P-ISSN: 1659-2395; E-ISSN: 1659-3359

# THE IMPACT OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR ON RUSSIAN-CHINESE RELATIONS

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#### **Abstract**

After the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) sought to expand eastward by seeking Ukraine to join it with the support of NATO countries, led by the United States of America, a major cause of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, as the Russian Federation considers Ukraine's accession to NATO a direct threat to its national security resulting from the Russian-Ukrainian war that On February 24, 2022, negative effects erupted for both parties, but it is more devastating for Ukraine. The negative effects were represented in all political, security, economic and social fields

The Russian-Ukrainian war also resulted in local, internal and international repercussions that negatively affected international relations and international trade, as it was the cause of raising fuel prices (oil and gas) and foodstuffs, as well as threatening global peace, and increasing armaments expenditures in most countries of the world. The study showed four topics. The first topic dealt with the causes of the Russian-Ukrainian war, while the second topic dealt with the local, regional and international effects of the Russian - Ukrainian war, while the third topic dealt with the impact of the war on Russian-Chinese relations. And the regional and international - dimensions of the war. As for the fourth topic, it presented a future vision for the Russian Ukrainian Arabs, as well as presenting a future vision for Russian-Chinese relations.

#### Introduction

turning point in the represents a dangerous 2022/2/4 The Russian-Ukrainian war since structure of the global system and the balance of power since the collapse of the Soviet Union in The two sides of the conflict are the Russian Federation on the one hand and the United . 1991 .States and NATO on the other

Although this transition still lacks effective international institutions of all kinds, it has revealed a Russian-Chinese rapprochement and unity in orientations against the Western camp and stability in the future political and security effectiveness of the Shanghai Organization and the economic of the BRICS group, Of the population of the earth two-thirds of and revealed that in Asia, Africa, Europe and South America, they live in countries that support or do not condemn the Russian invasion of Ukraine and fight the United States and NATO, according to the fact that some of them such as China, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Eritrea and South Africa are allies or supportive of Russia, as confirmed that the trend The general of the neutral states is the gradual tilt towards the eastern camp Russia and China.

,The conflict in Ukraine is an old one due to Ukraine's important geographical advantages represented by its distinguished geographical location, which made its climate moderate and its



land fertile, as well as its proximity to oil and gas exporting countries, as it has become a transit .route, and one of the most prominent conflicts that took place to seize Ukraine is what it has done Russia, since Ukraine was in some of the right of history part of the Russian Empire and the Russian Federation politically, economically and religiously, and it was at other stages an enemy of the Russian Federation, wars, conflicts and military clashes are taking place between them that .are still continuing to the present time

Study problem: The research problem can be formulated as follows: What are the reasons for the outbreak of the Russian - Ukrainian war? What are its local, regional and international dimensions? What is the impact of the war on Russian-Chinese relations? What are its future ?dimensions

- The hypothesis of the study: There are several reasons that led to the outbreak of the Russian Ukrainian war, whether political, economic, geographical, or religious reasons. The impact of this war was not limited to Russia and Ukraine locally, but its influence extended regionally and globally. The war worked on developing Russian- Chinese relations, which prompted Russia to develop those relations to get rid of One of the consequences of the sanctions imposed by NATO, The aim of the study: The study aims to explain the reasons that led to the outbreak of this war and to clarify its effects on the local, regional and global arena, and to try to predict the future of this war, as well as to clarify the impact of this war on Russian-Chinese relations

Structure of the study: The study came with four topics, the first topic dealt with the causes of the Russian - Ukrainian war, while the second topic dealt with the local, international and regional effects of the Russian - Ukrainian war, while the third topic dealt with the impact of the Russian Ukrainian war on the development of Russian - Chinese relations, while the fourth topic dealt - with a vision future of Russian-Chinese relations

## The first topic

## Causes of the Russian - Ukrainian war

Throughout history, Ukraine has been subjected to many forms of occupation due to its distinguished strategic location linking the continents of Europe and Asia and its maritime view of the Black Sea, as well as the diversity of its natural resources, especially its agricultural products, which made it coveted and a conflict zone by the colonial powers over time, as it was under Persian rule. In the seventh century BC, followed by the Germanic expansion, which imposed its control over the country in the third century AD, then the Slavic tribes inhabited it in the ninth century AD, and established what is known as the Kingdom of (Rus Kiev), which included the western part of present-day Ukraine, and a large part of the territory of present-day Russia., And in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the continuous raids of the Turkish tribes caused a mass migration of the Slavic population to safer areas in the northern dense forests, and in the thirteenth century, specifically in 1239, the Mongols seized large parts of the Ukrainian lands, as Kiev was completely destroyed, and in the year 1350 the northern parts of Ukraine came under the control of Poland and Lithuania, while the southern part was subject to the control of the Tatars and the rest of the parts joined Russia after the divisions of Poland, which became most



of Ukraine in the nineteenth century divided between the Austrian and Russian Tsarist empires until 1917 when the Russian Empire collapsed The Ukrainian National Front declared .(i) independence

During the period between 1917-1920, many separate states emerged for a short and limited period, which are the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Soviet Ukraine), and all these divisions or designations belonged to the lands of the Russian Empire, while the other section, which belonged to Austria and Hungary, appeared in it, Both the Western Ukrainian People's Republic and the Hutsul Republic also for a limited period as a chaotic movement called the Black Army appeared in southern Ukraine, and after a stage of chaos, wars, and attempts at independence, Ukraine emerged on December 30, 1922 as one of the founding countries of the Soviet Union, and it was expanded as a socialist Soviet republic, In 1945 the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic became one of the founding member states of the United .(ii) Nations

Russia and Ukraine have enjoyed historical relations not only geographically, but also ethnically, linguistically, religiously and diplomatically. Although the official language in Ukraine is Ukrainian, 30% of Ukrainians speak the Russian language, and more than 50% of the population of eastern Ukraine speaks the Russian language as the main language. The mother, while the official religion adopted in Ukraine is Orthodox Christianity, and in Russia the percentage of Orthodox Christians reaches about 71% of the population. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church has .iii () always been part of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church until 2019

The crisis that occurred between the Russian Federation and Ukraine began from 2005 to since the events of the first orange revolution in Ukraine, which takes place when differences 2010 occurred between the candidates in the Ukrainian elections, which are (Lyoshiko) supported by the United States of America and (Yanukovych) supported by Before the Russian Federation and when the elections were held and the results were announced, with Yanukovych winning allegations of fraud in the presidential elections emerged, which precipitated the outbreak of widespread popular protests known as the Orange Revolution because of the wearing of orange clothes by Yoshiko 's supporters in the color of his party's flag. The revolution continued through demonstrations, sit-ins, and strikes until The opposition succeeded in canceling the election results and re-running them in the presence of international monitoring institutions, in which (Yoshiko achieved an important victory, which led to a crisis between the Russian Federation and Ukraine ( Yanukovych was re-elected as president of Ukraineiv that continued to escalate until 2010 ( when but the crisis It returned again in December of 2013, after mass demonstrations erupted in, Ukraine protesting the Ukrainian President (Yanukovych)'s refusal to sign the partnership with the European Union and his preference for entering an economic partnership with the Russian Federation, which resulted in popular demonstrations in January of the year 2014 to overthrow and these demonstrations were accompanied by acts of violence that ,(v) the regime in Ukraine led to the killing of a number of protesters and government security forces. Declaration of the . (vi ) Ukrainian language as the sole official language of the country



However, this situation aroused the discontent of the Russian leadership represented by President (Vladimir Putin), who considered the demonstrations a departure from loyalty to Russia, and considered the collapse of the Ukrainian government (the Yanukovych government) a direct threat to Russian national security in light of the interventions of pro-Western currents in Ukrainian affairs, which prompted the Russian leadership To take some measures, the most :important of which were

- 1-Entering Crimea and annexing it to the Russian Federation in order to protect the Russian and among the historical facts is that the Crimea Peninsula returned to Russia until (vii) fleet in it the formation of the Soviet Union, but the annexation of the peninsula to Ukraine came from a strategic perspective related to the reality of the Soviet Union as a whole and its priorities Protecting its security and stability. The ideological base on which its formation was based, which was circulated to all members under its umbrella, allowed the Crimea island to be cut off from Russia and annexed to Ukraine after the communist doctrine abolished the differences and nationalism between the states of the Union at the time, which allowed overlooking the status of and the Crimea, (viii) Crimea, considering All of Ukraine became part of the mother Soviet Union region, which was inhabited by a majority of the population of Russian origin before 2014, ,() remained an autonomous region within the framework of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian state but this situation did not last long, if Ukraine witnessed since In early 2014, there was a politicalix crisis, after the Russian armed forces extended their control over the Crimea, and a referendum was held after which the peninsula was included in the composition of the Russian Federation which Ukraine and the international community considered an occupation and an encroachment .x () on its sovereignty and territorial integrity
- ,Russia's annexation of Crimea, which is strategically located in the northern part of the Black Sea was mainly aimed at preserving Russian influence in the Black Sea region for fear of Ukraine's accession to NATO, as Ukraine's location on the northern coast of the Black Sea has great strategic importance as it The Black Sea is witnessing a struggle between Russia to maintain its influence in it and the United States of America, which seeks to include the countries bordering the Black Sea into NATO, thus ensuring control over it, and because Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania are members of the alliance, the inclusion of Ukraine is very important to surround Russia and prevent .(xi) it from Control of the Black Sea and access to the Mediterranean
- 2- Non-recognition of the legitimacy of the new Ukrainian government that emerged as a (xii) result of the colorful demonstrations headed by President (Petro Yushchenko)
- 3- Supporting minorities of Russian origin in eastern Ukraine and creating a state of rebellion against the Ukrainian authority, in order to avoid the possibility of Ukraine joining NATO (), as pro-Russian demonstrations escalated from separatist groups in the Donbass region in the eastxiii of the country, which led to an armed conflict between The Ukrainian government and separatist groups backed by the Russian Federation in August 2014, and Russian armor crossed the borders of the Donetsk region from several locations, and the incursion of the Russian army was .(xiv) considered responsible for the defeat of the Ukrainian armed forces at the time



Since the beginning of the crisis, Russian President Putin has tried since 2014 to influence any agreement between the government of Panukovich loyal to him and his opponents. Putin considered the collapse of the Ukrainian government loyal to Russia a threat to Russian national security, so he responded to that with several actions, including

.The independence of Crimea to protect the Russian bases there -1

Non-recognition of the legitimacy of the new government (the government of Petro- Pechenico -2 (

Encouraging the Russian minorities in Ukraine to rebel against the authorities, and ensuring -3 adequate protection for them

Negotiation from the logic of force after the annexation of Crimea and the threat of force, and -4 the removal of the Ukrainian capacity on international waterways in the region, which is a new .xv () challenge for the United States of America and its allies in NATO

It can be said that the conflict between Russia and Ukraine revolves around several files, some of which were natural for the dissolution of the Soviet Union and were being dealt with between the two countries, but others, the most important and most dangerous, were the result of a Western effort, specifically an American one, to use Ukraine against Russia, the most prominent of which are the files that are being talked about. About the conflict between Russia and Ukraine today is Ukraine's attempt to join the Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as its attempt to join the European Union, Ukraine's declaration of its intention to possess nuclear weapons, as well as the status of the Donbass region and the declaration of the Donetsk Republic Lugansk and their independence, and Russia's restoration of Crimea, the three main files, (joining NATO partnership with the European Union and nuclear possession) were the most dangerous, for which many Ukrainian measures have been paved since 2014, economic, political, military, social, and even religious related to the separation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from reference (russian (xvi

In sum, the direct cause of the Russian-Ukrainian hostility is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) seeking to expand eastward through the alliance's pursuit of Ukraine's accession to it with the support of the alliance countries, led by the United States of America, and this is what the Russian government opposes because it believes that Ukraine's accession to NATO is a direct threat For its national security, through the possibility of establishing military and missile bases for NATO over the Ukrainian lands adjacent to the Russian Federation, and this means that the capital (Russian Moscow) will be at the mercy of NATO missiles



# The second topic

The local and international effects of the Russian - Ukrainian war

There are local economic, security, political and social dimensions to the Russian - Ukrainian war that can be clarified as follows

1- The economic effects of the Russian-Ukrainian war on both Russia and Ukraine

## i- :United Russia

Russia is the first European country to be affected by the Ukrainian crisis, although the Russian economy ranks 11th, and its importance is increasing in key global sectors, most notably the energy markets and some minerals and grains. The year 2022 witnessed a significant change in the expectations of Russian economic growth compared to what it was before the war. For the first three months of the year, the Russian GDP growth rate reached 3.5%, but with the outbreak of the war with Ukraine at the end of February, Western sanctions came that caused many problems for the Russian economy, the most prominent of which was the decline in imports and exports, the exacerbation of the labor shortage, as well as the departure of many International companies that were operating inside Russian territory and the sanctions imposed by NATO (xvii) countries on Russia and on Russian companies and banks

It also imposed strange pressures on Russia that could be called (economic war), and these pressures were adopted by many countries. The United States of America made it difficult for Russia to pay its international debts by preventing Russia from using the amount of (600) million dollars that it kept in American banks . In addition to the freezing of assets belonging to the Russian Central Bank, due to its refusal to use its cash reserves, which amounted to (630) billion dollars, as well as the isolation of Russian banks from the international financial correspondence .system, which caused delays in payments to Russia for its oil and gas exports

With regard to the United Kingdom, it imposed sanctions on Russia, represented in the exclusion of Russian banks from the financial system in Britain, and prevented Russian companies from their right to borrow from banks, as well as restrictions on the deposit operations that were allowed to them in British banks, and prevented wealthy Russians from obtaining To reside in and confiscating their money and ,(xviii) Britain by stopping the system of selling (golden visas) . property inside British territory

And the sanctions continued from Western countries against more than a thousand Russian people and companies, including businessmen who are called the (oligarchy) and who are considered close to the Kremlin, and also targeted luxury yachts associated with the Russians subject to sanctions, in addition to placing a ceiling on the price of Russian oil, which became 60 dollars. per barrel, which was determined by the (Group of Seven) countries, and this amount was very low for Russia, as it used to earn 800 million dollars daily from selling oil before pricing it so the Russian government decided to prevent the export of Russian oil to the countries that signed this decision and the countries that agree to it, and decided to expand In the market for selling oil including to Asian countries, especially China and India, because they did not agree to the new in addition to the support of the Chinese government to Russia, (xix) pricing decision



#### **←** Ukraine

The rate of economic growth in Ukraine in 2021 reached (3.4%), and in the first quarter of 2022, the gross domestic product in Ukraine decreased by (1.15%), and Ukraine's economy suffered from the consequences of Russian military operations, as the country's economy shrank sharply by 37.2% in the quarter The second of 2022, compared to the same period last year, with the collapse of infrastructure, exports and consumption in the country, according to data issued by the Ukrainian Statistics Office, and expectations indicate that the Ukrainian economy recorded a contraction in 2022 by 35%, despite the damage to economic activity as a result of the destruction What affected productive capacities, damage to agricultural lands, and a decrease in the supply of labor, as it is estimated that more than 14 million people have been displaced, and according to recent estimates by the World Bank, the total needs for recovery and reconstruction in the social productive and infrastructure sectors in Ukraine amount to a total of (349) billion dollars at least and this represents more than 1.5 times the size of Ukraine's economy before the war in 2021. The energy sector is one of the sectors most affected by the repercussions of the international (Russian - Ukrainian) war, which caused a suffocating international energy crisis, represented by the rise in gas and oil prices to their highest levels in nearly a decade, as the global gas price rose in January 2022. From (2.55) US dollars to (3.27) US dollars in July 2022, the barrel of oil in OPEC increased to (114.3) US dollars, and this led to high rates of inflation and economic deflation in the world, and the European Union was the most affected by the high prices As 41% .xx of its natural gas needs, 46% of its coal needs, and 27% of its oil needs come from Russia The safe effects of the Russian - Ukrainian war on Russia and Ukraine -2

Ukraine is the weakest point of the Russian western belt, and if the risk of destroying geopolitical autonomy seems likely, the fact that an independent Ukraine exists is a geopolitical level a declaration of war on Russia, and this point is not made by Ukraine itself as much as it is made by NATO, and the Ukrainian problem is the most important For Russia, the Ukrainian issue appears on the one hand, its sovereignty represents a phenomenon for Russian politics that provokes an armed conflict, as this conflict occurred in 2013, and on the other hand, the Russians believe that Ukraine's autonomy, political, cultural, economic, and security should be limited, and according to their view, it must become a state loyal to Russia As it was during the period of the Union's existence, one of the constants of Russian policy is the comprehensive control of the Black Sea from the Ukrainian lands to the Abkhaz lands, and the waters and facilities of the Black Sea are subject to Russian control, and that the aim of this policy is the expansion of Russian influence to those vital and important areas for Russian security and sent a message to NATO and (xxi) the European Union with the power of the Russian Federation

,It represents the Russian military doctrine that adopted sending Russian forces abroad which previously did not happen unless there was a threat to Russia or within the framework of peacekeeping forces under the leadership of the United Nations. The military doctrine approved the deployment of Russian forces on a decision of the Organization of Independent States (the Commonwealth) or Based on a threat affecting Russians in other republics, and in 2009 amendments were made to Russian law through the possibility of using Russian forces against



any attack on Russian forces abroad, or deterring any attack on any country that asked Russia for protection or based on a decision from The UN Security Council, and the doctrine included the development of the capabilities of the army and the naval fleet and the development of the military institution, which will continue until 2040, and the former Russian President Medvedev believes that Russia aims to reduce the American influence in Europe and expand Russian influence in neighboring countries to Russia, and in a step that precedes any political solution or Military Russia has sent 40,000 soldiers to the neighboring Rostov region to the Donbas basin to stay there permanently, and Russia has worked to strengthen its military capabilities by deploying the second unit of the S-400 anti-aircraft and air targets near the city of Vistastopol, noting that Russia has deployed the first unit of the S-system 400 in eastern Crimea, with the aim of controlling the Ukrainian coasts and securing the Kerich bridge that connects the Russian regions of Krasnodar and the Crimean peninsula with a length of 19 km and is a link and vital strip of Crimea with the Russian mainland and governs Russian control over the Sea of Ozov and controls the passage of .(xxii) Ukrainian ships from the Sea of Ozov to the Black Sea

, Russia announced the detention of three Ukrainian ships in the Kerish Strait of the Sea of Ozov which is part of Russia's territorial waters after the annexation of Crimea, as Russia allows naval and navigation ships to pass, provided that they do not violate the applicable laws and regulations and inform the Russian authorities of the route and the nature of the cargo, knowing that Ukraine does not recognize Russia's sovereignty Crimea and the seaports, and they are forced to deal in accordance with the Russian regulations that regulate navigation, and it is mentioned that Ukraine issued an order to those ships with 24 sailors on board to sail in the waters of the strait without informing the Russian authorities, and as a result a clash took place between the Russian forces and the three ships, and the ships were detained And the entire crew, Ukraine accused Russia of military aggression, and after this incident, Russia declared martial law and the security service admitted that there were a number of intelligence officers among the ships' crew on an antiespionage mission for the Ukrainian Navy, and as a response from Ukraine, a Russian ship was detained on July 25, 2019 in the ports of the Black Sea Alleging that the ship participated in the attack on Ukrainian ships detained by Russia, and the ship was seized in the port of Ismail in the .(xxiii) Ukrainian region of Odessa

On the other hand, the United Nations called for non-escalation in the Black Sea and urged the parties to avoid any escalation in the crisis. The official spokesman for the Secretary-General of the United Nations said that the concerned parties must abide by the principles of international ,law and work within the framework of the United Nations Charter. As a result of this incident ,Russia threatened Ukraine. With severe consequences as a result of the seizure of this ship announced the military prosecutor Anatoly Aetius that the Odessa court issued a decision to .(xxiv) confiscate the Russian tanker

The events of the Russian crisis were the result of a conflict between two international parties represented by the first party, the Russian Federation, which believes that Ukraine is a dependent state by law, geographical neighborhood, cultural and social ties, and the presence of the Russian ,minority that Russia cannot abandon, as well as the economic relations that bind the two countries



and the other party It is represented by the European Union and the United States, who seek to reduce Russian influence, besiege the Russian Federation in its international borders, and prevent .(xxv) any influence of Russia in Ukraine

The political effects of the Russian - Ukrainian war on Russia and Ukraine -3

Ukraine has not achieved political stability since independence as a result of internal conflicts and external interference in internal affairs, as well as the division of society and political forces between supporters and opponents of the international parties represented by Russia and the West, and this is what fueled the protests in Ukraine in 2013 through demonstrations, sit-ins and the use of power and violence against demonstrators, It was rejected by the United States and the European Union, and Ukraine witnessed demonstrations in 2014 against the policy of the Yanko Veitch government, as a result of which more than 122 demonstrators were killed, and the demonstrators demanded that the government carry out reforms, and the government agreed to carry out these reforms. Eastern part of Ukraine and the region's demands for secession, as those regions witnessed a war with the separatists in the Donbas basin (Luhansk And Donetsk) and the Ukrainian government in Kiev, which caused the breach of the war agreement imposed by the Minsk Agreement, and this war claimed more than 10 thousand victims and tens of thousands of wounded. The separatists were able to achieve victory and demand independence from Ukraine or the establishment of a federal system with powers, from On the other hand, Russia announced the annexation of Crimea, which was cut off from Russia and annexed to Ukraine in 1945 in a .xxvi () decision by former Soviet President Khrushchev, who is of Ukrainian origin

Ukraine is one of the countries in which the conflict continued after the Cold War and the competition between Russia and the West over Ukraine, despite the negotiations to include Ukraine into NATO and the European Union, but these negotiations did not succeed. Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wrote a press article that said "President Putin should realize that regardless of his complaints by following the policies of dictation, he will announce the ,emergence of a new cold war," and the press secretary of the Russian president, Dmitry Yeskov responded to this article regarding what the East and West were entering into a new cold war. He did not believe the cold war had begun. He is also watching in the belief that it has not started, so let us contemplate this in light of the escalation of violations of the ceasefire. The UN Security Council has condemned these repeated violations by the separatists and Ukrainian forces, which is the first resolution issued by the UN Security Council in 2015, through which he expressed deep Concern about the worsening of the Ukrainian political and security situation, the UN Security Council supported the Special Monitoring Mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and urged the parties concerned in the crisis to cooperate with experts in order to complete their tasks and maintain their safety, and the Security Council renewed commitment to Resolution No. 2002 issued in 2015 regarding With the implementation of the Minsk Agreement, Russia called on the Security Council to adopt a statement in support of that agreement and the settlement of the Ukrainian crisis, and in an escalating step on the part of Ukraine, the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Olekster Korola Zenyuk announced the approval of the partnership agreement with the European Union, and granted political asylum to the ousted



President Yano Kovic, Russia promised the new government that it was illegitimate, warning of the escalation of anti-Russian fascism, and in the elections that took place in 2014, Petro Yushchenko was elected president to Ukraine, and the president faced internal and external challenges, including the conflict in eastern Ukraine and Crimea, joining the European Union, and addressing The economic crisis, and in his speech during his assumption of office, he mentioned and he issued his ,xxvii () that the destination of Ukraine is European and Ukrainian is Crimea first decree assuming the position of Commander -in-Chief of the Armed Forces. His policy on the possibility of dialogue with Russia in discussing cooperation with the European Union, but the crisis continued and he did not find any solution to it, and the tension with Russia was not (xxviii) reduced even at the end of his rule in 2019

In the Ukrainian presidential elections that took place in April 2019, Vladimir won Zelensky won 73% of the vote compared to 25% for Poroshenko, and Poroshenko acknowledged, the defeat, and stated that the government would be happy to elect a new, inexperienced president warning of Ukraine falling under the control of Russia, and when the president took the constitutional oath, he announced the dissolution of the parliament, which is dominated by loyalists to President Euro shenko He called for new parliamentary elections

On the other hand, Russia sees in the election results a hope for Ukraine's rapprochement with the European Union and NATO to decline. In this regard, the director of the Russian Post-Industrial Society Research Center, Vladislav Anuzimsev, said that the Kremlin's biggest bets in the Ukrainian presidential elections are the loss of Boroshenko and the victory of a candidate who is compatible with Russia. And Boroshenko is an opponent of Russia, which harmed Russian interests by urging the imposition of sanctions on it, and removing the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the control of the administration of the Russian Orthodox Church . Parliamentary elections since Ukraine's independence in 1991, while the pro-Russian opposition platform party got 1115 votes, followed by three pro-Western parties, namely the Solidarity Party that got 819 votes, the Homeland Party got 719 votes, and the Polus Party, which was founded in 2019, got 316 votes and President Zelensky announced His priority is fighting corruption, ending the war and returning prisoners, and he said we will not let the Ukrainians fall, and within the framework of the Russian position on the election results, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that the results of the parliamentary elections in Ukraine are evidence of the people's fatigue from the previous policy of intimidation, describing it as a vote of hope, and praising the landslide victory of the party The Servant of the People led by President Zelensky and the opposition Platform Party, which supports the restoration of relations with Russia, the Ministry praises that the parties of the National Forces, the European Solidarity Party, a group of extremists from the Sevo Buda Party and radical .(xxix) organizations did not enter Parliament, and this election brought what it wanted officially The social effects of the Russian - Ukrainian war -4

Russia and Ukraine have a historical relationship centuries ago. In the year 1654 AD, the Bir Yaslav " treaty was signed, aiming to integrate Ukraine into the Russian Empire. In" subsequent centuries, attempts were made to annex parts of Ukraine to one of the powers at the ,time. Russia, Poland, Austria and the Ottoman Empire, and in the year 1939 western Ukraine



with western orientations, was annexed to Soviet Russia, noting that the inhabitants of the western part of Ukraine supported the armies of Nazi Germany against the armies of Stalin in World War II in an attempt to break away from the Soviet Union, and after the victory of the Red Army Ukraine remained an important Soviet republic after Russia in the Union of Soviet Republics until its decision to gain independence from it in the midst of its collapse in 1991. In addition to the historical dimension of the crisis, the social factor has a major role in its determinants, as the ,Ukrainians in the eastern and southeastern regions who are in the Crimea are Russian speakers belong to the Eastern Orthodox sect, and consider themselves a Russian people, since there has been a historical mixing in the existence of two Russian and Ukrainian peoples. , In the Ukrainian state, and the internal conflict has been going on since 2014 until now in the east and south of the country between the "Russian Ukrainians" aspiring to secede from the state and join Russian sovereignty, as in the case of Crimea, supported by Russia, and between the Ukrainian government .(xxx) forces

In sum, the Russian-Ukrainian war resulted in negative effects for both the Russian and Ukrainian sides, but it is more severe and destructive on the Ukrainian side, and these political effects were represented in all political, security, economic and social fields for both countries

Second: - The regional and international dimensions of the Russian - Ukrainian war

After the development of the Ukrainian crisis, the position of the countries differed at the regional and international level, especially after Russia entered the Crimea peninsula, and encouraged the Russian minorities that are in Ukraine to rebel against the authority, so the US administration moved and banned the export of goods, technology and services to Crimea, and the US Congress passed the Freedom Support Act in Ukraine Under which sanctions were .imposed on Russian arms companies

The American interest in Ukraine as a whole was not in order to achieve democracy, but in order to install governments loyal to it, which was revealed by the identity of the Ukrainian President (Yurichenko), and to create areas of influence for it in the Eastern European region which is mainly a Russian sphere of influence, and the American administration has realized that its intervention In the crisis, it will be possible to strengthen the presence of NATO in the region of eastern and central Europe, and work to contain Russian influence in eastern Europe with an increase in the cost of this interference in Ukrainian affairs, in a way that prevents Russia later from interfering in the affairs of other countries, as the former US President (Barack Obama) announced A statement in which he warned Russia in the event of continued escalation in Ukraine saying ((If Russia does not want to work with the Ukrainian government, then we have no choice but to continue working on Ukraine joining us and isolating Russia from the world, and that what Russia is doing constitutes a violation of international law)) And in 2014, the United States imposed new sanctions on Russia, including a ban on exporting goods, technology, and services to Crimea, then Congress issued the so-called Freedom Support Act in Ukraine, according to , which sanctions were imposed on Russian arms companies, and some investors in oil projects and the US administration announced It is possible to withdraw these sanctions in the event that



Russia adheres to the (Minsk Agreement) to the cease-fire and the Geneva agreement, and embodies the American position in rejecting Russian interference in Ukraine and opposing the possibility of Russia's alliance with Ukraine and the formation of a federal system that exceeds .xxxi () the strength of the United States of America

Ukrainian war resulted in serious international repercussions, the most important of -: which are

- 1. The rise in the prices of primary commodities such as food and energy resulted in the erosion of incomes and the weakening of demand
- 2. Its negative effects on international trade through slow and interrupted transfer of funds abroad
- 3. Increasing the flow of Ukrainian refugees towards European countries
- 4. The decline in the confidence of the business community and the increase in investors' sense of uncertainty led to the weakening of asset prices and the tightening of financial conditions, which resulted in the exit of capital flows from emerging markets
- 5. Since Russia and Ukraine are among the largest producers of primary commodities, supply chain disruptions have led to a sharp rise in global prices, especially oil and natural gas prices Food prices have also witnessed a jump in light of the historical level reached by the price of .wheat, as Ukraine contributes Russia accounts for 30% of world wheat exports
- 6. The Russian-Ukrainian war resulted in an increase in military spending for Russia and Ukraine .in particular and for most countries in the world in general
- 7. The return of the Cold War and the arms race between the Russian Federation on the one hand and the United States of America on the other
- 8. There is a division in the position of the countries of the world regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war. There are countries that supported the Ukrainian side represented by all NATO countries, led by the United States, while there are countries that supported the Russian side directly and indirectly, as is the case for the countries of China, Syria, Iran, Chechnya and North Korea
- 9. The emergence of signs of the establishment of a military alliance hostile to NATO, the parties of which are Russia, China, Iran and North Korea
- 10. The lack of use of the dollar in world trade is offset by an increase in dependence on local currencies, and this has resulted in the end of the prestige of the dollar in global commercial transactions
- 11. As a result of the rise in fuel prices (oil and gas), this was of great benefit to the oil-exporting countries, especially the Gulf and North African countries. This resulted in an increase in the financial revenues of these countries. This resulted in an increase in the national income rates of the oil and gas-exporting countries

If we look beyond the global repercussions, we will find that the countries that feel more pressure are those that have trade and tourism relations and direct financial exposures. As for the economies that depend on oil imports, they recorded higher deficit rates in public finances and trade and



witnessed significant inflationary pressures. Although the rise in fuel prices has benefited oilexporting countries such as the countries of the Middle East and North Africa

An increase in the rise in food and fuel prices would lead to greater risks of unrest in some regions, such as sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America to the Caucasus and Central Asia, while ,the war results in an increase in food insecurity in some parts of Africa and the Middle East despite the difficulty Measuring the frequency of these reverberations, the war may change the global economic and geo - political system fundamentally, if there is a shift in energy trade, supply chains are re-established , payment networks are fragmented, and countries rethink their possession of reserve currencies. As for the increase in geographical tension Political , as it ) threatens more risks of economic fragmentation , especially at the level of trade and technology (xxxii

Energy represents the main channel for transmission of repercussions in Europe, as Russia constitutes a major source of its imports of natural gas. This may result in wider disruptions in ) supply. These effects resulted in higher inflation and slower recovery from the pandemic COVID- 19 pandemic). Eastern Europe has witnessed a rise in financing costs and a boom in the ,flow of refugees, as it has absorbed most of the three million refugees who fled Ukraine recently according to United Nations data. European governments may also face pressures on public finances from increased spending on securing energy sources and defense budgets. While the external exposures of the declining Russian assets are limited by international standards, pressures () havensxxxiii on emerging markets may increase if investors seek safer

As for the repercussions of the war on the Asia and Pacific region, they were few due to the lack of strong economic relations between them, with the exception of Russia's relations with .China, but the slow growth in Europe will have severe effects on the major exporting countries As for the biggest effects on current accounts, it will appear in the economies of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which imports oil, India and the promising economies including some of the Pacific islands. These effects may increase due to the decline in tourism in countries dependent on Russian tourism. As for China, the direct effects are expected to be smaller , due to the fiscal stimulus push that will support the growth target for this year, which is (5.5%) while Russia's purchases of Chinese exports are relatively few. However, high commodity prices and weak demand in major export markets add to the challenges it faces . There are similar repercussions in both Japan and Korea, and new support for oil may mitigate those effects. In light of the rise in energy prices, inflation will rise in India, which has already reached the upper end of the range targeted by the central bank, and it is expected that food price pressures will ease in Asia, thanks to domestic production and reliance on rice more than wheat. Costly food and energy imports will raise consumer prices, but subsidies and caps for fuel, food and fertilizer prices may .(xxxiv) mitigate their direct impact - although public finances will bear their costs



# The third topic

#### Ukrainian war on Russian - Chinese relations -

Before addressing the effects of the Russian-Ukrainian war on Russian-Chinese relations, we see it necessary to briefly clarify the history of the development of Russian-Chinese relations. We will explain this as follows

First: the history of the development of Russian-Chinese relations

After the death of the former Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, relations between the two countries deteriorated, and the Soviet-Chinese division led to a resounding dispute on Matsky Island, which resulted in a stalemate in relations between them, especially during the sixties and seventies of the last century, then a new round of trade relations began in the late eighties, and trade relations did not live long. That strengthened with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991

At that time, the import of luxury consumer goods began actively to the Far East and Siberia, but it gradually penetrated into other parts of the country, and in the late nineties China bought 50% of the weapons produced by the Russian Federation, and it helped that China was under sanctions after the events of (Tiananmen Square) ) in 1989, and had no access to other advanced weapons sources

On the other hand, oil was transported in small quantities by railways because there was no pipeline to transport oil. In 1998, trade between the two sides amounted to 4 and 5 billion .dollars, and Russia's exports were twice the imports from China

In 2001, Russia and China signed an agreement on (neighborhood security, consent, and cooperation). The agreement stipulated joint action between the two countries in a number of .fields, such as trade, economy, military and technical fields, energy, and combating terrorism This agreement laid the foundation for the rapid growth of relations while attracting economic politics with it, as the volume of trade increased. And cooperation in the field of the nuclear industry. The volume of trade exchange increased, reaching \$100 billion in 2014. In 2013, China acquired about 10% of the volume of Russian trade, and it rose to 18% by the end of 2021. The volume of bilateral trade between the two countries reached At the end of 2021, it reached (140) billion dollars, and thus China replaced the European Union as the largest economic and commercial partner of Russia. Cooperation with Moscow (has no borders), just as the Russian-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation of 2001, which was extended in 2021, included a criterion that allowed the rapid transformation of relations into a de facto (military alliance), as Article 9 of the document stipulated the following: "In the event that a situation arises that one of the contracting parties considers may constitute a threat to peace, disrupt the peace, or affect its security interests, as well as in the event of a threat of aggression against one of the contracting parties, the two contracting parties shall act immediately in consultations with a view to eliminating the threat that has arisen), Indeed, many stimulating actions have been accomplished in terms of military rapprochement, as Russia and China annually



conduct major military exercises, and military - technical cooperation between the two sides has .xxxv () continued against the backdrop of the Ukrainian crisis in the field of military training Secondly, the Chinese position on the Russian - Ukrainian war

Since Russia and China declared themselves strategic partners in 1996, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict has become the most acute international challenge in the history of Russian-Chinese bilateral relations, as well as the most difficult political test faced by China. Against the background of this conflict, China has been subjected to unprecedented political pressure from the United States of America

The Russian-Chinese relations remained distorted despite the rapidly changing situation in the world for several reasons, the most prominent of which is that they are based on broad and deep common interests, and in this sense the model of relations between the two sides can play an important role in international relations, being an international (strategic partnership) model and an (alliance) model. This is in preserving the stability of Sino-Russian relations and a full space for cooperation without obligating any side to introduce major amendments to its policy

China formulated its position on the Russian - Ukrainian war in line with its general foreign policy, and its realization of the value and purpose of international alliances. The war also provided some major opportunities for China, as it led to Moscow's distancing from the West with the latter appreciating its relations with China on the grounds that Russia is a partner of China, and it has Trade between the two countries grew by 29.5% in 2022, with the trade balance outperforming in favor of China. Western sanctions also partially weakened the Russian government and made it more dependent on China and eastern markets. This enabled China to link Russia to resource assets and expand its presence in the Russian market through The main industrial and economic sectors, and perhaps the fixed-price natural gas agreement signed by the two countries was one of China's most prominent gains at the present time after the significant rise in energy prices in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war at a time when the Russian-Ukrainian war had a negative impact on the global economy, but it It had positive effects for China, as the war helped to hold the terms of visiting the demand for Chinese goods in European countries, as well as increasing China's exports to world markets

On the other hand, Chinese imports of Ukrainian agricultural products were affected, as Ukraine is the largest exporter of corn to China since 2015, and 75% of the corn imported by China comes from Ukraine, and Ukraine, as a major country in the Chinese Belt and Road initiative, due to its An exemplary importance that directs cooperation between China and other countries, but along the way, as a result of the Russian - Ukrainian war, it will have a negative .impact on Chinese investments in Ukraine

With the end of the Russian-Ukrainian war, its first year, Russia has become increasingly dependent on China, and at a time when the latter officially adopted a neutral stance, many American circles see that Beijing's position reflects interference in the conflict indirectly, and William Burns, director of the CIA, considered that it is in the interest of China is to keep Russia and the West divided, lest they cooperate together against China, as happened in the nineteenth century



Moreover, with the prolongation of the conflict, the attention of the West will be diverted from the theater of the Indian and Pacific oceans, and Russia will be left so weak that it does not pose any threat to China's growing influence in the yard of the former Soviet republics, at a time when China can fill the economic tension inside Russia that left behind the withdrawal of .investments. and western technology

For its part, China portrays the United States and NATO as the main instigators of the crisis. Since the Russian attack on Ukraine, China has not supported any of the seven resolutions put forward by the West for a vote in the United Nations General Assembly and the Security and Human Rights Council against Moscow, as Beijing voted against 3 resolutions. It abstained from voting on 4 other resolutions

In this regard, Chinese diplomacy reiterates the necessity of abandoning the Cold War mentality and the idea of military alliances, and shifting to an international system with multipolar leadership . in which Western countries play a more decisive role

of US President Joe Biden's administration has been defined For national security, China is the most important geopolitical challenge to America. Immediately after the start of the US president's term two years ago, Biden took steps to form new political alliances surrounding China aimed at confronting its emerging capabilities. As a result, the Aukus alliance was established with Australia and Britain, and an alliance (Quad) with Japan, .Australia and India

From here, the Russian military attack on Ukraine caused a major dilemma for the makers of the American security strategy, who were planning to confront one strategy represented in confronting the Chinese rise. With the start of the war, Moscow and Beijing gathered from its changes the desire of the West - led by the United States to continue its hegemony over the rest of the world

## - : China's interest in supporting Russia

China and Russia participate in a new comprehensive strategic partnership that was signed weeks before the start of the Russian attack, as China did not support unilateral Western sanctions against Russia, because Washington uses these sanctions as a means to consolidate its geostrategic influence, and therefore it can be said that China plays a key role in Helping Russia to overcome the sanctions imposed on it, especially with regard to the energy sector, and as a result of China's needs for Russian energy resources, this was the reason for China's support for Moscow's ability to avoid an economic collapse

On the other hand, the change of American military interest away from Southeast Asia and the Pacific and Indian Oceans towards Europe and Ukraine is a direct Chinese benefit from the war in Ukraine, and China believes that it should support Russia because of the future effects of this for China in its endeavor to annex Taiwan. At the same time, not all the results of the Ukrainian war were good for China. After a year of fighting, the war laid new foundations that strengthened, expanded and consolidated NATO, which China considers as a tool in the hands of the United States of America to serve its geopolitical goals, foremost of which is confronting the .Chinese rise



will allow China to play the role of economic protector and increase its authority and influence in the processes of cooperation and negotiation with Russia . , after the Russian banks announced joining it, and this step may lead to a shift towards adopting local currencies in the .implementation of joint Sino-Russian agreements

Economically, China may deliberately agree with Russia to buy Russian goods, so that China becomes a major market for the sale of Russian products and is a commercial corridor for all Russian exports and imports. On the other hand, China may have an interest in cooperation with Russia according to the privilege enjoyed by Russian ships registered in the Black Sea By ,crossing through the straits based on the Montreux Convention of 1936, and in another direction it is in the interest of China to cooperate with Russia in the air navigation sector, especially after the ban on Russian flights in some countries. To China, either militarily, China may deliberately provide military support to Russia, as the war expands directly with NATO, or the development of the conflict with the United States of America in the South China Sea in such a way that China .finds itself forced to go to war

Chinese interests in Ukraine

,China has major strategic interests in Ukraine due to several factors, including Ukraine's location resources, and trade relations with the European Union, which are strengthened by the Free Trade Agreement. Ukraine also represents an important station for China on the New Silk Road in serving fast railway lines from China and Europe, which prompted China to conclude a cooperation agreement . With Ukraine in areas including the growth and construction of .infrastructure

On the commercial level, China has become Ukraine's largest trading partner for 2019, and China ,is the largest importer of Ukrainian barley and the second largest importer of Ukrainian wheat .while Ukrainian corn exports account for about 30% of Chinese corn imports

Third: The main forces and the air axes are a strategy for the Russian-Ukrainian conflict

The Russian-Ukrainian war revealed harmony in foreign policy between Russia and China against American hegemony, during which Russia relied on demonstrating its military capabilities and economic importance as an important source of energy and many mineral resources, while China showed its unwillingness to engage in risks and high diplomacy in penetrating into spheres of hegemony. The United States, presenting itself as a huge economic power competing with or alternative to the United States

It also revealed the decline in the role of Europe, while more influential secondary axes emerged in the map of contemporary geopolitical balances in the short term, Iran and Turkey with their geographical and military importance, and Saudi Arabia with its ability to influence energy supplies, in addition to other distant axes of conflict led by India, Japan and South Africa, and in the region to a degree The least of the Arab Emirates, as it is now causing concern to the United States by attracting capital and companies with the ability to circumvent international sanctions against Russia



In detail: There are three main and other secondary forces that contribute to shaping the contemporary global geopolitics of the conflict, that geopolitics that stems from the traditional in the continuation of the conflicts centering around the control of lands with strategic locations or rich in resources and wealth between the three powers of the United States and each of Russia and China, and while aiming The first is to consolidate its dominance in a unipolar world, the latter two aim to activate the preconditions for a multipolar world, and the Russian-Ukrainian war is the final definition of this transition

As for the United States, it is still the most prominent and influential global power, as it still And in addition . (xxxvi) controls the main dimensions of power: economy, technology, and culture ,to a fourth dimension represented by the power of the ether or ( the geopolitics of space), which according to Schmidt , represents a civilized system for the development of the civilization of the sea, because all the technical processes of this power push towards diluting the cultural and civilized milieu of peoples in favor of Western civilization, not only in the strategic sense but in A fifth dimension is its primacy in the establishment . (xxxviii) .all moral, social and political senses of an international system that allows it to form alliances and internationalize decisions, all of . (xxxviii) which together produce a decisive global political force

And with the logic of traditional geopolitics that we adhered to as a method for reading and analyzing the global scene, the United States disputes China and Russia with three geostrategic axes, East Europe, the East Pacific and the Middle East, and the first of them is determined by the US strategy in which it supports the independent countries of Eastern Europe and strengthens its position as buffer states between the Russian Federation with its continental ideology Orthodoxy and between Central and Western Europe attracted to the universality of Western liberalism

The circumstances of the war revealed that this strategy remained effective, as the United States ,relied on Ukraine's support to wage a proxy war, and it also worked to attract the Baltic countries Finland and Sweden, while identifying with the countries of Eastern Europe, by strengthening its position and trying to give it political and military weight in front of Western Europe, and thus eliminate On any chances of rapprochement and renewal of Russian-German relations, as well as .reducing the role of Germany and France in the leadership or unification of the European Union

In continuation of the containment strategy, many military and economic alliances were established and strengthened in the face of China, such as the Quadruple Security Alliance with ) the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and India, Japan and Australia in 2007ASEAN ,( and the signing of a strategic , 2021 and the AWACS alliance with Britain and Australia in cooperation document with Pacific Island countries as well Japan's support for amending Article . (xxxix) of the Japanese Constitution to rearm and build up military strength 9



As for the third axis of the conflict, the circumstances of the war confirmed that whoever controls the Middle East from the main powers can resolve the conflict in his favor, as he controls the richest sources of energy, and the most strategic passages and water bodies. Recent events revealed China's success in penetrating the region, especially after the president's visit. Chinese and its success in restoring Iranian-Saudi relations on , 7/22/12 Xi Jinping to Saudi Arabia on which foretells a new map of relations and restoring balances in the region and the , 2023/3/1 , Islamic world in general, as described by the president of United States, Joe Biden Reconciliation with Israel is better than reconciliation with Iran." Although these events reveal to some extent the decline in the role of the United States in the region In favor of China, however it is still the power most capable of repositioning and building alliances, while maintaining permanent military bases in the region, in addition to its alliances in the Indian and Pacific Ocean . (XI) that are open to all. The entire Eurasian coastline

As for China, it adopts a foreign policy to confront the United States aimed at securing its regional environment, and moving rapidly towards more global power by harmonizing its relations in Central and South Asia, the Far East, East and South Africa, and it also adopts the creation of areas of economic and geopolitical influence in Central Asia, the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean . As strategic axes to reach areas rich in minerals and energy resources in Iran and the Arab . (xli) world

Hence, this policy placed it at an intersection with the sphere of influence of Russia and India, and its growing influence in the balance of power in the eastern hemisphere made it in direct confrontation with the United States. the United Nations, which aims to neutralize it within its . (klii) continental scope

During this, the importance of Taiwan to China appears from two sides, in terms of its supervision over the entire convex part China's peripheral coast is a destination that gives China frontage to and advantage over the open ocean The entire South China Sea and the Taiwan Strait, and make it in the advantageous position to face the island belt The first American to surround China, from <sup>)</sup> South Korea and Japan to Australia, and even the corridors Navy around the Strait of Malacca Thus the de facto integration of Taiwan with mainland China, represents In the geopolitical . <sup>(xliii)</sup> and military sense, the sign of the real emergence of a multipolar world

) In addition, Taiwan is the world's second largest producer of semiconductors Taiwanese TSMC is one of the most important international companies in the electronic chip industry (

And total international recognition of the principle of one China, but it is expected that China will not recover it In the short term, as it has not completed securing its energy needs across the .Eurasian mainland, far from Maritime hubs under US hegemony

And the closest thing is for China to encircle it and besiege it geopolitically, given that its economy is based on trade and the massive sale of goods and products, which makes it weak in



the face of economic sanctions and limits its ability to face the disruption of its trade that is capable of finding alternatives . The grave, as for China, one of its priorities is attention trade flows and  $.^{(xlv)}$  maintaining the security of the maritime system

As for Russia, it is still working in facing external challenges with a solid tradition, aiming for more From geopolitical influence in Central Asia, the vital energy line, the Caucasus, and Eastern Europe as an equivalent to its national greatness, benefiting from its geographical and cultural . (xlvi) depth in its entire geographical vicinity

It also relies on the size of its natural raw materials and hydrocarbon wealth as a tool for pressure and influence in countries that lack them, especially Central Europe, India and China, as it has the first natural gas reserves in the world, the second largest coal reserves and the sixth largest oil reserves, in addition to hydroelectric power reserves . derived from the mountains, rivers and lakes . (klvii) of Eastern Europe

These points together constitute the focus of the West's policy towards Russia, which prompts it to try to reconfigure the central region (Belarus, Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, during which its invasion of Ukraine is part of its traditional strategy to enter Europe and neutralize NATO, and losing it means practically isolating it from Europe As well as a natural geography rich in strategic minerals, and a separator nationally And religiously between the Slavs and the . (XIVIIII) Eastern Orthodox and the Slavs and the Western Catholics

Hence, the circumstances of the war produced secondary geopolitical axes, which showed a high degree of strength and influence outside their geographical scope, as their importance stems from their sensitive locations and impregnable geography that give them a special role, either in accessing or preventing strategic areas and vital resources, and sometimes as a defensive shield for a state. Or a vital civilization, and sometimes it means the occurrence of political and cultural (xlix) influences in a close or neighboring geostrategic force with high effectiveness

Based on the distribution of the main and secondary powers, the Arab Gulf and the Middle East in general emerge as a crucial geostrategic axis in the conflict, as it represents China's destination to secure its growing energy needs, Russia's destination to maintain the balance of global energy prices, and access through Iran to the most strategic German flats in the Indian and ) Pacific world and both. To confront the strategic and economic hegemonyPetrodollars of the ( . United States



## The fourth topic

## future vision of Russian-Chinese relations

The future dimensions of the Russian-Ukrainian war and its impact on the future of : Russian-Chinese relations can be clarified as follows

First: A future vision of the Russian-Ukrainian war

Despite the wide losses suffered by Prussia after Russian President Putin's decision to intervene in Ukraine, the possibility of the fall of the Russian regime, although it exists, may be difficult in the short term to rule out the overthrow of Putin by a palace coup, and because of the difficulty of displacing the current elite through mass protests in light of the policies he adopted . Putin .internally in support of his allies in Belarus, Kazakhstan and Syria

As a result of the heavy material losses incurred by Ukraine as a result of its war with Russia, the cost of its reconstruction will be very expensive, and it is expected that the cost of reconstruction will exceed (500 billion) dollars, and NATO countries will undertake its reconstruction, and certainly this will have a major role in the development of Ukrainian- European relations The opportunity for Ukraine to join the European Union may be possible in the event that Russia does not object to its accession to the European Union

As for Ukraine, being the second party linked to this crisis, the future paths offered to it is division, and this path is based on the continuation of the military operation and the escalation of attacks to annex it to the Donbass region, such as the two cities of Mariupol in the far south on the Sea of Azov, and the city of Odessa on the Black Sea, because they are - according to conviction Russian - part of the administrative division of the Donbass region, and with regard to the future of Europe, it is likely that most European countries, especially the main powers, will be part of the limited system led by the United States, although it is unlikely that it will play a serious military role in containing China. It does not have the ability to export a substantial military force towards East Asia, just as China does not represent a direct threat to Europe, and because it seems ,more logical for Europe to transfer responsibility to the United States and its Asian allies, however American policy makers want the Europeans within their limited system for economic and security reasons. strategy; Where the United States is keen to prevent European countries from ,selling dual-use technologies to China and to help impose economic pressure on it when necessary in return, the American military forces will remain in Europe, keeping NATO alive and continuing .to act as the peacemaker in the region

Second: The Russian - Ukrainian war and the future of Chinese - American relations

Although China, in turn, seeks to change the structure of the global system and rebuild it on a pluralistic basis, it has somewhat distanced itself from the Russian - Ukrainian war, and contented .itself with announcing its understanding of Russia's security concerns, but it did not align with it The Chinese accounts regarding changing the structure of the global system are different, as they do not depend on China, in its quest to change this system based on military power, but on an integrated system of components of comprehensive power (hard and soft), when it began its path



in this direction, it chose to invest in the sources of strength and events that are most influential at all times and not only in times of war, especially the economy. And trade and technology, through which it was able to become a major economic force with its superior production and export capabilities, as well as the great financial returns it achieves and enables it to revive the ancient ,Silk Road, but in a modern image and on a larger scale, in what is called the (Belt - Road) plan .(1) as well as turning it into a global center to create

Third: The Russian - Ukrainian war and the future of Chinese - American relations

The Ukrainian crisis, 2022, came amid a conflict of fronts across many regions, in which Russia sought to declare a challenge to the West and confront NATO's strategy in Eastern Europe and try to impose this by military force, to enhance its position in light of an American strategic repositioning and US military withdrawals from several regions, in exchange for expansion China, which has become the center of strategic attention for the United States and its Western allies in the face of its relentless pursuit during the last decade towards fortifying its international position, strengthening its alliances and laying the foundations for a new international order in which it will have a greater contribution to managing the international scene, especially with the centrality of China's role in the Russian moves against the West, from It is likely that there will be three different realistic systems in the foreseeable future: a weak international system and two strong limited systems, one led by China and the other led by the United States, and the weak international system will be primarily concerned with overseeing arms control agreements and making the global economy work effectively. It gives serious attention to problems related to climate change, and the institutions that make up the international system will focus on facilitating inter-state cooperation, and there will be two basic visions of the new multipolar world that deeply :shape the emerging systems

The first vision: Assuming that China continues its rise, it will engage in an intense security competition with the United States, and this will be a central feature of international politics throughout the twenty-first century, and this competition will lead to the creation of limited regimes dominated by China and the United States. Military alliances will be the central component of these two systems, which are now in the process of being formed. This will resemble ,the two systems led by the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War. However ,China and the United States will sometimes have reasons to cooperate on certain military issues an endeavor that will fall within the purview of the international system, as it was before during the Cold War; Where the focus will be primarily on arms control agreements , and Russia will be involved in this endeavor as will China and the United States . Existing treaties and agreements dealing with nuclear proliferation are likely to remain in place, given that all three great powers want to limit the spread of nuclear weapons, but the three parties will have to negotiate new treaties .that limit their military arsenals, as the two great powers did during the Cold War

The second vision: the existence of a huge amount of economic communication between China and the United States, and between China and the US allies in East Asia, and that China and the United States also trade and invest all over the world, and the security competition between the two limited systems is not likely to reduce these economic flows, as the gains The proceeds from



continuous trade are important and required, even if the United States tries to limit its trade with .China, the latter can compensate for that through its trade with other partners

The Russian-Ukrainian war was a wake-up call for the Europeans, who believed that a major war ,on their continent had become impossible due to the presence of military bases against invasion international institutions, economic interdependence, and US security guarantees. Russia's actions are a reminder that indomitable power is still very important, and that Europe's self-proclaimed role as a "civilian power" is not enough. However, the strong response of European governments to defend its security refutes predictions that strategic dissonance within Europe may prevent the continent from responding effectively to the threat that strategic dissonance within Europe may prevent the continent from responding effectively. For a common threat Europe can deal with the future Russian threat on its own. European NATO members have latent power capabilities that outweigh the threat to their honor. They have nearly four times the population of Russia and more than ten times its GDP. Even before the war, the European members of NATO were They spend .li between three and four times what Russia spends on defense every year

Just as the war in Ukraine is an ideal moment to move toward a new division of labor between the United States and its European allies, and it is also a moment in which the United States devotes its attention, especially while European partners bear the primary responsibility to defend themselves, so the United States must abandon its longstanding opposition to independence The European Union, and help its partners modernize their forces, and that the next Supreme Commander of NATO be a European general, and the leaders of the United States should not view their role in NATO as the first responders, but as the last line of defense, with the need ,to gradually hand over the responsibility for Europe's security to the Europeans, In the long term the United States, NATO and the European Union will seek to build a security system that may not exclude Russia to enhance stability in Europe . And to keep Moscow away from the increasing ) dependence on China, and this development awaits the presence of a new leadership in Moscow (lii

The Russian - Ukrainian war will change geopolitical perceptions much more than it changes the geopolitical reality, and while Russia under the rule of President Vladimir Putin poses a short-term challenge, China will continue to represent the greatest threat in the medium and long term. The threat coming from China is radical because China is working to narrow. The power gap with the United States, and China will try to act as a more responsible country even as it draws closer to Russia, and China may assert that it is not an outlaw like Russia, while doubling down on its efforts to create a sphere of influence through nonmilitary coercion, as In fact, it does, and at a time when the United States should give priority to confronting China, it should take care of the European front in the face of Russia's attempt to re-establish its sphere of influence through the use of force, and the United States has no choice but to confront it by force. Even Europe, which has tried to distance itself from the United States over the past years, has rediscovered the fact that American power is indispensable, and if the United States does not currently have the operational , capabilities for a full, long-term commitment to two major issues in the face of Russia and China , then the geopolitical reality requires it to do so. Its allies and partners on the European, Indian



and Pacific fronts will have no choice but to commit themselves more actively in managing these two issues, especially in light of the joint support between China and the Russian Federation to rewrite the rules of the international system instead of working to gain influence from within the existing institutions. And if it is now facing Chinese and Russian challenges, it must necessarily empower its allies and renew burden - sharing in Asia and Europe . The Biden administration's strategy will help do both through its special focus on building the networking work of agile companies, foundations, coalitions, and groups of countries; Where the United States developed formations (five - four - three-two) in Asia, starting with strengthening the intelligence alliance ) "Five Eyes" FVEY to spreading the quadruple security dialogue, signing the tripartite security ( ) " agreement " AUKUSAUKUS and then strengthening bilateral military alliances to enhance ( action The joint administration of the Biden administration in Asia, and if the Asian and European parties cannot achieve a balance in the face of China and Russia alone in the foreseeable future they help in strengthening domestic political support for the United States in order to continue the military commitment in the two regions, by strengthening a greater role for its allies and increasing the activation of their position Politically, Washington can build permanent regional balances of power in Asia and Europe, backed by US military power. This may force Beijing and Moscow to .(liii ) adopt a more reasonable approach with its neighbors

Third: - An independent vision of Russian - Chinese relations

The situation is not expected to change drastically during the next stage, despite Russia's curgent need to expand its economic presence and investment for several reasons, including This does not meet the interests of Russia, which does not want to shift from industrial and - 1 technological dependence on the West, China

Chinese capital will still have the option to invest in developing and weak countries, as the -2. Chinese work in such countries more profitably than in Russia

Russian fears in the long term of increasing the penetration of Chinese manpower into the -3 Russian eastern regions, as this is a threat to Russia due to the stifling demographic crisis that .Russia suffers from in the sparsely populated regions of eastern Siberia

On the other hand, the Russian - Ukrainian war could raise China's fears, as the war may empty the building of new partnerships between the West and the countries of the Indian and .Atlantic oceans, which poses a threat to China, which wants to build a multipolar world

Russia is likely to continue to maintain friendly relations with the United States more than it fears China. It is expected that Russia will be easily integrated into the limited system led by China, but another possibility remains that Russia will not take sides and remain on the sidelines Margin, and is working to benefit from their competition together to gain points of reinforcement . from its competitive and negotiating capabilities with them together, seeking to complete its polar structure, here it will be important to think about a scenario of a global system in which Russia effectively controls a large part of Eastern Europe, and China controls a part The United States of America and its allies in Europe and Asia will have to decide once again whether this world is acceptable because this means the end of the current world order and the beginning of an era of a



multipolar world, as every region in the world adapts in a stable and unstable manner. One of the .variables of the international balance of power

## : Conclusion

The events of the Russian crisis were the result of a conflict between two international parties representing the Russian Federation, which believes that Ukraine is a dependent state by law geographical neighborhood, cultural and social ties, and the presence of the Russian minority that Russia cannot abandon, as well as the economic relations that bind the two countries, on the other hand, The European Union and the United States seek to reduce Russian influence, besiege the .Russian Federation in its international borders, and prevent any influence of Russia in Ukraine The political forces were divided into two parties, one party loyal to Russia and the other party to the West, and neither party was able to save Ukraine from the crisis despite the occurrence of the Orange Revolution and the outbreak of popular protests. This crisis affected the Ukrainian economy greatly, corruption spread, economic growth declined, and Ukraine was drowned in debt which exhausted its shoulders. The state and its inability to pay the interest owed on its debts. This was reflected in the increase in the complexity of finding solutions to the crisis, which has become a diverse crisis that does not concern a specific aspect, including political, economic, security and social. The Ukrainian President Zelensky, who was elected in 2019, had to find solutions to the Ukrainian crisis through a balance in the relations between Ukraine, Russia and the European .Union In this case, Ukraine will be a turning point that connects Europe and Russia

However, this did not happen. On the contrary, the Ukrainian president sought to join the European Union and NATO, and this is what Russia agrees to, as it is a direct threat to its national .security

The Russian-Ukrainian war had major local, regional and international repercussions on various political, security, economic and social aspects. The war affected the nature and future of .international relations. The repercussions of the war can be explained as follows

- 1. ,The rise in fuel prices, especially oil and gas, as well as the rise in the prices of foodstuffs especially wheat, due to the cessation of their export from the two countries, knowing that .they contribute 30% of the global production of wheat
- 2. Increasing the number of displaced Ukrainians, who numbered 3 million, mostly to European Union countries
- 3. The United States of America and NATO countries provided all kinds of assistance to Ukraine, which was the main reason for Ukraine's steadfastness in the face of the advance of Russian forces inside Ukrainian territory
- 4. Ukrainian war resulted in a development in Russian Chinese relations, and this cooperation may result in the world entering a bipolar world order represented by the first party Russia, China, North Korea and Iran, while the second party is represented by NATO .led by the United States of America
- 5. The crisis has proven that Russia cannot abandon Ukraine due to its importance and the presence of about a third of the ethnically Russian population in Ukraine, including the



- .Crimean peninsula, which was annexed to Russia in 2014, as well as the Donbass region And Donsk, which has a lot of Ukrainian industry, which affected the Ukrainian economy
- 6. The crisis affected the Ukrainian economy through the decline in production, the destruction of factories, and the increase in public spending due to the war

## Recommendations

- 1. The need for international solidarity to develop radical solutions to end the Russian .Ukrainian conflict under the umbrella and auspices of the United Nations
- 2. The necessity of conducting a dialogue between Russia and Ukraine and understanding on common issues between the two countries and maintaining peace and security by activating the agreements signed between Russia and Ukraine
- 3. Making Ukraine free from any NATO influence and defining the nature of the relationship between Ukraine and NATO away from affecting Russian interests and security
- 4. Giving guarantees to Russia that Ukraine will not join the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the future
- 5. It is in the interest of both Russia and China to develop bilateral relations between them in all political, economic and military fields, in order to stand up to the global hegemony of the United States of America

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