the "Centrality" strategy it has followed in recent years. However, it is known that in recent months, China has been trying to penetrate ASEAN's centrality policy through Myanmar by using Cambodia. In this conjuncture, the U.S.'s emphasis on the centrality policy may bring ASEAN closer to Washington.

The most critical statement of the report on security is "integrated deterrence". As it is known, the USA has been launching initiatives involving countries from within and outside the region in recent years. While U.S has created an Anglo-Saxon-based security agreement with AUKUS, it has formed a more comprehensive organization that includes the spirit of the region with QUAD. In addition, it makes bilateral security agreements with the countries of the region and organizes many military exercises. If the concept of integrated deterrence is evaluated in this context, it can be predicted that the cooperation between the organizations led by the USA will enhance, new countries will join the QUAD and security agreements such as AUKUS will be expanded. With this approach, it will be feasible to build a robust security architecture by gathering the region's countries against China. Washington will provide defensive flexibility and deterrence against the Chinese Army in the Indo-Pacific area by boosting cooperation among the nations and organizations that have joined its alliance.

The international system is evolving into a new geopolitical fluctuation and a multipolar structure. Indeed, the rhetoric of "collective efforts," which is repeatedly highlighted in the report, indicates that the United States admits with its own words that the world is no longer a unipolar one. There is an interesting point at this point. Because, although the policies, rhetoric and management style implemented by Biden, who came to the administration after a controversial election, are completely opposite to Trump's, the steps he took in the context of the containment policy against China and the Indo-Pacific strategy are a continuation of Trump and even the Obama administration. For this reason, it would not be wrong to see the USA's movement to the region as the macro plan of its deep-state. The USA has chosen the Indo-Pacific region as its top priority area now and in the future. Therefore, it can be predicted that its efforts and influence in the rest of the world will diminish.

[1] "Indo-Pacific Strategy of The United States", The White House, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/U.S.-Indo-Pacific-Strategy.pdf>, 2022.

[2] "Indo-Pacific Strategy...", a.g.r., s. 5.



ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Russian-Ukraine War

21 February 2022 has become an extraordinary day for world politics. Russian President Vladimir Putin, in the evening of that day, made his speech addressing to his nation, that took approximately an hour, and he declared that they are recognizing independence of People's Republic of Donetsk (PRD) and Luhansk People's Republic (LPR), where the conflicts have been continuing for nearly eight years. This decision was globally resonated and concerns on Russia's military invasion firstly to the region, later to Kiev.

After three days of recognizing PRD and LPR, Russia invaded Donbass early in the morning

and the concerns became true. Russia imposed a blockade of Russia over Belarus, Donbass, and Crimea, and after a short time entering Donbass, firstly Capital Kyiv, then Kharkov, Kramatorsk, Mariupol, Mykolaiv and Odessa and many other cities were bombed, and the war titled "special operation" has started. Due to the attacks, civilian people of Ukraine have settled in shelters and some of them moved towards the borders of Poland and Romania, state of emergency was declared in the country and martial law was announced. There were also important developments such as the call for arm everyone who is able in Ukraine, evacuation of all Russian diplomats in Kyiv, and Ukraine



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cut her diplomatic relations with Russia. Those developments mean that peacebuilding in the region has become harder and many soldiers and civilians will lose their lives.

Putin tries to legitimate the war saying Russian citizens in the region faced tyranny and genocide for eight years. As he suggests, the Russian people living in the region was assimilated by Kyiv and Ukraine courts cannot provide the law against bloody crimes unbiased and independently. Besides Putin, including Russian citizens, expressed that the crimes against civilians will be punished.[1]

Russian leader, who had the authority to send soldiers from the Russian Parliament, has challenged to the world, he gave strong warnings against the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Alliance Organization (NATO) and the United States (US) by signaling that he could expand operations by retaliating that what he did was a guarantee of what he would do. In fact, behind his confident speeches, there is the fact that Russia is the most important nuclear powers in the world.

This war between Russia and Ukraine is of great importance since it means that a nuclear power country will attack another state for the first time after the Second World War. Although many crises were faced during the Cold War period, which started after the Second World War, nuclear weapons did not come to the fore. Moreover, serious steps have been taken to reduce the production of nuclear weapons. However, Putin's assertion that Ukraine is trying to have nuclear weapons and that Russia will not allow this has negative meanings for the coming days.

The most important question to be asked is, because of which developments the war will come to an end. Russia's demands in this regard are as follows: Ukraine not to join NATO, NATO soldiers not to be deployed in regions close to the Russian borders, military exercises not to be held, and Crimea to be recognized as Russian territory. In fact, Russia wants Ukraine to remain as a buffer zone between NATO and its borders. However, Russia, which does not want to be a neighbor to NATO, will face such a neighborly relationship because of its own actions if it completely invades Ukraine.

In addition, Russia carried out the operation in question despite the fact that it was repeatedly stated that Ukraine would not be included in NATO. As for NATO's recognition of Crimea, the organization finds the annexation of Crimea contrary to in-

ternational law and considers it a disrespectful step against Ukraine's territorial integrity. In this context, NATO will not recognize the annexation of Crimea by Russia. Ukraine is incomparably weak in terms of military equipment compared to Russia. For this reason, the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky calls for help to the whole world, especially NATO, the US and the EU. So, what does the West do in the face of these calls?

The West has introduced some sanctions by making statements condemning Russia's military action. Germany decided to stop the Nord Stream-2 Project, the construction of which started in 2018 and cost 9.5 billion dollars; The USA banned economic investments in the annexed regions and stated that Moscow's relations with Western capital markets would be cut off. The EU has stated that the Russian economy will be weakened, Russian assets in the EU will be frozen and Russian banks' access to the EU financial market will be stopped.[2] In addition, the EU has decided to sanction 27 real and legal persons and 351 deputies, including the Spokesperson of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Maria Zakharova.[3]

It is understood from the statements of EU Commission President Von Der Leyen that additional sanctions will come into effect. NATO, on the other hand, condemns Russia every time and publishes a message that Ukraine's territorial integrity will be protected; however, it does not take concrete deterrent steps. This encourages Russia.

Based on all these developments, although Russia's victory over the West and NATO cannot be mentioned, it can be said that the West has lost its deterrent against Russia. As a matter of fact, although the West has the potential to stop Russia, it is obvious that it is content with passive statements.

[1] "Путин объявил о специальной военной операции в Донбассе, Путин объявил о специальной военной операции в Донбассе", РИА Новости, <https://ria.ru/20220224/operatsiya-1774620380.html>, (Date of Accession: 24.02.2022).

[2] "Еврокомиссия предложит новый пакет санкций против России, Yevrokomissiya predlozhit novyy paket sanktsiy protiv Rossii", Газета.ру, <https://www.gazeta.ru/politics/news/2022/02/24/17337961.shtml>, (Date of Accession: 24.02.2022).

[3] Евросоюз ввел новые санкции против России, Yevrosoyuz vvel novyye sanktsii protiv Rossii, Тасс, <https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/13821787>, (Date of Accession: 24.02.2022).





ANKASAM ANALYSIS

Ukraine Crisis, Nuclear Weapons and Belarus

According to Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), there are five states, that are legally have the status to be a "nuclear state". At the same time, those countries are the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Those states are the United States (US), Russia, France, Britain, and China. Those actors have highlighted the danger of nuclear weapons and nuclear wars and they have published declaration on January

3, 2022, claiming that kind of war shall not be realized. However, less than two months after this declaration, Russia increased the level of readiness and alertness for nuclear weapons and threatened states that might interfere with its intervention in Ukraine. Therefore, the world started to discuss about a threat of a nuclear war again. All of the developments confirm that the world is indeed facing the "Second World War" Period since 2002.



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Russian President Vladimir Putin's order in front of the cameras to "put the war readiness level of deterrent forces into a special mode" or "raise the level of alert", is that Moscow's orders against third parties, namely the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United States, it has brought with it the evaluation of nuclear weapons as a deterrent factor. However, Putin's expression was evaluated by the experts, that it is an unclear notion and is a "verbal nuclear threat." Thus, Britain's Minister of Defence Ben Wallace has claimed that, since this notion does not take place in Russian nuclear doctrine, Russia's real aim is to divert attentions.

On the other hand, Russia's nuclear weapon threat does not comply with the conditions under which Russia will resort to nuclear weapons in Putin's 2020 nuclear doctrine (Basic Principles of the State Policy of the Russian Federation on Nuclear Deterrence)[1]. Russia lists the conditions mentioned in the doctrine as follows:

In the condition of launching missiles to Russia's or allies' territories

In the condition of using nuclear weapons against Russia or allies

In the condition of an attack to critical facilities that blocks Russia's use of nuclear unities.

In the condition of a conventional attack to Russia that would threaten Russia's existence

Although the Kremlin has made a vague statement, it can be said that the current conditions do not comply with those conditions. In such a situation, Russia's changing the alarm levels of nuclear weapons indicates a different process. This is an indication that the principle of "not being the first to use" for all states consists of rhetoric.

Different figures are pronounced regarding the number of nuclear weapons in the hands of Russia. According to the Federation of American Scientists, Russia has 5,977 and the US has 5,428 nuclear weapons. In addition, Russia has 1,588 and the US has 1,644 ready-to-use strategic weapons.[2] The threats posed by strategic nuclear weapons on a global scale are clear. Smaller scale nuclear weapons are another threat. Russia's tactical nuclear weapons pose a threat to the region. The US has between 180-200 tactical nuclear weapons in Turkey, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Germany within the framework of NATO. However, these weapons can only be used with certain aircraft.

As it can be understood, the developments in Ukraine have once again revealed the tactical and symbolic importance of tactical nuclear weapons, which are described as "remnants of the Cold War" by Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. Of course, the design of these modernized weapons to be used with the F-35, the availability of these weapons in Turkey, and Turkey's removal from the F-35 program emerge as a subject that needs to be addressed separately in this process.

In parallel with Russia's step on nuclear weapons, the Belarusian Assembly changed the nuclear neutrality status in Article 18 of the Belarusian Constitution with a decision and made a constitutional amendment for the deployment of nuclear weapons on its territory, paving the way for Russia to deploy nuclear weapons on Belarusian territory. An interesting paradox occurs here: Immediately after the end of the Cold War, the issue of returning the weapons left in Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan from the Soviet Union period to Russia came to the fore. While Belarus and Kazakhstan act fast in this regard; Ukraine has long resisted the return of arms. Today, the Putin administration considers the absence of nuclear weapons technology in Ukraine as a threat. In this environment, Belarus is preparing to host Russian nuclear weapons, as it was during the Cold War.

It is a serious claim that Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko stated that he will demand nuclear weapons from Putin in an environment where the West is transferring nuclear weapons to Poland and Lithuania. As noted above, the US has nuclear weapons in only five European states. In this period, the claim that such a weapon transfer would be made to Poland and Lithuania came only from Belarus. However, when these allegations are taken into consideration with the withdrawal of first the US and then Russia from the 1987 Medium-Range Nuclear Weapons Convention in 2019, the developments take on a much more dangerous dimension.

The main issue to remember when evaluating all this information is that the George W. Bush administration withdrew from the 1972 Missile Defense System Convention in 2002. In fact, the world entered the "Second Cold War" period after this move. Although there have been ups and downs between the US and Russia, the conventional/nuclear arms race, which resembles the Cold War process, continues. The US continues to develop a missile defense system aimed at protecting its territory from nuclear weapons within the framework of the National Missile Defense Project. As a matter of fact, the European leg



of this system was completed within the framework of the “European Progressive Adaptive Approach” by citing the “Iranian threat”. In the face of the North Korean threat, an important defense system has been developed in the Asia-Pacific region. The development of offensive weapons, which can be called Conventional Sudden Global, continues. Moreover, if the system is successful, the issue of nuclear attack and missile defense systems will need to be reconsidered. As a matter of fact, studies to develop hypersonic cruise missiles in support of this are continuing.

Against the moves of the US, Russia has also increased its activities in this area. Moscow administration is rapidly developing its conventional and nuclear weapons capabilities, especially RS-28 SARMAT weapons and Avangard hypersonic missile systems. It is known that Russia simultaneously developed missile defense systems.

The process of withdrawing from the contracts during the Second Cold War period, which started with the withdrawal of the US from the Missile Defense System Convention in 2002, continued with the withdrawal of the US and Russia from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Weapons Convention in 2019. The NEW START Agreement, which is the continuation of the strategic nuclear weapons limitation/reduction agreements that started

with the SALT Talks in 1972, was extended at the last minute by the US President Joe Biden.

Brennan described the insane process of nuclear proliferation during the Cold War as Mutual Assured Destruction, evoking the English word “mad” meaning crazy. Today, the folly of the USA or Russia is not only the two states; could result in the destruction of the entire world. Although it is not correct to describe himself as crazy, Putin’s words “What should we do with a planet that does not belong to Russia”[3] reveal that the world’s coming to the edge of a dangerous abyss is among the possibilities.

[1] “Basic Principles of State Policy of the Russian Federation on Nuclear Deterrence”, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, https://archive.mid.ru/en/web/guest/foreign_policy/international_safety/disarmament/-/asset_publisher/rp0fi-UBmANah/content/id/4152094, (Date of Accession: 01.03.2022).

[2] “Nuclear Forces”, FAS, <https://fas.org/issues/nuclear-weapons/status-world-nuclear-forces/>, (Date of Accession: 01.03.2022).

[3] Steve Rosenberg, “Ukraine Invasion: Would Putin Press the Nuclear Button?”, BBC, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-60551140>, (Date of Accession: 01.03.2022).



NEWS ANALYSIS

What Does Russia's Ukraine Operation Mean?

When Russian President Vladimir Putin could not obtain the response he demanded from the negotiations with the West, he first recognized the independence of Donetsk and Luhansk, which are separatist structures in Ukraine. He then gave the order to launch a “Special Operation” to Ukraine on February 24, 2022. Many soldiers and civilians have lost their lives in the military operation, in which missile attacks were carried out in many regions, including Kyiv, Kharkov, Mariupol and Kramatorsk. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky called everyone with military experience to join the army. At the same time, Zelenski stated that they were left alone by expressing that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the West were afraid of giving security guarantees. Putin made the statement: “The security risks for our country were so high that we had no other choice. Russia is part of the world

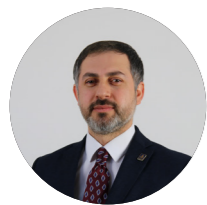
economic system. Why should we destroy the system we are a part of?”.

Although there have been a variety of reactions to the operation that has alarmed the world, Russian forces have destroyed many military sites in the country. While Russian military were marching into Kiev, Zelensky called Putin to broker a cease-fire. “We are ready for high-level conversations with Ukraine,” Putin said in response to Zelensky’s demand. The re-establishment of the diplomacy desk in the midst of growing tension piqued interest.

Experts, who evaluated the operation launched by Russia in Ukraine to Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM), state that it is unclear in which direction the process will progress.



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“It is difficult to predict what Russia will do.”

Noting that Russia has launched an operation in many regions of Ukraine, ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Sabir Askeroğlu stated that the situation may change according to the course of the process, and said that it is difficult to predict the steps to be taken by the Moscow administration.

Recalling Putin's statement that Ukraine will not be invaded, Askeroğlu said, "It was stated that there would be no intervention in Ukraine, but this operation took place. Statements made by state officials in Russia do not coincide with the steps on the ground. In fact, this has always been the case. Regarding Syria, Russia intervened despite the statements made that they would not be involved in the issue."

Askeroğlu emphasized that there is no consensus on the operation among the state officials in Russia, and asserted that it is not known in what direction the process will progress in the current situation. Commenting on the West's declaration of sanctions against Russia, Askeroğlu said, "The nitty gritty here is the answer to the question, "Does the United States (USA) want to punish Moscow as a result of Russia's intervention in Ukraine?" If the US really wants it, there will be no return to diplomacy. Otherwise, Russia would have lured itself into a trap; however, the sanctions announced by the West will not deter Moscow. A step that will deter the Kremlin will be the significant arming of the Ukrainian Army. Some moves are being made towards this."



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Ambassador

“I do not expect Russia to launch a large-scale invasion of Ukraine.”

Emphasizing that Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity were violated by referring to the Helsinki Convention, Retired Ambassador Hüseyin Dirioz underlined that the Minsk Process was not successful. Stating that the sanctions from the West can be a deterrent for Russia to a certain extent, Dirioz said that trade difficulties and exclusion from international or Western monetary systems will cause serious difficulties for Russia. Dirioz said, "Sanctions create problems for both Russia and Europe."

Retired Ambassador Hüseyin Dirioz emphasized that the Minsk Process failed since Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity were breached by referring to the Helsinki Convention. While Western sanctions may act as a deterrent to some extent, Dirioz believes that trade difficulties and isolation from international or Western monetary systems will cause Russia considerable problems. "Sanctions generate challenges for both Russia and Europe," Dirioz remarked.

"There may be difficulties within Russia itself," Dirioz said, adding that the West should not be expected to fight alongside Ukraine in the current situation. As a result, a procedure has been developed to bring people closer together face to face. It is possible that the Russian people will object to this. There is considerable displeasure with the Russians, as it turns out. As a result, I believe Russia's intervention in Ukraine will come to an end soon. As a result, I don't anticipate a full-scale invasion of Ukraine."



**Prof. Dr. Vişne
KORKMAZ**

“What happened in Ukraine is a result of NATO's open door policy.”

Claiming that the target of Russia's intervention in Ukraine could not be fully predicted and that this was known only by those who planned the operation in Moscow, Prof. Dr. Vişne Korkmaz said, "Even if the procedure is scaled back or transformed into a job, the outcome will remain the same. What was crucial was that we did not arrive at this position today. When the world's attention was drawn to Ukraine, Russia demonstrated its ability to carry out its revisionist strategies. The important issue is that the operation was unavoidable."

Evaluating NATO's approach to the process, Korkmaz said, "Russia showed that it could take aggressive steps with the Georgian intervention in 2008; but NATO maintained its position as an open door policy. What is happening in Ukraine today is a result of NATO's open-door policy. It is obvious that the West is making a certain provocation here. Ukraine was told that it is not possible to become a member of NATO at the moment. There is a political message here. A calculation was made that the message in question could deter Russia; however, it has now been revealed that this calculation is extremely inaccurate. There were things that were already predicted, but no one wanted to accept them. It was thought that the messages given could deter Russia, or it was believed that even if do not, it could be used as a punishment mechanism."

Stating that the sanctions announced by the USA and the European Union (EU) are not a deterrent tool, Korkmaz referred to Putin's statement that the intervention against Ukraine was compulsory and said, "I do not think that Russia entered Ukraine because it had to. Russia voluntarily entered Ukraine in order to achieve strategic gains. Russia can legitimize the intervention under the name of necessity, with the rhetoric that it is surrounded; but it was not very possible for Russia to be surrounded in the Black Sea, especially after the Georgian and Crimean attacks. Therefore, it is seen that Russia is more focused on geopolitical gains here. That's why he didn't deter. Moscow thinks its potential gains are more than the price it will pay."

Referring to diplomatic efforts, Korkmaz made her assessment as "Russia's Ukraine campaign is a costly operation, and Moscow is doing it for a reason. It will stop when it reaches its destination. It is not known exactly what this purpose is. The field of diplomacy will also be determined according to this process; but in the current situation we are not at the old point of peaceful resolution of the crisis. Because Russia rejected the Minsk Agreements. Therefore, only the point where the Russian operation stops will tell where the new diplomacy process will be established."



Coşkun BAŞBUĞ
Retired Colonel

“Russia, by intervening in Ukraine and saved NATO, which is to collapse.”

Saying that no one expected such an intervention by Russia in Ukraine, retired colonel Coşkun Başbuğ stated that the operation in Ukraine revealed a picture contrary to Russia’s rhetoric and actions.

Başbuğ made the following statements regarding the allegations of a secret cooperation between the USA and Russia, “Such a thing is possible. We need to learn a lesson from Syria in this regard. The dirty cooperation between the USA and Russia is evident in the Syrian geography. Because neither side touches each other. Both of them unite against Turkey as a single block. Therefore, the actors who made such a cooperation there, why not agree here? So you have to ask: If theater is being played here, what is the purpose? The only purpose of the USA; Reviving NATO. Because the USA managed to open up areas for itself in different countries by opening bases through NATO. He sold weapons through NATO and attempted coups in various states with different organizations. In other words, it would be a great loss if the power given by NATO was lost to the USA and the USA would collapse. That’s why the Washington administration needs a justification, a game to keep NATO alive. This game is also a reenactment of the Russian threat. For this, Russia had to be provoked and aggressive. In my opinion, this is how what is happening at the moment can be summed up.”

Başbu drew attention to a NATO report published in the United States, claiming that the report contained facts indicating that NATO had lost its soul and that the organization should be revitalized. “The job of the United States is to provoke Russia,” Başbu remarked. The US administration will tell countries in the former Soviet sphere of influence that the “Red threat” still exists, and that they must demonstrate unity. In order to achieve this goal, the US has already promoted NATO’s eastward expansion. This is viewed as a threat to Russia’s national security.”

Claiming that Russia’s intervention in Ukraine saved NATO, which it to collapse, Başbuğ made the following assessment: “Russia will not be limited to Ukraine. Putin wants to revive the Soviet Union over time. Although this will take a long time, Moscow is moving towards the plan in question step by step.”



Maryna Rakhlei
Journalist

“Russia’s Ukraine campaign is a tragedy for Europe and the rest of the globe.”

Journalist Maryna Rakhlei stated it’s tough to remark on Russia’s activity in Ukraine, claiming that Russia launched an unjustified and one-sided war.

Rakhlei warned that the operation poses a threat to the security of all of Europe and the world, and that states should assist Ukraine, saying, “The world has changed with Russia’s Ukraine operation.” “A new age has begun.”.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

28 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the 30th anniversary of Turkey-Uzbekistan diplomatic relations for Dünya Newspaper.

28 February 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the Russia-Ukraine issue in the Kanal B Güne Bakış program.

28 February 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine tension in A Haber Ajans program.

28 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. M. Seyfettin Erol wrote about the US attitude towards Russia’s attack on Ukraine in the context of President Joe Biden’s statements.

28 February 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine operation on TRT Haber.

28 February 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the Russia-Ukraine issue on Bengütürk TV.

28 February 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğancahan Başaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine tension in Ülke TV Haber Bülteni program.

28 February 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Specialist Dr. Sabir Askeroğlu evaluated the protests organized by the demonstrators against the operation in Ukraine in Russia to Haber Global.

1 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in TRT News’ Haber Kuşağı program.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

1 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Dođacan Bařaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine tension in the TV5 Haber Merkezi program.

1 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations about the Russia-Ukraine Crisis on VOA Turkish were featured on Sondakika.com.

1 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the Russia-Ukraine Crisis on VOA Turkish were featured in Haber Tuar.

1 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's analysis of Russia's Ukraine Operation, published in Anadolu Agency, was shared on news site of many press organizations.

1 March 2022

The article titled "Is the Russia-China Axis Possible?" (Rusya-Çin Ekseni Mümkün mü?), written by Ankara Crisis and Policy Research Center Expert Cenk Tamer, was shared on the Kırmızılar news portal.

1 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the repercussions of Russia's Ukraine Operation on Syria to Al Arabiya.

1 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine war in A Haber Ajans program.

2 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in TRT News Gece Bakışı program.

2 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Dođacan Bařaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on TVNET Yeni Bir Gün program.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

2 March 2022

ANKASAM Foreign Policy Specialist Emrah Kaya evaluated the Russia-Ukraine crisis in A Haber Ajans Gün İçi Program.

2 March 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in TRT Haber Satır Başı program.

2 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Dođacan Bařaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on Ülke TV Akşama Doğru program.

2 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations to Anadolu Agency on the importance of Middle Corridor were shared on news sites of many press organizations.

2 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's analysis on the Russia-Ukraine War published in Anadolu Agency was published in Millet Newspaper.

2 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the EU's immigration policy and double standards on TRT Haber website.

2 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Specialist Dr. Dođacan Bařaran was the guest of Ülkede Bugün, hosted by Hande Koçyiğit, on Ülke TV.

2 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the importance of Middle Corridor, which is one of the trade and transportation routes between Asia and Europe, to Anadolu Agency.

2 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol was the guest of the Öğle Ajansı program hosted by Ebru Kaçar on Ülke TV.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

3 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol made evaluations to TRT Kurdi on the Russia-Ukraine War.

3 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğacan Başaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in the program of A Haber Gece Ajansı.

3 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in the program of Bengütürk TV Haber Bülteni.

3 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in the Bengütürk TV Düşünce Haritası program.

4 March 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated Russia's Ukraine war on Flash TV.

4 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in Ulusal Kanal Gün Ortası program.

4 March 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on Ülke TV.

4 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on TV5 Günden Yansyanlar program.

4 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğacan Başaran evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on Bengütürk TV.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

4 March 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on TVNET.

4 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Specialist Dr. Doğacan Başaran evaluated Russia-Ukraine War in A Haber Gece Ajansı program.

5 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin Erol's evaluations on the EU's immigration policy and double standard application on TRT Haber website were published on Greek news portal Helmut.

5 March 2022

Ukraine-Turkey: 30th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations Conference, organized by Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) on 24.01.2022, was published in the new issue of Yenises Magazine dated March 2022.

5 March 2022

ANKASAM International Relations Consultant Dr. Kadir Ertaç Çelik evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in TRT Arabic.

5 March 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on TVNET.

5 March 2022

Ankara Center for Crisis and Policy Studies (ANKASAM) Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, was the guest of the Ankara Bureau program hosted by Ali Ekber Mete on TV5.

5 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in Ulusal Kanal Fikir Meydanı program.

6 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in the program of A Haber Gece Ajansı.

ANKASAM IN PRESS

6 March 2022

ANKASAM President Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War in TRT Haber Gece Bakışı program.

6 March 2022

ANKASAM Chief Advisor to the President, Retired Ambassador Aydın Nurhan, evaluated the Russia-Ukraine War on Habertürk TV.



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.

