

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY STRATEGIES DURING CRISES

İKBAL SINEMDEN OYLUMLU

**YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ISTANBUL, 2022**

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY STRATEGIES DURING CRISES

İKBAL SINEMDEN OYLUMLU

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
PH.D.
IN
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

SUPERVISOR
M. DENİZ TANSİ

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ISTANBUL, 2022

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: 04.12.2022

Name/Surname: İkbāl Sinemden OYLUMLU

Signature:

ABSTRACT

In the international relations system, the relations of states with each other, regime types, diplomacy, and communication strategies of countries and how they use these strategies in times of crisis are important in terms of diplomacy. In this context, in this study, democracy and diplomacy are handled with a historical perspective and how public diplomacy is used in times of crisis is revealed.

Today, it is important for states to legitimize their actions in times of crisis and conflict, and for states to be able to explain their actions to foreign citizens. The development of communication technologies allows states to explain their legitimate rights to foreign citizens through interactive platforms. In this context, the pressure created by the citizens on their states has become important for influencing the policies of the states and renewing the country's image. For this reason, it is important for states to determine their short-term plans in their communication and public diplomacy strategies. The study concludes with Türkiye's public diplomacy and strategic communication model proposal on the basis of country image, country promotion and how public diplomacy instruments will be used in times of crisis.

Culture and communication language are the basis of Türkiye's public diplomacy and strategic communication model. While designing the model in the study; democratization, democratic institutions, the effect of democracy culture and structure on public diplomacy and country image were taken into consideration. In addition, the cyclical changes that occur during and after the crisis, due to Türkiye's geographical location, are close to the crisis regions, the strengths and weaknesses of the country are determined, and predictable and unpredictable risks are included in the model.

At the end of the study, there is a proposal to determine the communication language according to the characteristics of the countries in the region as well as the regional historical and cultural characteristics of the public diplomacy and strategic communication model for Türkiye.

Keywords: Democracy, Diplomacy, Public Diplomacy, Strategic Communication, Türkiye's Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication Model

ÖZET

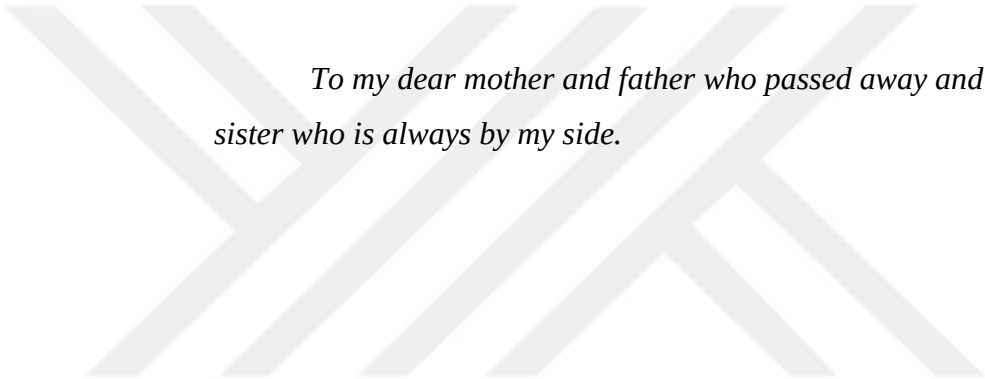
Uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminde devletlerin birbirleri ile olan ilişkileri ülkelerin rejim tipleri, diplomasi ve iletişim stratejileri kriz dönemlerinde bu stratejileri nasıl kullandıkları diplomasi açısından önem taşımaktadır. Bu bağlamda, çalışmada demokrasi ve diplomasi tarihsel perspektif ile ele alınarak kamu diplomasinin kriz dönemlerinde nasıl kullanıldığı ortaya koyulmaktadır.

Günümüzde, devletlerin kriz ve çatışma dönemlerinde yaptıkları eylemleri meşrulaştırmaları, devletlerin eylemlerini yabancı ülke vatandaşlarına anlatabilmesi önem taşımaktadır. İletişim teknolojilerinin gelişmesi yabancı ülke vatandaşlarına devletlerin meşru haklarını interaktif platformlarla anlatmalama olanak vermektedir. Bu bağlamda, vatandaşların devletlerine oluşturduğu baskı devletlerin politikalarını etkileme ve ülke imajının yenilenmesi için önemli hale gelmiştir. Bu nedenle, devletlerin iletişim ve kamu diplomasisi stratejilerinde kısa vadeli planlarının belirlenmesi önem taşımaktadır. Çalışma, ülke imajı, ülke tanıtımı ve kriz dönemlerinde kamu diplomasisi enstrümanlarının nasıl kullanacağı temelinde Türkiye'nin kamu diplomasisi ve stratejik iletişim modeli önerisi ile sonlandırılmaktadır.

Türkiye'nin kamu diplomasisi ve stratejik iletişim modelinin temelinde kültür ve iletişim dili temel alınmaktadır. Çalışmada model tasarlanırken; demokratikleşme, demokratik kurumlar, demokrasi kültür ve yapısının kamu diplomasi ve ülke imajına etkisi göz önüne alınmıştır. Ek olarak, kriz dönemlerinde ve krizlerin sonrasında ortaya çıkan konjoktürel değişimlerin Türkiye'nin coğrafi konumu nedeni ile kriz bölgelerine yakın olması ülkenin güçlü ve zayıf yönleri belirlenerek, öngörülebilir ve ön görülemeyen risklerine de modelde yer verilmektedir.

Çalışmanın sonunda Türkiye için Kamu diplomasisi ve stratejik iletişim modeli birbirine geçişli ve bölgesel tarihi ve kültürel özelliklerin yanı sıra bölge ülkelerinin karakteristik özelliklerine göre iletişim dili belirlenmesi önerisi yer almaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Demokrasi, Diplomasi, Kamu Diplomasisi, Stratejik İletişim, Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisi ve Stratejik İletişim Modeli



*To my dear mother and father who passed away and to my
sister who is always by my side.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my esteemed advisor Mahmut Deniz Tansi for supporting and encouraging me with my dissertation and broadening my horizon. Writing this dissertation with him was a unique experience as I learned something new from him every day. I owe my endless thanks to dear Associate Prof. M. Deniz TANSI for guiding me patiently despite my never-ending questions and for his passion for teaching, providing informative conversations, feedback, and advice on how to use sources correctly.

I am also grateful to esteemed my best friend Ayhan Keçecioglu support to me collect my data sources and drawing my tables. I would like to express my endless thanks to all my librarian friends working at the Yeditepe University Information Center, especially Handan Çelik. With their help, I found countless books and resources. My profound thanks also go to esteemed Prof. Emin Gürses and Associate Prof. Melih Görgün for their full support in my dissertation with fruitful discussions my comments at every stage. Also, thank you very much for participating in my thesis defense and for feedback on my study, Associate Prof. Ayça Can Kırğız and Dr. Murat Arslan. Last of all, thanks for his advice and guidance in helping me find a different perspective on evaluating facts during writing my dissertation. Also, I would like to profound thanks to Prof. Meral S. Öztoprak who has always supported me in every way.

Last but not least, I feel very lucky to have my sister who has always supported me in my education life and motivated me especially when I got exhausted. They shed light on my journey, supported me in every circumstance, and most importantly, they believed in me.

If it was not for their efforts, I wouldn't have been successful on this path. Thus, I am truly indebted to my sister for her unconditional support whenever I needed it and for her guidance. I will always be grateful to her. I would have never been able to achieve completing my dissertation without her help. I am truly grateful to all of them for lighting my way.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
ÖZET	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Research Objective and Problematic	4
The Importance of the Study	7
The Research Questions and Hypothesis	8
Methodology	10
Operationalization	11
Data Analysis	12
1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	14
1.1. History of Democracy	14
1.2. Democratic Country Criteria.....	16
1.3. Theories of Democracy	21
1.3.1. Theories of Democracy and Democratization Processes	21
1.3.2. Theories of Democracy	26
1.3.3. Models of Democracy	26
1.3.3.1. Majority of Democracy.....	26
1.3.3.2. Pluralist Democracy.....	27
1.3.3.3. Consensus Democracies	28

1.4.	Democracy Models in terms of Using Sovereignty	29
1.4.1.	Direct Democracy.....	29
1.4.2.	Semi-Direct Democracy	30
1.4.3.	Representative Democracy.....	30
1.4.4.	Liberal Democracy Theory	31
1.5.	Autocratic Regime and Democratization Processes	33
1.5.1.	Autocratic Regime Type.....	34
1.5.2.	Democratization and its Connection with Government Systems	37
1.5.2.1.	Government System.....	39
1.5.2.2.	Presidential System.....	40
1.5.2.3.	Parliamentary System	41
1.5.2.4.	Semi-Presidential System	42
1.6.	Regime Types of Countries	43
1.6.1.	UK's Government System.....	43
1.6.2.	USA's Government System.....	46
1.6.3.	Germany's Government System.....	49
1.6.4.	Türkiye's Government System	52
1.6.5.	Russia's Government System.....	57
1.7.	The Concept of Power and Democratization in International Relations 60	
2.	DIPLOMACY	63
2.1.	History of Diplomacy	63
2.2.	Diplomacy and Power Relations.....	68
2.3.	Public Diplomacy	70
2.3.1.	Listening.....	75
2.3.2.	Advocacy of public diplomacy	75
2.3.3.	Public diplomacy culture.....	75
2.3.4.	Change of public diplomacy.....	75
2.3.5.	International Broadcasting	76
2.4.	Public Diplomacy Tools.....	78
3.	POLITICAL COMMUNICATION	85
3.1.	Political Communication Conceptual Definition	85
3.1.1.	Public Opinion.....	86

3.1.2.	Perception Management.....	88
3.1.3.	Persuasion.....	90
3.1.4.	Image Management	92
3.2.	Political Communication Process	93
3.2.1.	Actors and Elements of Political Communication	95
3.3.	Strategic Political Communication.....	95
3.4.	Public diplomacy and strategic communication relationship.....	96
4.	ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	99
4.1.	Discussion: Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication Proposal for Türkiye.....	119
	CONCLUSION	127
	REFERENCES.....	136
	APPENDIX A: Information Propagation Speed on Tweeter	147
	APPENDIX B: Documents and Codes Table	192
	APPENDIX C: Instrumental Variables based on Country Related Codes.....	193
	APPENDIX D: Related Themes of Speeches.....	197

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index regime change chart.....	101
Table 2 The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index regime change type.....	102
Table 3 The Economist Intelligence Units Democracy Index.....	102
Table 4 Freedom House Index comparison of liberties.....	103
Table 5 Freedom House 2020 detailed freedom table.....	104
Table 6 Soft power domain score and ranking table of countries	106
Table 7 Soft power domain ranking table of countries	106
Table 8 Code Relationships Table.....	107
Table 9 The relationship between the codes.....	109
Table 10 Information Spread rate twitter data analysis table section.....	118

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 General Communication Process	93
Figure 2 Elements of Political Communication	94
Figure 3 Democracy index map 2021 regime type score points	101
Figure 4 Soft Power index categories.....	105
Figure 5 Reputation domains of soft power index countries.....	106
Figure 6 Rates of countries' internet usage and for what purpose they use....	116
Figure 7 Five social media and message platforms usage rates by countries.	117
Figure 8 The models of Türkiye's Public Diplomacy	135

ABBREVIATIONS

IB : International broadcasting

NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OECD : Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PD : Public Diplomacy

PR : Public Relations

TİKA : Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı

UK : United Kingdom

U.S. : United States

USA : United States of America

INTRODUCTION

The relations between countries in the international system are directly related to the country's regimes, communication approaches, powers, and reactions to crises, and how they use diplomatic tools in making foreign policy of the state. Therefore, a state needs an action plan for the actions it has taken or will take, and the ground on which it can legitimize its actions. The legitimacy of state activities primarily requires the public acceptance of state policies and the common acceptance of the states of the world. In addition, the economic and political power of the state is also important. However, the management styles of the countries are also important in the foreign policy implementations of the countries. In democratic countries, the support of the people is needed in foreign policy.

According to Morgenthau, the power of a nation depends on that nation's regime (Morgenthau, 1970). For example, in an autocratic regime, foreign policy is determined by maximizing the interests of the country rather than the wishes of the people. In democratic regimes, states need to persuade the public and the opposition relative to the legitimacy mechanisms that need to be supported by foreign policy. It is seen that the breaking points in the history of international relations are changes in world politics during crisis periods such as conflicts, wars, and epidemics. The foreign policies of the states have transformed into different paradigms, and their cyclical changes have created different approaches in terms of both policymaking and diplomacy.

In the process until the First World War, it is seen that diplomacy was created on the balance of power and there were secret diplomacy practices (Aydemir, 2018). Until the end of World War I, the power and balance of power paradigm of realism on maximizing the power of states continued both politically and diplomatically in interstate relations. The main actors of international relations are states. According to the realist perspective, which is based on hard power, military power is important and the maximization of military power, population, and development of military materials, that is, the strengthening of technology for the increase of military capacity is important. Diplomacy, on the other hand, is carried out secretly by states. The

paradigm shifts at the end of World War I is seen in realist theories. The definition of power was approached from a different perspective by Waltz. According to him, power; depends on anarchy in the international system. The power of the state is defined in terms of national interests, depending on the structure of the international system. States can create a new balance of power against powerful states by cooperating with less powerful states in the system, in order to change their position in the international system in line with their interests (Waltz, 1979). Diplomacy continued in this period, defined as multiple diplomacies, in the form of congresses and conferences, and as secret diplomacy that nobody knew except the participating states (Erzen, 2014).

In the formation of nation-states after World War I, democratic and liberal approaches have been a breaking point in international relations and the way diplomacy is done. The League of Nations was established, Wilson's approach to the self-determination of countries and the change in economic models, and the emergence of the theories of dependency and democratic peace in the international order caused changes in the use of force in the world order. In this context, a period has passed in which diplomatic activities carried out secretly in interstate relations are realized openly in the international arena.

II. In the post-World War II bipolar world, the risk of nuclear war caused a change in diplomacy activities. One of the two poles is NATO, which is the Western Alliance formed by democratic states, and the other is the Eastern Pact or Warsaw Pact, where communist regimes are formed. The biggest threat in this period was the possibility of nuclear war. In the events such as the Cuban Missile Crisis in the Cold War period, it is seen that both the coercive diplomacy between the two pacts and the concept of "Shuttle Diplomacy" by Kissinger emerged in the first half of the 1980s.

With globalization, states have ceased to be only regional. In order to ensure that the actions of the states are understood, both in the military and political sense, only bureaucrats have been insufficient, and with the use of communication strategies by states, diplomatic activities have become Public Relations (PR).

With the development of information and communication technologies, the speed of being aware of the developments in globalization and diplomatic activities of states has increased. It has created an interactive communication structure with new

mass media. Along with the fast-flowing communication, it has increased the influence of the public opinion in the political decisions of the states. In this sense, politics reached large masses by being mediated. The democratic structures and practices of the states had the opportunity to be closely watched by the public opinion the effectiveness of social media in the 21st century has led to the inclusion of new actors in decision-making mechanisms in both domestic politics and international relations. In this sense, in addition to the abilities and discourses of statesmen (leaders), state institutions and communication institutions have started to gain importance (Köksoy, 2014).

The forms of diplomacy have been restructured to provide support and legitimacy by persuading the state's own and foreign public opinion and explaining its activities. In addition, how states and leaders who govern states are perceived in the international arena, and the necessity of creating a country brand in order to manage these perceptions has emerged with new public diplomacy approaches. The images of the countries, the democratic practices and the effects of the states are associated with the power ratio of the countries. In order to create an effective image, the support of the public by using cultural influence and soft power elements is one of the tools of the new Public Diplomacy (PD) approach.

Therefore, the definition of PD in the theoretical part of the study includes PD factors and actors of PD. The actors of PD are divided into two, State and non-State actors. State actors, for example, TİKA in Türkiye, the Public Diplomacy office, etc. are government institutions. Civil society actors, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Media (to separate traditional and social media), the Farabi program, the Confucius program, the Erasmus program, etc. such as educational institutions.

Since the study covers democratization comparisons of countries, types and definitions of democracy are included. The political behavior of states, especially during crisis periods, affects the prestige and image of the state in the international arena. In this context, the democratization status of countries based on secondary data will be included in the analysis section. Based on these data, the main subject of the thesis is the crisis management and the effect of the country's politics on the image of the countries selected according to their democratization levels in the sample of the Ukraine-Russia War that emerged during the Covid-19 process that started in

November 2019. The study includes a comparison of countries with different democratization and governance regimes. These countries are the United State of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, Russia, and Türkiye. It was chosen because each country's democratizations differ in both process and operation. These differences are examined depending on the similarities and differences of the countries through the use of public diplomacy in the Ukraine-Russia War, which has emerged in the recent pandemic crisis. In the context of classical diplomacy, the actions taken by each country in the Cuban Missile Crisis and their positions in the Ukraine-Russia War will be compared in the analysis section. In this sense, how selected countries perceive the dominant actors of the crisis is included in the study.

The democracy types of the selected countries, their political approaches towards the crisis period they have faced in historical processes, and the images and perceptions of the countries at the international level will be explained within the framework of secondary data and historical analysis. In addition, the public diplomacy tools of the selected countries will be analyzed by evaluating the changes in perception and image both historically and in the selected case study.

Based on the data obtained in the last part of the study, it tried to model for Türkiye's Public Diplomacy Strategy in the short and medium term. This model will first be revealed based on the example of the Ukraine-Russia War, what kind of strategy Türkiye has acted, and a medium-term strategic model will be created by making a SWOT analysis. While modeling for Türkiye's public diplomacy and strategic communication modeling will be based on culture and communication language, taking into account the geographical location of the country and its historical impact and population areas. Democratization in Türkiye's strategy; The effect of democratic institutions and the structure of democracy on public diplomacy will be tried to be revealed during the crisis period and the strategic changes after the crisis period.

Research Objective and Problematic

The main question of the research is how does the level of democratization affect public diplomacy strategies during the crisis?

The main purpose of this study is to model the country's public diplomacy strategy, image, and perception management with a holistic perspective for Türkiye's

state policy during and after the crisis. The study includes the approaches of countries with different types of democracy in the Russia-Ukraine war that took place during the Covid-19 pandemic that started in November 2019 and how they used public diplomacy instruments during this time. How the level of democracy acted in the war and which power elements were not used during the conflict before the start of the war will be used as a sampling area for its impact on international cooperation and conflicts. The relationship between public diplomacy and the level of democratization based on neo-liberal theories in the sample area analysis; economic, socio-cultural, and military effects will be examined in the post-crisis period depending on the interests of the country.

With the neo-liberal approach, which states effectively use soft power as a public diplomacy tool will be detailed. Country image and communication strategies are within the scope of perception studies in other countries. The diplomatic methods used by the countries in the changing conflict areas will be examined within the framework of the Russia-Ukraine sample universe, taking into account the historical crisis periods. In addition, the correlation between the perception of the country and the level of democratization is also considered as an independent variable. Examination of the public diplomacy effectiveness of the states with strong democratic institutions is within the scope of the study.

At the end of the study, it has been tried to present a model for determining the state management approach and communication strategy activities in foreign policy for Türkiye.

The first hypothesis is that the image and perception of states with a high level of democratization are high in terms of public diplomacy effectiveness.

According to the level of democratization, socio-economic, cultural and military strategies that will contribute to the definition of the image and perception strategies of the states and the explanation of the internal and external activities of the state should be formed under state policies.

The second hypothesis is that democratic and non-democratic countries act with security concerns in crisis management.

Security concerns increase in times of crises at home and abroad. Therefore, in order to overcome the crises, structures should be established that will contribute to

the formation of a common language and both military and political strategies and state policies. In public diplomacy strategies, the use of a common language by all actors in the state, including bureaucracy, press, NGOs, and educational institutions, is one of the important points in convincing the citizens of other states. In the Strategic Target of the USA's strategic public diplomacy, on which NATO member countries base their strategic goals in their public diplomacy strategies, Number11:

" The long-term strategic approach of the United States, its public diplomacy programs, builds and maintains a foundation of trust between the U.S. and foreign peoples that directly support U.S. approaches to meeting universal demands for human dignity; Rule of Law; the limits of the absolute power of the state; free speech; freedom of worship; equal justice; respect for women; religious and ethnic tolerance; and respect for private property" (Department of State, 2007) is expressed.

Based on the literature, a cross-sectional study design was made by examining the efficiency of the use of soft power tools, action plans, state and leader images, and the word density used in expressions used by state institutions in international relations; The comparison was made with the discourse and content analysis method. Using the discourses of state leaders, government spokespersons, defense ministers and foreign ministers collected from social media to be used in the discourse and content analysis in the Russia-Ukraine sample between February 24, 2022, and May 09, 2022, content analysis is examined, both internal and external communication approaches.

Finally, the development of communication systems increases the dissemination of information in public diplomacy strategies.

The development of Information Communication Systems plays an important role in democratization and communication. In this context, the expansion of social media networks and the proliferation of interactive communication areas will be discussed in the study within the scope of freedom of expression. The speed of information dissemination will be determined through the social media data obtained using the Maxquda program and the sample of the Russia-Ukraine War.

Public diplomacy strategy can be formed by analyzing the spheres of influence by using the conjuncture of the period and the strategic location of the country in the conditions of the environment and political situation in Türkiye. As a result of the

evaluation of the obtained data, the country's branding, image, and democracy data will be evaluated based on Türkiye 's SWOT analysis. At the end of the evaluation, the short and medium-term Public Diplomacy model proposal for Türkiye will be included at the end of the study.

The Importance of the Study

The main purpose of this study is the effect of countries at different levels of democracy on the use of public diplomacy in times of crisis. In the pandemic (Covid-19) crisis that started in 2019, the attitudes and behaviors of countries in foreign policy and domestic policy will be examined by comparing their attitudes and behaviors in historical crisis examples. The cause-and-effect relationships of different approaches of states in the management of crises also have an important place in the study. In this context, how countries manage their crisis in the conflict in the international system during the Covid-19 period and how they use the tools of Public Diplomacy to gain legitimacy provides the scientific contribution of the study. Another sub-topic is the use of conventional media and social media tools. The effect of social media on democratic structures, and how social media as a tool of public diplomacy affects the behavior of countries and democratic rights and freedoms in the context of the concept of legitimacy will be examined. Currently, the strengthening of a non-state actor as a two-way communication channel in the country's administrations and at the international level and its relations with the states also provide scientific contributions. Social media review case and discourse analysis will be measured using secondary data.

In the last part of the study, Türkiye 's state policy and the image that the country has brought from the past to the present will be discussed historically with a holistic perspective on the country's public diplomacy strategy. The image and perception of the country in 2019 and beyond, the new public diplomacy tools, and the strategic communication model for Türkiye and its approaches to international relations will be examined. In line with the results obtained from this study, at the end of the study, a model proposal will be tried to be made to determine the activities of the state management approach and communication strategy in Türkiye's foreign policy. In the study, Türkiye's short- and medium-term PD strategies are planned. This strategy will be shaped according to new diplomacy techniques and methods. As a result of the

analyzes to be made using the Maxqda program, suggestions and public diplomacy and strategic communication model proposals for Türkiye are made.

The Research Questions and Hypothesis

The main question of the research is; How does the level of democratization affect public diplomacy strategies during the crisis?

The main purpose of this study is to model the country's public diplomacy strategy, image and perception management with a holistic perspective for Türkiye's state policy during and after the crisis. The study includes the approaches of countries with different types of democracy in the Russia-Ukraine war that took place during the Covid-19 pandemic that started in November 2019 and how they used public diplomacy instruments during this time. How the level of democracy acted in the war and which power elements were not used during the conflict before the start of the war will be used as a sampling area for its impact on international cooperation and conflicts. The relationship between public diplomacy and the level of democratization based on neo-liberal theories in the sample area analysis; economic, socio-cultural and military effects will be examined in the post-crisis period depending on the interests of the country.

With the neo-liberal approach, which states effectively use soft power as a public diplomacy tool will be detailed. Country image and communication strategies are within the scope of perception studies in other countries. The diplomatic methods used by the countries in the changing conflict areas will be examined within the framework of the Russia-Ukraine sample universe, taking into account the historical crisis periods. In addition, the correlation between the perception of the country and the level of democratization is also considered as an independent variable. Examination of the public diplomacy effectiveness of the states with strong democratic institutions is within the scope of the study.

At the end of the study, it has been tried to present a model for determining the state management approach and communication strategy activities in foreign policy for Türkiye.

The first hypothesis is that the image and perception of states with a high level of democratization are high in terms of public diplomacy effectiveness.

According to the level of democratization, socio-economic, cultural and military strategies that will contribute to the definition of the image and perception strategies of the states and the explanation of the internal and external activities of the state should be formed under state policies.

The second hypothesis is that democratic and non-democratic countries act with security concerns in crisis management.

Security concerns increase in times of crises at home and abroad. Therefore, in order to overcome the crises, structures should be established that will contribute to the formation of a common language and both military and political strategies and state policies. In public diplomacy strategies, the use of a common language by all actors in the state, including bureaucracy, press, NGOs, and educational institutions, is one of the important points in convincing the citizens of other states. In the Strategic Target of the USA's strategic public diplomacy, on which NATO member countries base their strategic goals in their public diplomacy strategies, No: 11:

" The long-term strategic approach of the United States, its public diplomacy programs, builds and maintains a foundation of trust between the U.S. and foreign peoples that directly support U.S. approaches to meeting universal demands for human dignity; Rule of Law; the limits of the absolute power of the state; free speech; freedom of worship; equal justice; respect for women; religious and ethnic tolerance; and respect for private property" (Department of State, 2007) is expressed.

Based on the literature, a cross-sectional study design was made by examining the efficiency of use of soft power tools, action plans, state and leader images, and the word density used in expressions used by state institutions in international relations; The comparison was made with the discourse and content analysis method. Using the discourses of state leaders, government spokespersons, defense ministers and foreign ministers collected from social media to be used in the discourse and content analysis in the Russia-Ukraine sample between February 24, 2022, and May 09, 2022, content analysis is examined, both internal and external communication approaches.

Finally, the development of communication systems increases the dissemination of information in public diplomacy strategies.

The development of Information Communication Systems plays an important role in democratization and communication. In this context, the expansion of social

media networks and the proliferation of interactive communication areas will be discussed in the study within the scope of freedom of expression. The speed of information dissemination will be determined through the social media data obtained using the Maxqda program and the sample of the Russia-Ukraine War.

Public diplomacy strategy can be formed by analyzing the spheres of influence by using the conjuncture of the period and the strategic location of the country in the conditions of the environment and political situation in Türkiye. As a result of the evaluation of the obtained data, the country's branding, image and democracy data will be evaluated based on Türkiye 's SWOT analysis. At the end of the evaluation, the short and medium-term Public Diplomacy model proposal for Türkiye will be included at the end of the study.

Methodology

In this thesis, the mixed methodology is used. Comparative analysis, content analysis, and case study will be used. The timeline, the historical crisis processes using the diplomatic behavior model, and the diplomacy and public diplomacy instruments used during the Ukraine-Russia war were determined as the sample universe.

Secondary longitudinal datasets of democratization levels at the country level will be used. The purpose of this tool will be to examine how the impact of changes in discourse on countries' PD strategies makes a difference in the level of democratization during the crisis. Due to the fact that the changing techniques of conflicts between countries in the historical process are a part of the development process of diplomacy in international relations, the historical evolution dimension of new diplomacy structures will be emphasized, and studies on leader perception, country perception and country brand will be included. The correlation between leader and country perception will be investigated. Content analysis will be used to understand whether there is a relationship between the image of countries and their leaders. In addition, this analysis will be used to detect discourse changes in the public diplomacy strategy.

As a case study, the diplomatic approaches used in the Ukraine-Russia war and their effects on the selected countries will be taken as the sample universe. The diplomacy models used by Türkiye during the war and its diplomacy studies and how

the party countries use public diplomacy instruments and strategies are examined. By collecting the sample universe and other data of the analysis, Türkiye's diplomacy studies will be focused on, and a model will be proposed by using the data obtained to determine Türkiye's public diplomacy strategy.

Operationalization

Social Media Management: Creating political campaigns on social media, creating images of leaders on social media accounts, responding to messages from this platform, and transmitting and managing campaign-appropriate messages through video and photo channels.

Oral and written media effect: The process of influencing the oral media, the media's attitude towards politics, the analysis of the oral processes in the media texts, and the examination of the effect of the leader's image on the attitude. against competitors.

Perception Management: It is a concept accepted as "political marketing strategy" or "strategic political marketing". It uses traditional commercial marketing strategies applied to politics to win elections. The political actor creates perceptions with the principles and ideas that public inquiries and political actors want to influence. The strategic political stance is based on a diverse mix of leaders and followers.

Social Engineering and Agenda Setting: To achieve social change through central planning and to guide society in its future behavior.

Dependent variables depend on the research question describing the actions of States. According to the research question, the independent variables are as follows:

The first independent variable is the Communication Strategies of the State: Building the image of the state; the need to plan communication structures and perception management activities within the framework of the image created to explain the state's actions towards other countries.

Second argument; Soft Power Strategies: In the process that started with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the world, before the use of military force, there were methods of rebuilding other countries with tools that would contribute to the change of their economic and social structures. In this sense, cultural tools (Hollywood movies, TV series, literature, etc.) It is used to change the way of life in

social areas before sanctions. The rapid development of communication has accelerated the cultural transfer of social media tools.

Third argument; Institutional Action Strategies: The definition of relations between state institutions and international institutions, the impact of non-state actors on state image, and the need to identify the role of state policies in the link between state image and state activities.

The fourth argument is that security actions are important to countries' security systems. Therefore, due to the need to explain defense activities to the citizens of the country as well as to other countries, and the need to structure the perception of security actions, strategies regarding promotion and country image should be developed.

The fifth independent variable is Leadership Skills and images: Leadership traits based on status policies and images will be compared based on secondary data.

Finally, the last independent variable, democratization: The level of democracy of countries guarantees a positive image of the country among the people of other countries in the formulation of public strategy. At the same time, the interest of state leaders in democratic structures also affects the relations of countries with other countries. Depending on liberal theories, in the context of cooperation possibilities of democratic countries, democracy levels, reliability and legal approaches of countries will be compared statistically using panel data.

Data Analysis

The second measurement was made by analyzing the content of the statements of the leaders and bureaucrats of the countries in the sample of the Ukraine-Russia War.

The third measure includes student exchange data between Turkey and foreign countries.

The fourth measure will be discoursing analysis of the perceptions and images of state leaders and the international system. In addition, countries are compared based on panel data of the Freedom House Index, Soft Power Index, and Democracy Index. Along with the Russia-Ukraine crisis, negative grade changes continued in some areas for Turkey in these data, but a positive trend is also seen with the effect of a peace negotiations process.

For socio-cultural measurement, this is the measurement according to the headlines; Again, secondary panel data prepared by using OECD data of Soft Power data were used. These data, which are revealed by evaluating the results of the socioeconomic situation for Turkey, will form the basis of new strategic plans.



CHAPTER I

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. History of Democracy

Democracy and the evolution of democracy with a process starting from the ancient Greek states and the criteria by which one can understand whether a state is democratic or not are included in this section.

This is stated by Uygun (2020) that regimes that can historically be described as democracies are seen in the administrations of primitive communities by defining them as states. In this sense, Dahl (2021) emphasizes that it is wrong for two reasons to say that democracy, which started with the emergence of democracy from ancient Greece and Rome, continues without stopping. According to Dahl, first of all, the history of democracy has its ups and downs. For this reason, he does not characterize the history of democracy as a stable pursuit of a goal. The second reason states that although the idea of democracy has developed, it has emerged in different ways in different places and when a suitable environment has been created. According to him, the reason why democracies have arisen in different times and places is related to circumstances. When the collective decision-making mechanisms in primitive tribes are evaluated, it emphasizes the similarity of tribal members to democracies in the context of the principle of equality in decision-making. Dahl states that society has a say in the decision-making and management mechanism due to the lifestyle that requires equality in primitive societies. Therefore, he states that they practice spontaneous democracy as the most natural political system (Dahl R. A., 2021).

The main reason why we attribute the beginning of democracy to Ancient Greece and Rome is that it forms the basis of the representative democracy regime used by the states today. Although certain rules such as decision-making and voting are subject to certain rules within the structure of democracy, it is historically important that the foundations of democracy are firmly established.

The democratic system re-emerges with the participation of the people in the management channels on certain issues in small communities in various regions in

500 B.C. years. During this period, different types of democracy emerged, three in the Mediterranean and the others in Northern Europe. Democratic city-states in the Mediterranean; Athens, Rome, and Italy are democracies. Northern European Democracies; Norway (Vikings), Netherlands, and England are democracies. The development of these democracies differs depending on the structure of their societies, institutions, and factors such as equality of participation in decisions. The same differences are found in the definitions of democracy. For this reason, it is seen that there is no fully agreed and clear definition of democracy. In the section of theories of democracy, starting from the epistemological concept, the concept of democracy will be emphasized.

In this section, the criteria by which a country's democracy measurement is made will be explained based on The Economist, Freedom House and Soft Power data and criteria. At the same time, in the analysis section, the democratization status of the countries selected using the said indexes will be examined using panel data from 2019 to the present. In this context, what is democracy? The relationship between democracy and diplomacy will be explained through neo-liberal theories. The democracy and administrative structure of the selected countries will take place in the first part of the theoretical framework.

In the second part, the crisis periods will be examined in the historical process and the effects on the democracies of the countries will be explained with theories based on the perspective of international crises, conflict, and power balances. In addition, the relations of the selected countries with each other during the international crisis periods they have experienced in the past, and their crisis management strategies will be examined.

In the third part, the theoretical analysis will be made about which diplomacy methods countries resort to in times of crisis in the historical process. In this section, the focus will be on which diplomacy method countries use during crisis periods in the case studies discussed in the second section.

At the end of this section, theories of Public Diplomacy and theories of public opinion will be given. In the same section, image management, Communication theories, and Strategic communication will be covered. In addition to this, theories of communication strategy, and public opinion formation strategy will be included, and

theories regarding the use of communication tools in the context of public diplomacy will also be included. Accordingly, in the analysis section, the diplomacy and public diplomacy methods carried out by Türkiye during the Ukraine-Russia war and which strategies they used will be included. The reflections and effects of the public diplomacy strategy used in England, Germany, USA, and Russia will be analyzed and measured. The methods to be used in these measurements are included in the methodology section of the introduction.

1.2.Democratic Country Criteria

Dahl stated in the literature section that he states that democracy is a process and has five important criteria in deciding whether a country is democratic or not. The importance of the first three of these criteria was emphasized. In this context, The Economist Democracy Index and Freedom House will discuss democracy theories by including the definition and criteria of democracy.

Dahl determines the democratic process of a country with five criteria. The first of these is active participation, the second is equality of voting, and the third is information; the fourth is the right to have the last word on the agenda, and the last one is including adults (Dahl R. A., 2021). According to Dahl, members of a society should be politically equal in determining the policy of the society in which they live. Therefore, if one of the criteria in the democratization process is not met, the members of the society cannot be considered politically equal. In this context, if any political party that is a member of political participation in a country has the right to speak more, the effectiveness of the views of other parties will be lower than the party that speaks more. For this reason, the criterion of effective participation, namely the right to have an equal voice, will be able to provide a fair share of influence on society, with equal representation and opinions of each party or member on the democratic ground. Otherwise, a non-democratic outcome is formed, based on the persuasion of one party.

Equality of voting, likewise, will not be a fair election system if the number of votes is determined according to the status or wealth of the people in the society.

Based on the above two articles, the right to information Dahl refers to the participation of citizens on the condition that they participate in inquiries, discussions and debates about the issues. What is meant by not acquiring information here is to

ensure that fair and free elections can be made by accessing information in a democratic process.

The fourth criterion is that a certain elite group should be able to prevent pressure on society. It emphasizes that, together with the last criterion, it allows political equality to be achieved.

Dahl states that the main focus of democratic ideas is the state. In this sense, Dahl emphasizes that the political institutions, which are the characteristic features of democracies, were developed for the purpose of democratizing state administrations (Dahl R. A., 2021). It also states that political equality, citizen participation in political decisions, and the existence of democratic institutions protect democracies from falling into the hands of tyrannical autocrats. In this context, the literature emphasizes the importance of the right to vote and the culture of democracy in the democracy mechanism against the differentiation in the practice of those who seem to be populist and come to power with these ideas (Dahl R. A., 2021; Uygun, 2014).

Based on the information above, he states that countries, where these five criteria cannot be applied, cannot be called democratic, no matter what their leaders say. In addition, Dahl states that what is important for a democratic country is based on the five criteria we have mentioned above and underlines the necessity for the functioning of democracy to have a system of rights together with political institutions. (Dahl R. A., 2021).

Dahl stated that democracy is not just a concept consisting of elections and added polyarchy to the concept of democracy (Avşar, 2019). It is seen that Dahl's criteria for polyarchy are similar to those of the Freedom House Index. Dahl, with the criteria of polyarchic democracy and the dimension of political freedoms, democracy cannot be limited only by the existence of elections. Dahl's criteria for polyarchic democracy; He states that democracy is not just fair elections, along with basic freedoms such as political freedoms, freedom of expression, freedom of press-publication, and civil-political organization, and states that a democratic regime will be meaningful with the freedom of every individual to express their thoughts on the basis of equality and freedom, and the existence of social freedoms (Dahl R. A., 1971).

The measurement of the Freedom House Index is given in the range of 1 to 7. In the index, which has the title of Political Freedom based on 10 indicators and Civil

Freedoms based on 15 indicators, democracy is measured by the average of these two freedoms. Starting from 1970, the relationship between democracy and various economic and social variables, covering all countries in the world, has been used with an empirical method. Another concept measured by Freedom House index is electoral democracy. In a narrow sense, this concept measures the status of the parties participating in the elections and criteria such as whether there is a fair election order. In this sense, by using Freedom House data, it can be understood whether there is freedom of choice and a fair election system in a country. Freedom House narrowly classifies countries as electoral democracies. In this context, the following criteria are used:

1. *A competitive, multi-party-political system.*
2. *Universal adult suffrage.*
3. *Regularly contested elections held on the basis of secret ballot, reasonable ballot security and the absence of mass voter fraud.*
4. *Significant reach of major political parties to the electorate through the media and generally open campaigns.*

Freedom House index covers the importance of political freedoms, electoral processes, political pluralism, and, in part, the system and functioning of government and participation issues (Freedom House, 2021).

For this reason, in the thesis, using the data of the Freedom House Index, we have data that will allow the comparison of the freedoms and institutions of the selected countries and the expression of the scope of democratic freedom of the countries.

The second data source to be used is The Economist Democracy Index published by The Economist. The Economist Democracy Index is an index prepared on the basis that there is no definite definition on democracy in theory and that democratization criteria are not clear. The index is based on five main categories that form a coherent and interrelated conceptual concept. Election Process and pluralism, Civil liberties, Government functioning, Civic participation, and political culture.

Civil freedom, which forms the basis of liberal democracy, is based on the widespread protection of fundamental human rights, which are also included in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Agreement, and that elections are based on free and fair competition, and that they include political freedom. Within the scope of

basic human rights, freedom of expression and press, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and association, and independence of the judiciary are measured.

The index defines democracy as; *“All democracies are systems in which citizens freely make political decisions under the rule of the majority. But majority rule is not necessarily democratic. Majority rule in democracy must be combined with guarantees of individual human rights and minority rights”* (The Economist Intelligence Units, 2007).

In this context, the definition of democracy in the Democracy Index includes the concepts of functioning of governments, smooth functioning of legitimacy, democratic political culture, and sustainability of democracy. In the Definition of Democracy section, the index explains the approaches to which it is sensitive as follows: If democratic-based decisions cannot or cannot be implemented, the concept of democracy is not very meaningful or turns into an empty shell.

“Democracy is more than the sum of its institutions. A democratic political culture is also crucial to the legitimacy, smooth functioning and, ultimately, sustainability of democracy. A culture of passivity and indifference is incompatible with a submissive and docile citizenship democracy. The selection process periodically divides the population into winners and losers. A successful democratic political culture means that the losing parties and their supporters accept the judgments of the voters and allow a peaceful transfer of power.

Participation is also a necessary component, as indifference and abstention are contrary to democracy. Even measures that focus heavily on representative, liberal democratic processes (albeit insufficient or insufficient) include some aspects of participation.

In a democracy, the government is only one element in the social fabric of many and varied institutions, political organizations and associations. Citizens cannot be asked to participate in the political process and are free to express their dissatisfaction by not participating.

But a healthy democracy requires the active, freely chosen participation of citizens in public life. Democracies thrive when citizens are willing to participate in public debates, elect representatives, and join political parties. Without this broad,

sustained participation, democracy begins to fade and becomes the protector of small, elite groups." (The Economist Intelligence Units, 2007).

It was emphasized that the index provides a snapshot of the current state of democracy worldwide for 165 independent states and two territories, consistent with the social-economic outcomes of political democracy. In these studies, it is stated that it covers almost all of the world's population and the vast majority of the world's 192 independent states (excluding 27 microstates).

The Index indicates that although almost half of the countries in the world can be considered as democracies, the definition of democracy and the assessment of the situation states that the number of countries specified as "full democracies" is low and there are twice as many "imperfect democracies." He points out that the remaining states are considered authoritarian and "hybrid regimes". As can be understood from this explanation, the democracy index has classified the democratic states of the countries as democratic, authoritarian, and hybrid regimes. The freedom house index defines regimes as democratic regimes, flawed democracies, and authoritarian regimes. In addition, democracies in the index are evaluated depending on the regime types.

Based on the similarities and differences between the two index criteria, a comparison will be made over the secondary data in the thesis. Although Democracy Index states that it works with independent researchers, Think Thank organizations, and academics in the method section, there is no information about the team that carries out the work of Freedom Index. Comparing the two indices will be used for reliability and generalization.

The last index to be used in the thesis is the Soft Power Index. The data obtained from this index show the soft power usage and activities of the states. In addition, the index also provides information about the images of leaders and country branding. The criteria of the soft power index were determined through the dependent and independent variables in Joseph Nye's theory. Accordingly, the attraction area and sphere of influence of the states are determined. For this reason, soft power index data are used to show the soft power usage and public diplomacy activity area of the states.

In this section, the definitions of democracy of secondary data sources to be used in the analysis section and the theories on which these definitions are based are given.

In the next section, theories of democracy and especially liberal school democracy theories and democracy types and government systems of selected countries will be explained.

1.3. Theories of Democracy

Democratization theories are important in terms of understanding the relationship between democracy and diplomacy. Democratic, hybrid or non-democratic system structures of the regime structure of the countries to be used in the thesis and the effects of crisis periods on country systems are examined. In order to provide an understanding of the public diplomacy approaches and decision-making mechanisms of the countries, the management systems and foreign policy decision-making mechanisms of the selected countries will be explained in this section. In this context, theories of democracy are included in the next title.

1.3.1. Theories of Democracy and Democratization Processes

Democracy theories are divided into normative and empirical. Normative theories have no application in any country today. It is mostly based on the concept of ideal democracy, which is based on how democracy should be, and the definition of democracy with the dictionary meaning. For this reason, they are considered to be defined as utopian theories. Gözer (1998); He emphasizes that normative democracy theory, which is expressed as "a regime in which the people are governed by the people for the people", has no application area. In this context, he states that normative theories have the principle of relativity because they are discretionary and are not scientific. According to the normative democracy theory, it is valid for the direct democracy model based on the will of the people as a whole. For this reason, the normative democracy model is suitable for the application of small countries with a small population and geographically. In this model, every individual who attains the competence to have a political voice participates. Just like in the ancient Greek city-states, the public directly participates in political decisions.

According to Rousseau's understanding of the state, a state exists when it has sovereignty. In order to talk about the sovereignty of the state, citizens must obey a power. The sovereign power, on the other hand, explains it with its approach to the general will and covering all of the citizens. Sovereignty cannot be transferred due to the general will and cannot be exercised through representatives. In this context, in

Rousseau's understanding of democracy, elected deputies must receive the approval of the people in all their actions. (Işık, 2017). According to Rousseau, the owner of sovereignty is all the citizens living in the state with the general will agreed by the citizens. Although Rousseau's transfer of sovereignty in line with the security and protection needs of citizens is similar to Hobbes's approach, the authority that Hobbes delegated to the Monarch with the general will approach is not the same as the authority that the citizens delegated to authority in Rousseau. (Schefold & Ayiter, 1973). However, although it is an idealist approach, it can be criticized for turning into a dictatorship of the multitude as a result of the pluralism approach, gaining legitimacy with the general will due to unlimited sovereignty. In this sense, Rousseau's concept of the general will be open to interpretation.

Schumpeter (2003) states that the general will depends on the will of the individual and states that the concept of general will cause disappointment when it does not suit the interests of people because the general will be majoritarian and does not suit the interests of the other segment. With this aspect, Rousseau's view of democracy is a part of normative theory. Because Rousseau defines democracy that should be based on ancient democracies. In addition, Kalfa and Ataay (2015) state that Rousseau's concept of general will was interpreted as "national will" and transformed into authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. When we look at Rousseau's theory of general will from the point of view of the ruled-managed, it corresponds to a system in which one party is always ruling and the other is always ruling. In such a case, even if there is a democratic autonomous structure, it will not be an empirically realistic approach. In the democratic sense, there is a fragile situation between absolute autonomy and authoritarianism. The way to keep democracy alive is to keep the authority moderate and balanced. For this reason, there are deficiencies in the practical political life in Rousseau's theory of democracy (Göztepe, 2010).

Dahl states that although normative democracy theories are difficult to implement in practice, these theories are useful in terms of being used as a method to compare an ideal model of democracy (Dahl R. A., 2003). In this context, Dahl mentions that although he knows that ideal systems cannot be realized, it will be useful to design political systems, classify existing political systems, and compare these systems. In addition, it is useful in matters such as designing appropriate political institutions for

democratization and establishing democratization strategies. Dahl, states that with the strengthening of democratic institutions, fundamental political rights and freedoms will also be rooted. Emphasizing that democracies always have the possibility of turning into dictatorships, he emphasizes that the possibility of turning into an authoritarian regime will approach zero. (Dahl R. A., 2003).

Huntington (1996), stating that the source of democracy as a form of government can be traced back to Greek philosophers, states that democracy in the modern sense is the revolutionary changes experienced in Western society at the end of the 18th century. In the middle of the 20th century, it draws attention to the debates on the meaning of democracy. He states that these debates have three general approaches to democracy as a form of government, the source of the authority of the government, and the definition of the government according to the purposes and procedures it serves. As an important breaking point, Huntington emphasizes that Schumpeter's modern approach to the election of leaders in democracies by the people to be governed was revealed in his work titled "Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy" published in 1942. Huntington states that Schumpeter's groundbreaking approach reveals the flaws of normative democracy theories that define the concepts of "popular will" and "common good", which he refers to as "classical democracy". (Huntington, 1996).

Empirical theories of democracy measure whether a country is democratic or not with certain criteria. Gözer (1998) states that in order for a regime to be considered democratic, there should be effective political authorities elected, free and fair elections, regular repetition of the elections and the principle of universal suffrage, participation of more than one political party in the elections, the opposition having a chance to be in power, and the existence of fundamental principles. states that public rights should be safeguarded. Countries that fulfill all of these conditions can be said to be empirically democratic.

Using dependent and independent variables, it reaches a conclusion by acting on the correlation between democratization levels and economic, social and cultural structures. However, as mentioned before, democratization processes or transition of countries to democratic regimes are not linear. The literature states that democratization has occurred in three waves until today. The transition from

authoritarian/totalitarian regimes to democracy is called democratization. All countries in the world have experienced fluctuations in their transition to democracy. Democratization has a transitive nature by nature. As Dahl stated, democracy is a process and always needs improvement and renewal. It has been seen in the historical process that democracies were interrupted, especially during periods of crisis, terror, war, and coup.

According to Huntington, it is not easy to achieve democratic gains and although democratization has come in more than 200 years, there are still countries that are governed outside of democratic regimes. Huntington describes the democratization process as three waves, depending on the back-and-forth movements of democracy until the 1990s (Huntington, 1996). The democratization process, which started with the effort to gain the right to vote in the first wave, constitutes the beginning that lasted until the 1920s. The main scope of this democratization process includes the expansion of the right to vote, the formation of representative assemblies, and the establishment of a responsible structure of government systems. Although the first wave was seen in European and American peninsula such as England, USA, and France in the 20th century, women and black people in the USA did not have the right to vote in the first wave democracies.

Uygun, like Huntington, states that democratization processes in the modern sense are three waves. He states that the first wave was the democratization of nearly 30 states at the end of the First World War, which began with the male population of the United States giving the right to vote in the 17th century. When we look at democratization today, although this distinction is not found to be insufficient and correct in terms of democratic criteria, Huntington finds this development positive for the first period. (Huntington, 1996). According to him, the spread of responsible government systems and the spread of the right to vote, which took place in the first wave, indicate that the 1920s are sufficient for the first step (Huntington, 1996). When Dahl's view that democratization is a process and cannot happen at the same time for every state and Huntington's democratization waves are considered together, it will not be meaningful to say that countries that have not reached the level of today's Western democracies cannot enter, into democratic processes. In the period between the two world wars, the democratization process was interrupted. Emphasizes that it

was accepted as the second wave of democratization in the 1960s after World War II (Uygun, 2020).

Huntington explains the reason for the second wave of democratization with the fact that the allied forces defending democracy won the war. Likewise, in the literature II. The effect of totalitarian regimes such as Japan, Germany and Italy losing the war in World War II is mentioned (Özdemir G. , 2010) At the end of the second wave, it was seen that 22 independent states, including Türkiye, transitioned to democracy in Europe, Asia and South America.

In the periods following the second wave, the number of democratic countries showed a reverse development and a decrease was observed in the number of democratic countries. Uygun emphasizes that the aforementioned reverse wave process has interrupted democratization with the effect of military regimes. It is stated that with the collapse of military regimes in the period from the 1970s and 1980s to the 1990s, the third wave of democratization began (Uygun, 2020).

Between 1974 and 1980, the third wave of democratization took place. The process, which started with the collapse of the dictatorial regime in Greece and Portugal in 1974, continued until the end of the 1980s, covering many countries. In international politics, the effect of the attitude of the European Community, the USA, and the Soviet Union, as well as the Catholic Church's attitude towards authoritarianism, is included in the literature. Huntington draws attention to the fact that foreign interventions have a share in the realization of the second and third waves due to this situation (Huntington, 1996).

However, Huntington underlines that after every wave of democratization, there is a sharp turnaround. As for whether there was a reversal at the end of the third wave or not, it is seen that the transition to democracy continued with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s. Uygun states that the collapse of the Socialist bloc in the continuation of the third democratization process causes democratization to develop and take root (Uygun, 2020).

It draws attention to the processes of Dahl and Huntington in the application areas of democracy. In this context, it is seen that democratization processes are not easy, they spread and then regressed depending on many changes both in the social and international arena. However, it is seen that countries are going through a

democratization process specific to their own structures and that there is no single form and model of democracy. For this reason, modern democracy theories are included in the next title and democracy models are included in the next title.

1.3.2. Theories of Democracy

Democratization theories are important in terms of understanding the relationship between democracy and diplomacy. Democratic, hybrid or non-democratic system structures of the regime structure of the countries to be used in the thesis and the effects of crisis periods on country systems are examined. In order to provide an understanding of the public diplomacy approaches and decision-making mechanisms of the countries, the management systems and foreign policy decision-making mechanisms of the selected countries will be explained in this section. In this context, theories of democracy are included in the next title.

1.3.3. Models of Democracy

Models of democracy vary according to the social structure, political culture, and government systems of countries. All countries in the process of democratization use their democracy models by modifying them depending on the government systems of their own countries. Democracy models are mentioned as Pluralist Democracy, Consensus Democracy and Majority Democracy.

1.3.3.1. Majority of Democracy

In the majoritarian democracy model, the rule of the majority is the main goal in decision-making. However, over time, this approach turned from being a means to an end and found expression as absolute superiority. According to this understanding, the majority is absolutely superior and infallible. In the majoritarian democracy model that emerged based on Rousseau's view; emerged as the will of the majority. For this reason, it is called "national will" or "general will".

In the majoritarian democracy model, it is always assumed that the interests of the society and the interests of the majority are the same and there will be no conflict. When interpreted on the basis of this assumption, in a majoritarian democracy, there is no element to limit the mostly elected. Undeserved; *“... if it is accepted that the will of the majority is always directed towards the common good of the people and is never mistaken, then there will be no need for measures and*

institutions that will limit this will and protect and guarantee minority rights against the majority; even these will be considered harmful and rejected” (Hakyemez, 2003).

The reason for this is the prevention of democracy in this model, which is based on the national will and absolute truth, and institutions that oppose the national will, and this opposition is interpreted as harming democracy. In this sense, all interpretations are built on the absolute correctness of the decisions taken by the will of the majority, the great interests of the people and their infallibility. However, what is meant by the majority is the numerical superiority in the elections. Therefore, it is seen that the understanding of majoritarian democracy focuses on the positive aspects of democracy and the will of the majority. On the other hand, in the critique of this democracy model, it is emphasized in the literature that minorities.

1.3.3.2. Pluralist Democracy

The basis of the pluralist democracy model is the protection of the rights of the minority. With reference to Alexis De Tocqueville, Güçyetmez states that in democratic societies, a behavior or movement that threatens freedom is based on opposing it, no matter where it comes from - a democratic and equal society or a dictator (Güçyetmez, 2017). Because the government that gains power over the majority needs a balancing force. If this power does not exist, democracy can be prevented and if it comes to power through democratic means, it can turn into the "tyranny of the majority" or, in Tocqueville's (Tocqueville, 2016), "Empire of the Majority". Tocqueville emphasizes the importance of controlling power by pointing out that in majoritarian democracies, the behaviors that prevent freedom may threaten democracy and there may be ways to prevent democracy (ibid). In addition, the importance of the principles of "human rights" and "state of law" is emphasized in order to realize pluralist democracy. Uygun, states that minority rights are guaranteed in pluralist democracies and that all opinions are freely expressed. In addition, he expresses it as a system where associations, unions, non-governmental organizations, private mass media and non-governmental organizations can influence the government of the country as a pressure group (Uygun, 2020, p. 238).

In pluralist democracies, the supremacy of the parliament is preserved, but its powers are limited by the constitution. In this understanding of democracy, the most important organ of the separation of powers is the legislature. Hakyemez (2003) states

that in order for the executive and judicial organs to perform their duties, the legislature must enact laws and the parliament has the primary regulatory authority. Therefore, he emphasizes that the supremacy of the parliament continues in this sense. According to the researchers who made the examination of pluralist democracies in the 21st century, they found that pluralist democracies do not provide the assurances of pluralism in some countries to the extent expected. Although there are practices such as separation of powers, independent judiciary, fair elections, and human rights in these observed countries, the danger of turning into the despotism of the majority has been observed in blind copies of the pluralist regime. Based on this situation, a new model called consensus democracy, consensus democracy or conciliatory democracy has been proposed (Uygun, 2014, p. 238-239).

1.3.3.3. Consensus Democracies

In the literature, it is referred to as 'compromising' and 'compromising' democracy. It has a broad participatory democracy structure. The theses of normative theorists include a democratic structure arrangement based on the theory of pleasing each of the citizens as much as possible (Güçyetmez, 2017). It has been arranged on the basis that the state has a form of government in which every citizen with very different ethnic groups, religious groups and similar beliefs and lives will come to terms with the minimum common. In this sense, in accordance with Rousseau's social contract, it is important to operate decision-making mechanisms with the separation of powers and the wide participation of those who do not have power. With reference to Arthur Lewis, Güçyetmez states that "democracy states that every individual and group should have access to the opportunity to make decisions in the country in the decision-making processes of the country, and that this right is inherent in the issues that concern him or her" (Lewis, 1991; Güçyetmez, *ibid*).

On the basis of participatory democracy, it is emphasized that citizens who have the right to vote should be expanded, consolidating the majority of the society and allowing citizens to have a say in decisions that concern them. In a participatory democracy, it is foreseen that there will be a high level of wide participation in all social areas in the public and private areas (Demir, 2010).

Dahl defines participatory democracy as a counterbalance to the non-democratic order at the international level (Dahl, 2021). Schmidt, on the other hand, supports this definition of Dahl with an institutional liberal view, emphasizing the conflicts that the lack of democratization at the state level will create at the international level in the resolution of global problems of international and supranational organizations (Schmidt, 2001). Emphasizing that developing technology will increase democratic participation, Hennen states that representation will increase especially in Europe and citizens will have a high level of influence in decision-making (Hennen, 2016).

In the participatory democracy model, it is criticized for exaggerating the effectiveness of the people, conflicts, and problems to be encountered in expanding political decision-making, as well as drawbacks. At the same time, it is emphasized that there are criticisms that decision-making with high participation can have negative effects on political stability (Demir, 2010).

1.4.Democracy Models in terms of Using Sovereignty

In the words of Güçyetmez, the concept of democracy can expand depending on the changes in society (Güçyetmez, 2017). Therefore, models of democracy differ according to the structure of societies. Models of democracy in terms of the exercise of sovereignty; are classified as Direct Democracy, Representative Democracy, Semi-Direct Democracy, and Liberal Democracy.

1.4.1. Direct Democracy

In a direct democracy, the people are directly involved in politics. This model is where citizens who have reached a certain level of maturity have a direct say in political decisions and solving the country's problems, as in the Greek city-states (Aktaş, 2015). Also, in this type, the people elect high officials for the executive and exercise their sovereign rights. However, due to the wideness of the state borders and the high population density, direct democracy practices have difficulties in terms of implementation (Güçyetmez, 2017).

In the direct democracy model, the first example of which is seen in Ancient Greek sites, it is seen that citizens with the right to choose to take part in the decision-making process. However, considering the population density of the countries today,

it is seen that the application area of this model is not wide in practice. The closest model to direct democracy is seen in Switzerland. With the low population of the country and its effect on the political culture, the application of direct democracy can be applied due to its suitability for the conditions of the country (Aktaş, 2015).

1.4.2. Semi-Direct Democracy

Semi-direct democracies are a form of democracy in which the means of representative democracy and direct democracy are used together. In this form of democracy, the people directly participate in political decisions by using instruments such as the sovereignty referendum, but the people have a direct say in terms of the use of sovereignty. The use of sovereignty is made by means of a referendum, public veto, public initiative, and dismissal of representatives (Gözler, 2013).

1.4.3. Representative Democracy

In representative democracies, the people transfer their sovereignty rights to the representatives they choose in the elections held at regular intervals. In this model, elections are an important tool of democracy. Today, the practice of representative democracy is common in many countries. Representatives are elected by the people through political parties. Political parties play an important role in the functioning of democratic mechanisms. The most important function of political parties contributing to democracy is to ensure the control of the party that comes to power through elections. In democracies, parties must also provide a basis for legitimacy and contribute to fair elections. With democratic elections, the government gains legitimacy and realizes the change of power. According to Aktaş, he emphasizes that in order to ensure legitimacy, all political parties should be at an equal distance from the candidates, that all political parties and their candidates should be able to address the public equally through mass media and benefit from public resources equally. In the same study, Aktaş mentions that the elections should be held by secret ballot with the free will of the people, away from pressure, and the importance of the state's assurance of this (Aktaş, 2015). In order for the elections to be fair, there must be political parties, non-governmental organizations, institutions, and organizations that monitor the election process. The duties and authorities of the employees in these organizations should also be determined in advance.

1.4.4. Liberal Democracy Theory

The main reason why democracy and liberalism are two closely related concepts is that both concepts started to develop in the same period. Liberalism is concerned with providing comprehensive guarantees for the individual's aspirations, freedom of thought, and action. In this context, the political freedom of the individual carries the highest political value. Classically, in liberalism, the power of the state should be minimized in order to protect individual rights and freedoms. Liberalism has four important features. These are limited state power, parliamentary rule and separation of powers, the idea that human nature is good, and free trade. The limitation of the power of the state has changed with a different approach in the modern nation state. It is based on the view that the state can make interventions that can pave the way for freedoms, and it has been shaped especially with a perspective in social areas. State intervention, which paves the way for individuals' basic needs such as health, education and shelter, and freedom for people to exercise their natural rights to life, is welcomed. They emphasize the importance of the power of the state against internal and external enemies, especially with the neo-liberal approach that developed in the twentieth century. States need to be strong, especially against their enemies, because they state that a strong military is needed at home and a strong state is needed to ensure strict observance of the rule of law (Newton & Deth, 2010). Laclau and Mouffe (1992) emphasize the deep understanding of liberalism's struggle for democratization in the idea of freedom. In this context, he expresses Lucke's conception of freedom in traditional liberalism as liberation from the constraints and coercions of others. While mentioning the importance of the realization of Mill's concept of political freedom through democratic participation, the capacity of making choices and finding alternatives in the discourse of social democracy is expressed. In this context, the liberal approach focuses on the collective structure of the relationship between the individual and the state, the way social decisions are made, and the management style of society. It is difficult to draw a clear line between liberalism and democracy. Because the concepts of individual freedom and equality between the concepts of freedom and equality in democratic participation and the liberal approach will not be able to cover authoritarian governments. However, the concepts of human rights, equality and freedom between democracy and liberal approach are compatible

within the structure of democratic government and do not coincide with the basic values of an arbitrary power and liberal approach.

John Stuart Mill's views were influenced by Tocqueville's theory of democracy. Although the first thinker of the concept of "moderate democracy", which Mill expressed as a form of good government, was John Locke, the theory was developed by Montesquieu. Mill's views are based on the concept of moderate democracy. According to Mill, a good government is a government that not only improves the character of the ruler but also benefits and develops the virtue and talent of a member of society by providing the most favorable conditions. In this understanding of democracy, individuals' free ideas are needed by ensuring the wide participation of society in public affairs. In this sense, according to Mill's thought, there are two keywords. These are Merit and political participation. In this sense, representation is indispensable for Mill (Schmidt, 2001). Demir emphasizes that Mill's views on ideal representation include recommendations to prevent the tyranny of the majority. According to Mill, for a successful administration in terms of representation, the public should be ready and willing to discuss public issues. At the same time, community representatives need to cooperate even if they have conflicts of interest in the public interest. Proper democratic practices are necessary. What is meant by true democracy is that minorities enjoy equal citizenship rights and have the right to vote. Finally, the authority needs to be concentrated in the executive. Mill emphasizes the necessity of dividing the responsibility of authority and decisions (Demir N., 2010).

Since today's democracies are democratized systems based on liberal values, democracy and liberalism are perceived as combined systems. In liberal democracies, the concept of divine sovereignty has turned into the sovereignty of the people. With this change, secularism started to become active and caused the church's effectiveness to decrease.

Liberal democracy is a form of government based on the social contract and the constitutionally limited power and authority of the state, and the assurance of individual rights and freedoms. In other words, in a democracy model based on liberal theories, they exercise their power and authority within the constitutional limits of political power within the scope of the social contract (Aktaş, *ibid*).

The legitimacy of democratic states is important in terms of their sovereignty. In this sense, legitimacy in liberal democracies is protected in the context of equality and freedom. In the literature, it is stated that capitalism is an important factor in the development of democracies, and it is stated that in western countries, the development of capitalism was witnessed first and then the development of democracy. Based on the liberal approach's emphasis on the fundamental duties of the state, it should focus on the main function of the state in democracies. In this sense, democracies guarantee constitutional rights and freedoms in terms of implementation. The separation of powers is the basic principle; legislative, executive, and judicial independence is important. Individual rights and freedoms, freedom of the press, the rule of law, the right to oppose, non-governmental organizations are important building blocks in democratic countries.

Democratization processes are as important as democracy models in terms of understanding whether countries are democratic or not. In addition, the concept of democratic legitimacy determines which policies countries will follow or the effectiveness of the policies they follow. In this context, democratization processes and the definition of an autocratic regime are given in the next section.

1.5. Autocratic Regime and Democratization Processes

Before explaining democratization processes or democratization, it would be more useful to explain the autocratic regime and explain how and why the transition to democracy is desired. Huntington's question is important in this sense. "While some of the authoritarian regimes were trying to democratize, why did other countries not adopt a democratic structure?" Although it is thought that the democratization effort to this question may vary depending on the nature of the authoritarian regime, Huntington states that this answer is not correct due to the different structures of the countries in this effort. As the reason for this, he cites the different regime types of the countries that have passed into democracy. Some tried to transition from military regime to democracy, others from personal dictatorship, and others from one-party democracy (Huntington, 1996).

1.5.1. Autocratic Regime Type

Gürsoy (2018) states that autocracy can be explained starting from democracy. He states that the steps taken backwards from democracy constitute the autocratic state structure. Indispensable elements of democracy; It draws attention to the emergence of autocratic regimes due to the violation or non-implementation of equality, election and election, human rights and the rule of law. In this context, although it cannot always be defined as the collapse of the democratic regime, if the main principles of democracy are blatantly violated, the regime collapses. In this context, authoritarianism is expressed as "the destruction of democracy" (Gürsoy, 2018). Authoritarianism occurs in three ways. It is the suppression of opposition using military coups, revolutions and repression.

Military coups in the world have an important place in the authoritarian processes that took place in the 1960s and 1970s. Military coups are frequently seen in countries where political institutions do not function properly and are not considered legitimate, non-governmental organizations are ineffective or weak, participation in politics is low, and voters cannot be consolidated. At the same time, it has been observed that armies engage in politics with the thought that they have the duty to protect national and state interests or to protect the regimes of countries during periods of political and economic crisis. If the public thinks that politics is corrupt, conditions in some countries have matured in military interventions and it has been observed that the people support military interventions. In other words, political corruption, military coups were seen as legitimate by the masses of people who thought that the supreme interests of the state were not protected by the politicians, and such situations prepared a suitable environment for military coups. The most important element of avoiding military coups is the establishment of democratic political culture and the internalization of democratic values by the masses (Huntington, 1996).

Another reason for military coups is the intervention in military institutionalization or policies that do not comply with the interests of the military institution. Gürsoy (2018) states that these interests are the political will's intervention in the internal issues of the military, such as having sufficient military ammunition, military promotion and training, and issues related to their reputation in the society. In

times of crisis, it is seen that as a result of the impact of both institutional, individual and class interests of military institutions, authoritarianism has taken place through the coup.

In the political history of the world, transitions to the autocratic system have been seen rarely compared to coups through revolutions. In this regime change that took place with revolutions, unlike the coups, the political system does not change, but also changes in the social structure. The fact that revolutions do not happen frequently is due to the difficulty of changing both the political and social structure. Revolutions can take place in two ways, from the bottom or from the top. It is seen that the revolutions from the bottom take place with the protests, revolts and intense participation of the masses for change. Even if the revolution comes from below, the elite has an influence. In this type of revolution, it has been historically seen that authoritarian regimes were destroyed and replaced by a new authoritarian regime or communist regime as in Russia.

Although it was a structure that received the support of popular masses in revolutions from above, the revolution was carried out by the elite in revolutions from above. While revolutions from the top can take place, in some cases, revolutions from above are carried out by the military or civilian elite. In history, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, revolutions took place in countries such as Poland and East Germany, which led to a bloodless regime change by mobilizing the masses of people under the leadership of opposition leaders.

Theorists state that revolutions were made for various reasons. According to Karl Marx, revolutions were explained through the effect of economic conditions and the production system on the social structure. Huntington, on the other hand, sees economic conditions as a factor, but also emphasizes the ability of the state to respond adequately to the demands of the people in revolutions from below (Huntington, 1996). Gurr (2010) emphasizes that the upper classes, who seem to be privileged in the political and social field, caused the revolution by mobilizing the masses as a result of the deprivation of the people created by the conditions that the people do not have. It draws attention to the fact that revolutions can be made with political violence because of such a sense of deprivation (Gurr, 2010). Tilly (1978), on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of organizing capacity, organizational ability, and

collective work of mass movements in the realization of revolutions. Another important factor in revolutions from below is ideological unity. It has been observed in historical times that ideologies, which function to bring society together, are one of the tools used to mobilize people with the desire to transform the situation they are in into their idealized form.

The last of the methods of authoritarianism is the suppression of opposition through repression. With the suppression of the opposition, authoritarian regime change has a characteristic that spreads over a period of time, unlike coups and revolutions. Another feature of this method is that it usually takes place by establishing a semi-authoritarian or competitive authoritarian mixed system. As with other methods, there is a return from democracy with the method. Levitsky & Way (2002) emphasized that in the 2000s, academics drew attention to the effects of mixed situations such as quasi-democracy, virtual democracy, and electoral democracy, other than hybrid regimes. However, the problematic of semi-authoritarianism, selective authoritarianism, and democratic weakness, which Freedom House defined as Partial freedom, is underlined. At the same time, Levitsky & Way states that although reduced forms of democracies are thought to bring transitions to democracy in the long run, in reality, they often result in significant transitions from democracy to autocracy, as seen in the 1990s.

In suppressing the opposition, there is an effort by the government to assimilate the opposition. It is observed that the ruling party or government leaders use the natural resources of the state to buy the opposition. At the same time, they use these resources to ensure the loyalty of the supporters of the ruling party and to keep these groups in their own hands by creating job opportunities and similar opportunities. In this sense, suppressing or silencing the opposition, whether through coercion or the soft way of assimilation, enables the ruling party to increase its chances of winning the next election. In this respect, the competition and elections that should be in democracies cannot be realized in a completely fair and impartial manner. From the point of view of the image, it has become difficult to condemn the leaders of countries who have become authoritarian in this way in the world public opinion on the grounds of authoritarianism.

In this sense, Huntington draws attention to the historical development of democratization processes of countries in democratization efforts. Transitions to democracy did not happen suddenly, and each country states that there are transitional periods between autocracy and democracy in some periods, depending on its own political culture and structure.

Since the practices of democracy and the functioning of democracy are related to the structure of the systems of governments in the states, the next section covers the government systems and the government system structures of the selected countries.

1.5.2. Democratization and its Connection with Government Systems

The ideal of democracy and the reality of democracy are not the same in Sartori's approach. Sartori democracy emerges from the interaction between real and ideal democracy, in other words, from the contradiction between what is and what should be. Sartori states that normative and empirical definitions are important for him. Sartori defines democracy as “a regime that is conducive to and based on fact-value tension” (Sartori, 2014). In this context, the target of democracy is societies. At the same time, the targeted democratic structure in societies proceeds in a way determined by democratic processes according to democratic procedures and democratic rules. In this sense, Sartori states that the rules of realist democracy do not explain what should be, but also explain the existing democratic structures. For this reason, democracy is not considered in the ideal sense in the theory of realist democracy. Realist theory focuses on the common features of democratically accepted and existing forms of government.

Dahl explains the democracies that exist in the world with the concept of polyarchy. According to Dahl, democracies state that they must meet certain conditions and procedures as a minimum. In this study, Dahl's 7 terms and procedures of democracy are as follows:

- “• *Control authority over government decisions on state policy should be concentrated in constitutionally elected bodies.*

- *Elected bodies should come to power through frequent and honestly administered elections, where repression is relatively rare.*

- *Practically all adults should have the opportunity to be elected to elected bodies in government.*
- *Citizens should have opportunities to express themselves on broadly defined political issues without the threat of serious penalties.*
- *Citizens should have access to alternative sources of information. More than that, alternative news sources must exist and be protected by law.*
- *Practically all adults should have the right to vote in the selection of bodies.*
- *Citizens should also have the right to form relatively independent institutions and organizations that include independent political parties and interest groups”* (Dahl R. A., 2021).

Dahl emphasizes the importance of the existence of democratic institutions in terms of citizen participation in government. He also states that according to Dahl, it is necessary to structure international organizations based on the conditions of democracy within a democratic system (Dahl R. A., 2021).

With reference to Kempfski, Demir, in the context of the political philosophy of democracy, emphasizes the legal limitation of equality based on freedom, as well as the liberal philosophy that attaches importance to economic equality, as well as the socialist political philosophy, which is known as the spread of common rights. Habermas, on the other hand, draws attention to public communication as a prerequisite for democratic administration to ensure that democratic administration should not mean the supervision of the modern state in accordance with the rule of law and that the control from below and decision-making processes can be realized through participation (Demir N. , 2010).

According to Habermas, states that multicultural states can only be realized with the use value of their citizens' rights, social security and mutual recognition of different cultural lives. He draws attention to the fact that a democratic state can develop an integrative power and provide solidarity among foreigners with a form of government that prepares the desired living conditions of different lifestyles of citizens (Habermas, Being "The Other", "Living with the Beyond", Political Theory Articles, 2012, pp. 26-28).

Democracy models are important in determining the governmental systems of states in modern democracies—parliamentary, presidential, and semi-presidential. In

particular, the effect of democracy models on monitoring mechanisms and public representation is important in terms of explaining the duties and responsibilities of democratic institutions in government systems and administrative structures of states. In this context, models of democracy are directly related to how government systems will be structured. In addition, legislative, executive, and judicial features in democracy models and democracy models and government system structures are in a relationship with each other.

Since legitimacy is an important concept in democracies, it cannot be considered separately from the expression of democracy. In this context, no matter which democratic model a country is governed by, it is evaluated on the basis of legitimacy at the local and international levels. In democracies, the administrative structure is discussed in terms of its relationship with the legislative and executive powers, whether in a parliamentary, presidential, or semi-presidential system. Freedoms and the structure of democratic institutions are also examined in this study through the democratic administrative structures of countries. For this reason, the administrative structures and democratic functioning of the countries are included in this section.

1.5.2.1. Government System

The distinctive feature of the determination of government systems is evaluated and classified depending on the interrelationship of the legislature and the executive. The independence of the judiciary constitutes the basis of democracy no matter what kind of government system it is.

If the legislature and the executive unite in one hand, that is, if there is a union of powers, this system of government is a monarchy. If the legislature and the executive are gathered in a parliament elected by the people, it is defined as a parliamentary government system.

In the case of the separation of legislative and executive power, the government system is based on the principle of separation of powers. The structure of the government system differs here, depending on the degree of separation of powers. If there is a soft and cooperative separation between the legislature and the executive, a parliamentary government system is formed, as in the UK. If the distinction between

legislative and executive is sharp, as in the USA, there is a presidential government system (Demir F., 1998).

1.5.2.2. Presidential System

In a presidential system, the president is directly elected for a limited time and has overall responsibility for state affairs. The President is balanced by an independent and elected legislature. Control and balancing are an element that ensures the separation of powers in the presidential system. Presidential systems have four main characteristics:

“1. Head of state and government are one. As the presidents fulfill all the symbolic duties of the presidency, the responsibility of the legislature also belongs to the president. The president is responsible for the legislative function in domestic policy and foreign policy. It is usually at the top of the military forces. In addition, national public services are the responsibility of the president.

2. In the execution of policies, the presidents appoint the cabinet to provide consultancy services and to enable the state bureaucracy to function.

3. Presidents are subordinate to the legislature. The President initiates the legislature, but they are dependent on the legislature for the enactment of legislation and bills.

4. Presidents are directly elected to serve a fixed term. The legislature can remove their heads only before their term expires. However, a president of the legislature can be removed from office in exceptional circumstances. As long as this situation does not occur, presidents continue their duties within the fixed period they are elected” (Newton & Deth, 2010).

In the presidential system, the legislature and the executive are elected by popular vote. Each has its own independent power. In this sense, the separation of the legislative and executive functions forms the basis of the existence of the check and balance system. There are many countries that are governed by the presidential system through the example of the USA in the sub-titles. However, the presidential practices and jurisdictions of each country differ in practice, the separation of duties of the legislature and the executive, the checks and balances mechanisms depending on whether the countries are federal, confederal or nation-states, and their political

cultures. In this sense, the duties and responsibilities of the legislative and executive powers are separated by sharp boundaries or, as in the USA, the presidents must share power. In this case, it reveals the necessity of institutions to cooperate in order to do what is necessary. In this sense, there is a separation of institutions rather than a separation of powers.

1.5.2.3. Parliamentary System

The separation of powers in the parliamentary system is not separated by sharp lines as in the presidential system but has a soft and balanced structure that interlocks with each other. In the parliamentary system, the president or head of state, the prime minister, and the council of ministers serve as executives. There is cooperation between the legislature and the executive, and on some issues, the legislature and the executive need to act together. The government, which is the legislative body, prepares the laws, but these laws must be adopted by discussing the executive body in the parliament (Demir F., 1998).

In the parliamentary system, the executive body is not directly elected, but mostly the legislature is formed from within the parliament. In this system, the executive body consists of the prime minister, cabinet or council of ministers and they are in a collective structure. In the parliamentary system, the leading party of the largest party or coalition in the parliament usually also has the executive authority. Unlike the presidential system, in the parliamentary system all members of the executive share responsibilities. This means that the prime minister, cabinet and cabinet are jointly responsible for all the actions of the government. Also, unlike the presidential system, there is no clear distinction between the legislature and the executive in the parliamentary system. In the parliamentary system, the head of the party with the most support in the parliament is the prime minister or chancellor. The prime minister or chancellor usually forms a cabinet from within the parliament and this cabinet constitutes the main staff of the government. However, the government has to get a vote of confidence from the legislature, the parliament. In this sense, the executive is subordinate to the legislature. Another issue is that the legislation or bills proposed by the executive can be accepted or rejected in the legislature, which is the legislature. Another relationship between the legislature and the executive is that the executive

can call for early elections by dissolving the parliament (Newton & Deth, 2010). However, the legitimacy of the executive depends on the legislature, as the legislature has the power to give or not a vote of confidence in the executive. The executive branch is overseen by the legislature. In other words, the prime minister and ministers are accountable to the parliament.

1.5.2.4. Semi-Presidential System

The semi-presidential system is an interim system that takes the advantage of the parliamentary system and the presidential system and minimizes the disadvantages of both. As in the parliamentary system, the executive is two-headed.

In the semi-presidential system, the president is directly elected and the voters are accountable. There is a prime minister appointed by the legislature elected by the president. The Prime Minister is responsible for being accountable to the parliament, and the cabinet he established may be overthrown by the parliament with a vote of no confidence (Korkmaz, 2016).

Duties of the president in the semi-presidential system; appointing or dismissing the prime minister from within the elected parliament, dissolving the parliament and calling for a referendum, declaring a state of emergency and making serious recourse to the state of emergency.

The Prime Minister appoints the cabinet from within the parliament. The cabinet appointed by the Prime Minister is accountable to the parliament. Although the semi-presidential government system that emerged with the 5th Republic in France is seen in some of the democratic countries, the number of countries that implement the system is few. It is also seen in countries that have emerged from the communist system and transitioned to democracy. Newton & Deth state that the reason for this is that these countries need a figure that concentrates the force in their hands. However, according to them, they emphasize that the presence of a strong public figure in these newly democratized countries can overcome excessive party divisions and act centrally in order to focus on the sense of nation.

Parallel to the change in political conditions, attention is drawn to the tendency of the few democracies and new democracies that use the semi-presidential system today to evolve towards the parliamentary system (Newton & Deth, 2010).

1.6.Regime Types of Countries

1.6.1. UK's Government System

In the literature, England is expressed as the place where the parliamentary system emerged. The origin of the English parliament dates back to the 8th century. The distinctive traditional structure of the British government system derives from its historical origins in the monarchy of the United Kingdom.

The British parliament (Witan and Moot), which is called the Westminster model, is defined as its important institution. In this sense, the basis of Anglo-Saxon law is based on customs and traditions. In this period, the king had to get the approval of the "Witenagemots", the assembly consisting of wise people called Witan, in order to be able to legislate. The Witan institution in the early periods served as the monarch's advisory council, and the Moot as the assemblies where local issues and judgments were carried out. After the Norman invasion, the lords and lords continued the traditional structure of the Witenagemot, and with the inclusion of the clergy in the parliament, the federal principalities and nobles established the Magnum Concilium (UK Parliament). In 1230, the Magnum Concilium was first mentioned as parliament. After these periods, the tradition of Witan and Moot has come to the present day as a two-chamber system as the House of Lords and the House of Commons. With the signing of the Magna Carta on 15 June 1215, the powers of the English king were restricted for the first time. On the UK Parliament page, it is stated that Magna Carta was formed as a result of the uprising, and that the British monarchy accepted that its powers could not be above the law. It is seen that the 63 articles in the Magna Carta mainly contain articles on the regulation of feudal traditions and the justice system. There are four articles that are valid today. These; 1 (section), articles 13, 39 and 40. Articles 39 and 40, which are listed below and are permanent for 800 years;

“No free person may be seized, imprisoned, dispossessed, outlawed, exiled or destroyed, and in no way prosecuted, except by the law of his peers and the laws of the country.”

"We will not undermine anyone, we will not deny anyone, we will not delay truth and justice."

The above articles still continue as law in England. It was also practiced wherever England ruled from the 14th to the 17th century, and there were items exported to English-speaking countries and the United States. However, it formed the basis of English law. Due to the emphasis on freedom and justice, Magna Carta has gained a universal character in today's democracy and human rights issues (UK Parliament). In this context, in the Westminster model, the executive power is the duty of the cabinet and the executive is gathered in one hand. Coalition governments are rarely encountered in this model. Because the cabinet is usually composed of party members that hold the majority of the parliament. There is usually not much difference between the majority of the British parties in terms of votes. The party with the most votes in the parliament is accepted as the majority party and has the executive power.

In British democracy, the principle of separation of powers has been adopted as a requirement of the parliamentary system. The executive power is in the cabinet and the legislative power is in the parliament. The cabinet, that is, the executive, works depending on the trust of the legislature, that is, the parliament, and because the cabinet is formed from within the parliament, the legislature has an effect on the executive. Despite this, the cabinet in England consists of the leaders of the majority party, and therefore it is seen that the desired laws have been implemented. Although this situation is the basis of the separation of powers, in practice, it can be stated that the legislative and executive power are united in the executive power.

Westminster-type democracies tend to have a central government. Although England is not a federal state, regional administrations take their power from the central government and the unitary structure of the state is preserved. Although local governments have special functions, they do not have an independent structure as they act as a part of the central government (Güçyetmez, 2017).

England has a bicameral structure. The House of Lords and the House of Commons are two asymmetrical houses. The House of Commons, elected by the British people for five years, consists of political parties. In addition, members of the party who are not elected as ministers are also members of this chamber. The

members of the House of Lords are most successful and experienced people who are appointed for life and many of them are not members of political parties. Although government ministers also have a seat in the parliament, they carry out their work from the government office (Parliament and the Government).

Legislation is carried out by the House of Commons. The control and supervision mechanism has been defined as the task of the parliament in England. Parliament closely monitors the government's decisions and monitors how business is conducted. The government is obliged to provide information to the parliament in an open and transparent manner. Parliament also undertakes the task of examining and improving new demands by questioning ministers and requesting applicable and efficient information. It also controls how and where public money is spent, equality and human rights, and whether the law is applied fairly. In addition, it is the parliament's responsibility to raise their voices on behalf of the people in case of failures in the implementation of laws.

On the other hand, due to the duty of the government to answer the questions of the ministers, to answer the problems that arise or may arise in the discussions, and to inform the parliament of the decisions taken in the two chambers, the members of the government are required to come to the parliament regularly and participate in the discussions. This is because members of the government are able to account for their actions to parliament (UK Parliament, no date).

There is a two-party system in England, with two major political parties in the government. One of these two parties has a majority in the legislature, while the other is in the opposition. There are two parties in England, the Conservative and the Labor party (Güçyetmez, 2017). It has a disciplined party structure in the Westminster model, and the leader of the ruling party also leads the government as the prime minister. The government led by the Prime Minister is at the forefront of setting the agenda. Although the constitutional structure is based on legislative supremacy, the political structure in England is formed by the cabinet and the prime minister. The existence of a competitive system between the two parties in the UK ensures that the two political parties control each other (Kama, 2016).

1.6.2. USA's Government System

The governing structure of the USA is stated in the constitution as a "Constitutional Federal Republic". After the 1776 Declaration of Independence was ratified by 13 States, the Constitution adopted in 1787 determined the balance of power system between the legislative, executive and judicial organs. In the legal system, judges are appointed by the President after the approval of the Senate. The Supreme Court can reject a law signed by the minister when it finds it unconstitutional. The US constitution clearly defines the structure and powers of the federal government, but also regulates the general conditions of the state government. It also has a constitution that covers local governments within each state. Local governments include municipalities, provinces, towns, school districts, and special-purpose regional governments responsible for the management of issues such as natural resources and transportation networks in the region.

The U.S. legislature is a dual system consisting of Congress, the Senate with 100 senators, and the House of Representatives with 435 representatives. For a law to be signed by the president, the approval of both houses is required. In the US system, the vice president also chairs the Senate. In the House of Representatives, states give representatives according to population density, and representatives are elected from their own electoral districts and come to the parliament.

The executive head is the president of the USA and the duties of the president are as follows:

International agreements are ratified by the Senate. In the management system in the USA; Department of Agriculture (USDA), Department of Commerce (DOC), Department of Defense (DOD), Department of Education (ED), Department of Energy (DOE), Department of Health and Human Rights (HHS), Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Housing and Urban Development There are 15 ministers: Ministry of Interior (HUD), Ministry of Interior (DOI), Ministry of Justice (DOJ), Ministry of Labor (DOL), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DOS), Ministry of Transport (DOT), Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Veterans (VA). Each minister must have the approval of the Senate, and all ministers are headed by a minister appointed by the President.

In the US judiciary, there are nine judges in the Supreme Court. This court hears cases that require interpretation of applicable laws if laws enacted by Congress are challenged, and criminal cases involving charges brought in violation of federal law.

The state government of the USA is decentralized. There are 51 states and 1 specialty territory in the USA.

Article 4 of the U.S. Constitution contains regulations for its States. In Chapter 1; each state shall exercise full confidence and abide by the laws, records, and procedures of all other states. In the 2nd part; citizens of each state shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities of citizens of other states. In Chapter 3; new states may be admitted to this Union by Congress; however, a new state cannot be created within the jurisdiction of a state. In Chapter 4; The United States will guarantee every state in this Union a republican form of government” (The Constitution Center of US, n.d.).

The state government consists of three organs, namely the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial, and the Governor is the head of the executive. In each state, governors are elected, but their term of office varies by state, usually between 2 and 4 years. In addition, the states are governed by the legislature elected by the people. The judiciary is independent and takes place within the state system. Federal-level services (such as the construction and maintenance of highways) are provided by State Governments. In addition, the state's executive branch is responsible for administering the day-to-day affairs of the government, providing public and administrative services, and enforcing the law.

The Powers and Responsibilities of State Governments include setting education standards, establishing and maintaining transportation networks, establishing colleges and universities, issuing licensing, maintaining public safety, administering population, parks, recreational and environmental purposes, commanding the national guard, health, housing, and nutrition programs. (Erkul, Kara, & Şimşek, 2016).

Local governments at the third level of government are not explicitly mentioned in the US Constitution. However, it is stated that all duties, powers and responsibilities not given to the federal government are left to the states and local

people. It is seen that the local governments under the states are regulated differently in the constitution of each state.

Therefore, the number, form, powers, duties and responsibilities of local governments vary from state to state. However, in general, local governments in the USA; It is called Provincial Local Government (County Government), Municipality (City Government- Municipality), Towns (Town and Townships), School Districts (School Districts), and Special Districts.

In the United States, the functions and services of the three levels of government often overlap. In practice, it is difficult to distinguish which of these services is a federal service and which is a local service. In general, municipalities, school districts, towns, special district administration, and provincial administrations are responsible for record keeping, election management, maintenance of local-rural roads, construction, zoning, enforcement of construction laws, security, education, health, fire, courts and prisons, transportation, parks, water resources, electricity and gas supply and management of these institutions, social assistance, health services, adoption of laws on marriage and divorce, imposing or removing taxes (Erkul, Kara, & Şimşek, 2016).

Today in the USA; There are sub-local government units as Provincial Local Administration, Municipality, Towns, School Districts and Special Region Administration. As with the US federal structure, the state structure has a three-tier structure. In this context, new policies and solutions to problems are tried to be solved first in local units in small scales. Successful programs are also being implemented in other federated states and local government units on a national scale.

States and municipalities are quite different from each other in terms of population, size, economic resources, climate and other characteristics, and small political units allow more rapid intervention in specific local situations in their jurisdiction. However, one of the difficulties of the situation is that small units may not have enough economic resources (Erkul, Kara, & Şimşek, 2016).

As can be seen from the explanations above, the administrative structure of the USA is a system based on duality. It is seen as dual federalism that the federal central state and the states have the right to make their own constitutions and the presidents and delegates of the administrative units in the states are elected. At the same time,

because of the existence of regionally different ethnic and social groups in the USA and the existence of states as separate states in the historical process, a decentralized form of administration has developed. The size of the surface is also a factor in this. While the Constitution specifies the legal boundaries between the central state and the states, it authorizes the legislature in ambiguous situations. As in every federal structure, the problems have to be resolved by compromise and bargaining in the USA.

1.6.3. Germany's Government System

Germany's Federalism in the historical process. It was set after World War II. In 1948, the West German constitution began with an agreement with six western states in London. The most debated issue in the making of this constitution was how to establish a federal structure and the central federal system was determined. According to the constitution adopted in 1949, the German Federal structure is based on democratic foundations and according to the first paragraph of Article 20 of the "Federal German Constitution, the Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic and social Federal State" (Metin & Erece, 2016). Germany is expressly defined as a federal state in its constitution and it is forbidden to change the federal state structure. The constitutional order in the states must comply with the republican, democratic, and social rule of law principles set out in the constitution. The German constitution states, "...with the exception of the state-specific provisions in the constitution, the exercise of state powers and the fulfillment of their duties belong to the states." Legislative powers and duties of the federation and states are regulated in Articles 70 and following of the Constitution. In Articles 83 and onwards, the powers and duties of the federation and the states in the implementation of federal laws and federal administration are regulated.

When examined from a democratic point of view, it is seen that the power of the parties is high in Germany. The reason for this is that the party can transfer deputies to the list. In addition, the parties organize their election campaigns and the candidate is not obliged to self-finance the campaign. However, party loyalty is also high in Germany. Parliamentarians generally take part in voting in line with the party's views.

The Chancellor in Germany is elected by the Bundestag. This means that the Chancellor has the support of the majority, and any law he wishes to enact is passed

due to party discipline. Most laws that do not affect German states do not have to be approved by the second chamber, the Bundesrat.

An incomprehensible legal language is used in bureaucratic procedures in Germany. There are forms in Germany for each subject and these forms are sent to the relevant institution after they are filled, and taxes and obligations are reported after they are examined there. There is a bureaucratic structure with a high level of control. In Germany, judges or panels of judges decide all cases. In a criminal case, both the prosecution and the defense can produce a negative outcome. In the German media, the names, political affiliations, voting patterns, and opinions of individual judges are generally not reported. In Germany, only the federal government enacts criminal and civil laws and there is no common law layer. Civil and penal laws are more transparent in Germany; however, the rules and regulations applied to businesses are regulated and enforced by various bureaucracies. Even if a criminal has completed his sentence, which is referred to as "Sicherheitsverwahrung" in Germany, although it is not used very often, if the judge considers that this criminal still poses a great danger to society, he can give a life sentence.

In Germany, the legislative body is the Bundestag and the Federal Council (Bundesrat), which is bicameral, and the Bundestag has 598 members. 299 of the members are elected by the first vote of the electorate, and the remaining 299 by the second vote. To be represented in the Bundestag, a party must win 5% of the total vote. The deputies of the Bundestag are elected by general, direct, free, equal, and secret ballot for 4 years. The Bundestag is the body where the people are represented, the legislator and the political will. The main tasks of the Bundestag are; to promulgate laws, elect the prime minister, and exercise control over the government. The Federal Council (Bundesrat) has 69 members and 16 states are represented and take part in the federal structure and administration. The Federal Council consists of members elected by the states, and these members are responsible for legislative and administrative affairs, as well as dealing with EU affairs. The Presidency of the Federal Council is held by the heads of the provinces, depending on the order.

The executive functions are two-headed and the President, who does not have political responsibility, is carried out by the federal government as the political responsible. The President is elected for five years by the Federal Convention, a

constitutional institution formed to elect the president, composed of members of the Bundestag and an equal number of members of the state legislatures.

The Federal Government consists of the Federal Chancellor and Federal Ministers, and the President is elected by the Bundestag on the proposal of the President without discussion. Federal ministers are also appointed by the president.

• The top of the judiciary is the Federal Constitutional Court and its jurisdiction is:

• Checking that any federal or state law is constitutional.

• Resolutions to resolve disputes between the Federation and the states or between the states.

• Decides on the settlement of disputes arising in the exercise of rights and the performance of duties in the Federation and the states.

• Agreements on public law between the Federation and the states

• Removal of fundamental rights due to abuse,

• Closing the parties due to their unconstitutional actions,

• Issues such as the impeachment of the President.

Germany consists of 16 states referred to as Landers. As mentioned above, they are sovereign states with state constitutions that must abide by the principles of republican, democratic, and social rule of law. Therefore, there is no uniform structure in the states. It is seen that the historical, social, cultural, demographic, and economic conditions of each are different (Erkul, Kara, & Şimşek, 2016)

Despite the fact that the German federal administration determines the policy on all important issues, it has assigned the executive function to the states to use the duties and responsibilities to which the state transfers its powers. The states have to comply with the regulations issued by the federal state, and after the reform made in 2006, the implementation function was left to the federated states. The most important change with this amendment is the right to make laws contrary to federal laws and regulations (Erkul, Kara, & Şimşek, 2016).

Local governments as lower level units There are two basic administrative units in Germany. It is seen that local government duties are shared between these regional administrations and districts. Duties that cannot be fulfilled by the districts are supported by the district administrations. However, this structure differs between the

states, and in some states, local governments may form unions to achieve a certain purpose, which can be called the third local government level, which also shares its responsibilities in the states. Depending on the purpose they want to achieve, these unions can be organized centrally at the federal level (Yalçındağ, 1992).

Although the federalism of Germany exhibits a centralized structure, its authority and functional sharing with the states and its sub-units shows that it has a federal structure based on cooperation. Although each of the states has an autonomous structure and privileges on the law with the 2006 reform, it seems like a decentralized administration because the financial structure belongs to their states, but the fact that policymaking is in the central federal state shows that it has a centralized structure.

1.6.4. Türkiye's Government System

The constitution of Türkiye, together with the legislative, executive, and judicial systems of the country, includes regulating the life and peace of the citizens of the Republic of Türkiye. In this context, the legislative and executive structure and the changes it has undergone depending on the constitutional processes of Türkiye are the subjects of this section. Regardless of the government system, it cannot even be proposed to change the first three provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye below.

The first article states that Türkiye's form of government is the Republic.

The second article states the nature of the Republic of Türkiye. According to this;

“The Republic of Türkiye is a democratic, secular and social state of law, in the peace of the society, in the understanding of national solidarity and justice, respectful of human rights, loyal to Atatürk's nationalism, based on the basic principles stated at the beginning.” provision has been made.”

This article mainly explains the concept of the rule of law. According to this statement;

“... actions and transactions are lawful, based on human rights, protecting and strengthening these rights and freedoms, establishing and developing a just legal order in all areas, avoiding unconstitutional situations and attitudes, being bound by the Constitution and superior rules of law, being subject to judicial review. open state. It is a requirement of being a state of law that the laws are aimed at ensuring the public

interest, that they contain general, objective, fair rules, and that they observe the criteria of equity. The social state of law, the qualifications of which are specified in this article, is based on human rights, guarantees people's living in peace, prosperity, and happiness, can establish a fair balance between individual rights and freedoms and public interest, improves working life and protects employees by taking economic measures, and respects their human dignity. It is a state that ensures that they lead a decent life, takes the necessary measures to distribute the national income in accordance with justice, can implement the right to social security, and observes social justice and social balances. With the stated principle of the rule of law, it is aimed to establish a legal order in accordance with justice and equality in social life” (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, 1982).

In Article 5 of the Constitution: “The aims and duties of the state are to protect the independence and integrity of the Turkish Nation, the indivisibility of the country, the Republic and democracy, and to ensure the welfare, peace and happiness of individuals and society; It is defined as trying to remove the political, economic and social obstacles that limit the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual in a way that is incompatible with the social state of law and the principles of justice, and to prepare the necessary conditions for the development of the material and spiritual existence of the human being” (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası, 1982).

The legislative power of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye is stated in Article 7 of the Constitution in a way that cannot be delegated. Executive power; “The executive power and duty of the President (...) are exercised and carried out in accordance with the law”¹ as expressed in Article 8 of the constitution (Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, 1982).

In the constitutions prepared and put into practice in the Republic of Türkiye, the first three articles have never been changed and it is fixed with the first 4 articles that they are unalterable. According to the 1924 constitution, the TGNA comes to the parliament by being elected as the sole authority and deputies for the exercise of

¹ With Article 16 of the Law No. 6771 dated 21/1/2017, the phrase “and the Council of Ministers” in this paragraph was removed from the text of the article (Constitution of the Republic of Türkiye, 1982).

sovereignty. In this context, the parliamentary government system based on the unity of forces continued until the 1961 Constitution. With the 1961 Constitution, the transition to a bicameral parliamentary system was made. Changes made in terms of the use of legislative and executive powers, the government system continued until 2017 in a parliamentary government or a parliamentary structure (Özdemir A., 2021).

Despite the continuation of the parliamentary system in the 1982 Constitution, the inadequacy of the parliamentary system in the past was emphasized and it is seen that the debates on the government system took place in Türkiye. After the system discussions were first expressed by Turgut Özal, it was also brought to the agenda by Süleyman Demirel and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. A referendum was held in 2007 with the proposal, which included the amendment of the 1982 Constitution and the election of the President by the people and the fact that his powers went beyond being symbolic. It is stated in the literature that Türkiye has moved away from the parliamentary system with the implementation that came into force after the general election held in 2018. It is stated that the reason for this is the President's effectiveness in the executive, and it is stated that there are approaches claiming that Türkiye's administrative structure is semi-presidential. However, the system implemented in Türkiye seems closer to the presidential system. For this reason, although the system applied is called "Turkish Type Presidential System", the general expression is "Presidential Government System".

One of the features brought by the Presidential system of government is that the executive is not subject to the legislature. This means that the executive body elected by the people is not submitted to a vote of confidence and the executive body cannot be terminated with a vote of no confidence. In the event of a blockage in the system, the President and the parliament have mutual termination authority. Although the authority of the presidential parliamentary elections is in this model, the parliamentary investigation system has been preserved, but has been made difficult. The principle of sending the President of the Grand National Assembly to the Supreme Court and a parliamentary investigation is also included in the new constitution, but when the parliament overthrows the President by using this authority, it must be renewed in the parliamentary elections (Gül, Kamalak, & Gül, 2017).

In addition, since the head of state has wide powers, there is a single-headed executive structure (Özdemir A., 2021). In this model, the president is not nonpartisan and impartial. Because, in the Presidential Government System, the relationship of the president with his party is not cut off. With the exception of the budget law, the authority to give blood proposals is made by the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Even though the President of the Republic has the powers to declare a state of emergency by abolishing the martial law and by decree, the approval of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye is sought in these matters.

The independence and impartiality of the judiciary is emphasized in the Presidential Government System. It is seen that important constitutional changes have been made in this area. The military judiciary was completely abolished, and the phrase "High" was removed from the name of the "High Council of Judges and Prosecutors". The number of members of the Council of Judges and Prosecutors was determined as 12, and the principle of determining six of the members of the board by the CB and seven by the parliament was introduced (Gül, Kamalak, & Gül, 2017).

There has been a change in the administrative organization as the Presidential Government System, some institutions and organizations have been closed and depending on the Presidency; Presidency Offices and Presidency Policy Boards were established and the office of Vice President was established. The changes made are as follows: the prime ministership was abolished, some undersecretariats, offices directly under the presidency and the presidential cabinet were established. In addition, the General Secretariat of the Presidency was abolished and the Directorate of Administrative Affairs was established and some ministries were merged and closed. In addition, the representation powers of the governors and district governors and the National Security Council were rearranged. However, despite the changes in the administrative structure, there was no numerical change in the administrative organizations (Özdemir A., 2021).

When briefly summarized the Presidential Government system in the context of political system, executive and legislative, Gül et al. by;

"Political system:

- 1. The executive is irresponsible, too strong in the President*
- 2. Unitary structure and relatively weak local governments*

3. *Weak civilian; relatively strong private sector.*
4. *Polarized multi-party system, strong party bond and leader hegemony*
5. *Relatively weak democracy culture* 6. *Relatively independent judiciary formed by appointment*

Executive:

1. *The President, who is elected by the people every 5 years, is in his government.*
2. *He appoints and dismisses the ministers in the cabinet himself.*
3. *President; It can take the decision to renew the Assembly Elections together with the Presidential election and send back the laws*
4. *Appointment decisions are not subject to approval.* 5. *Party bond continues*

Legislative:

1. *The only national assembly (Parliament) to be elected together with the President every 5 years*
2. *With a 3/5 majority, the President and the Assembly may decide to renew the elections together.*
3. *It has the right of general meeting and written questions, and the authority to refer the President to the Supreme Court with 2/3 majority of abuse of power and treason” (Gül, Kamalak, & Gül, 2017).*

In the literature, there is the opinion that one of the disadvantages of presidential systems will cause political rifts to increase in countries where there is no compromise. The handicap of this is that in cases where there is no cooperation approach between the winners and losers, the majoritarian system is in danger of turning towards authoritarianism. Especially in societies that do not show pluralism and a conciliatory approach, there is a possibility that the executive will evolve into an authoritarian direction in political structures where a very strong presidential system is established to ensure stability. Linz emphasizes the importance of the power of democratic institutions in this context, stating that the increase in the number of those who feel excluded in the society will lead to political instability. He states that democratic regimes cannot be left to the character traits of the leader, and that the stability of the presidential system depends on the strength of the institutions (J.Linz, 1990).

In this context, while determining Türkiye's public diplomacy strategy by evaluating the Presidential Government System and comparing it with the parliamentary system, its strengths and weaknesses in terms of image and strategic communication will be evaluated in detail in the analysis section as a result of data analysis.

1.6.5. Russia's Government System

"The Russian political system is defined as a deeply flawed democracy, and attention is drawn to the drawbacks of the strong concentration of power in one man with the Putin era. According to the Freedom House Index, Russia is defined as an autocratic regime. The constitutional crisis after the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 was overcome in 1993 after the new constitution was adopted by referendum. From this date on, the country began to be defined as a federal presidential republic. In the Russian Federation, it consists of 85 federated units and republics, provinces called krai, regions expressed as oblasts, federal provinces and autonomous areas and autonomous regions defined as okrugs. Within the federal structure in Russia, there are non-Russian minorities with different ethnic origins in some regions, and in some regions there are completely sub-units. Since the federal units are not equal in terms of local rights and powers in the Russian Federation, the federal structure is expressed as asymmetric Federalism (Erdem, 2014).

From a constitutional point of view, Russia; Article 10 of the Russian Constitution determines the principle of separation of powers of the Russian Federation. The Russian Federation states that state power is exercised on the basis of independent legislative, executive and judiciary.

Central power is used in Russia by the Prime Minister, the Federal Assembly (State Duma and the Federation Council), the Government and the courts. The state power of the Russian Federation in the regions is used by regional state authorities. Local self-governments are not dependent on state authorities, self-governments are independent within their powers (The State Duma Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 2018).

With the 1993 constitution, the President of Russia was given strong powers. The President has broad authority to issue decrees and directives, provided that they comply with the laws and the constitution, without legislative oversight. The

President has the power to appoint key positions, having high power in the party. According to the presidential election law, more than 50% of the votes cast must be received in order to be elected president. If no candidate receives more than this percentage of votes, the two candidates with the most votes must be elected in the second round. While the president was elected for a four-year term according to the 1993 constitution, the presidential term was increased to six years with the amendment made in November 2008. The head of state can be elected for a maximum of two terms. He cannot be president for three consecutive terms (Darlington, 2021). In order for a person to be the President of Russia, he or she must reside in Russia for not less than 10 years and every Russian citizen who is not younger than 35 can be elected President (The State Duma Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 2018).

The main duties of the head of state; It is defined as the guarantor of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, human and civil rights and freedoms. At the same time, it is the responsibility of the head of state to take measures to protect the state integrity of the Russian Federation and to coordinate the functioning of the state between government institutions. In addition to these, the President of Russia determines the domestic and foreign policy of the country. It also represents the Russian Federation domestically and internationally. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armed Forces. The head of state can be dismissed by the Federation Council only for treason or any other serious crime brought by the State Duma (The State Duma Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 2018).

In order to increase the actions of the federal regions government body in Russia, and to develop a system that provides control of the implementation of government decisions, federal regions were established in 2000, where the President appoints plenipotentiary representatives. These regions are subject to the Russian constitution and should not be perceived as part of an administrative-regional division. In this sense, the control of these regions is subordinated to the President of Russia. The plenipotentiary representatives of the President are not the chiefs of the district governors or the heads of the founding organizations of the districts, but consist of the representatives of the President and the members of the Presidency. The plenipotentiary representatives of the President do not have constitutional powers.

In the Russian Federation, the executive power is exercised by the Russian Government. The Prime Minister is appointed by the President after confirmation by the State Duma. The head of state can dissolve the Duma into the incumbent government, if the Duma votes a second time of no confidence, in accordance with the constitution, despite the head of state's decision to continue the government, the head of state can dissolve the Duma. For a vote of no confidence, the majority of the members must receive the vote. If a third vote of no confidence is received in three months, the president and government may resign or reject the Duma's decision. If the Duma government rejects the presidential candidates three times, the President appoints the Head of Government, dissolves the State Duma and announces the new election (The State Duma Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 2018; Erdem, 2014).

The Russian government consists of the Head of Government of the Russian Federation, vice-presidents and federal ministers. The government heads the ministries, federal services, and federal agencies within the federal executive branch system. However, in the Russian Federation, institutions such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Emergencies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Defense report directly to the President. They do not work directly with the head of government.

The local self-government of the Russian Federation, on the other hand, ensures that issues of local importance are resolved independently in their own regions. However, the ownership, use, and management of municipal properties in the local self-government area are also the responsibility of the self-government. Citizens, practices and decisions are implemented in these regions by referendum, election, direct expression of the will, and by using other self-government bodies (The State Duma Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, 2018).

The structure of the legislative body of the Russian Federation is specified in Article 94 of its constitution. According to this article; It is stated that the dual structure of the federal parliament has a bicameral parliamentary type structure consisting of the Federation council and the State Duma (The Constitution of the Russian Federation, 2014).

It is seen that the Russian Federation, which was excluded from the category expressed as a hybrid in 2010 in the context of human rights and political rights in the Freedom House Index used in the analysis part of the evaluation of Russia as a democracy and autocracy, is also in the non-free country category in the 2021 data. The Economist Intelligence Unit Index, which is used in the study and measures democratization, defines Russia as a country governed by an autocratic regime. According to the data of the index, Russia bases it on data that political pluralism and elections are not fair, elections are not held in a fair and free environment, fundamental rights and freedoms are violated, freedom of the press is absent, and opposition is silenced (Freedom House, 2021; The Economist Intelligence Units, 2007).

1.7. The Concept of Power and Democratization in International Relations

In the theories of International Relations, especially in explaining the relations of states with each other; actors emerge as an important element in issues such as power, conflicts and cooperation. There are debates over interest between realist, liberal theories and critical theories. In this sense, rational and non-rational theories all approach from different perspectives while explaining through interests.

The concepts of national interest, security and power emerge as a concept based on the theories of international relations. Realist theories explain the cooperation and conflicts in a historical process on the basis of the concept of interest or national interest in order to understand the relations between states. Morgenthau explains politics and international relations with the concept of power and everything related to power with the concept of interest (Morgenthau, 1948). Morgenthau uses the concept of national interest as a basis for power and other relations between states. National interests are at the center of conflicts and cooperation. Machiavelli expresses the system of anarchy as follows depending on self-interest: “if each ruler acts in their own interest, states behave in an egoistic way and are thus in international anarchy in a war of all against all”. In this sense, national interest is a concept used to understand the priorities, movements and alternatives of the state, which is a rational actor, in interstate relations.

Neoclassical realism has focused on understanding international relations with the strategic evaluation of the state in the traditional context, emphasizing the adjustment

of the balance of material power in the definition of threats to them by considering national interests within the geopolitical structure of the international system (Kitchen, 2010). Wendt says that the debates between neorealists and neoliberals are oriented towards rationality. According to him, rationalism separates identities and interests from behaviors. According to neorealists and neoliberals, the dominant actors are states within the system and these states define the concept of security depending on their own interests (Wendt, 1999). According to neorealists and neoliberals, the dominant actors are states within the system and these states define the concept of security depending on their own interests (Wendt, 1999). Referring to Kennedy, Kitchen states that the goal of great strategies made in this sense is that the leaders of the nation bring together all military and civilian elements in times of war and peace for the protection and development of national interests (Kitchen, 2010). In neoliberal and neorealist debates, the debate on relative and absolute gain, which Powell especially emphasizes, is on the determination of the preferences made by national states depending on their interests. Powell talks about the connection of relative and absolute gains with the anarchy system and the states' structures to limit or increase their military power by making agreements on the basis of national interests (Powell, 1991). This also affects the balance and cooperation of the international system. Grieco states that states explain security concerns in their relations with each other, from a realistic point of view, that states that are friends of today may conflict with each other tomorrow, based on common gains, that is, depending on the national interests of the state. Likewise, it evaluates liberals' concerns about absolute gains in relations between states on the basis of interest. As an example, he emphasizes the use of force in the events that took place in the 1970s and early 1980s, and the failure of international institutions to re-establish state interests while interpreting this (Grieco, 1988).

While Nye states that the distinctions of realist and liberal theories are exaggerated, he mentions that the two approaches are complementary, and states that it is important in terms of focusing on questions about how state interests are defined and how their interactions in the transnational system will be made through interests. In this context, while explaining the cooperation between states, it states that states can adopt new strategies to protect their interests in terms of mutual interests and the establishment

of long-term future structures. He states that for liberal theories realists' definitions of interest in learning cooperation, institutions or other factors in the international system will help define state interests. In summary, Nye states that realist and liberal theories emphasize the redefinition of national interests and political processes that promote learning by institutional frameworks and regimes (Nye, 2011). In explaining the anarchy environment, Jervis states that states are concerned about national interests in their attitudes towards other states in terms of cooperation, depending on the point of view in realist and neoliberal theories (Jervis, 1999).

Depending on the theories of democracy and liberal democracy approach, the effect of democratization of states, which are the main actors in the international system, on diplomacy is an important issue. There are debates about whether democracy is a tool of oppression and power in international relations between democratic countries.

Michael Doyle's approach to Democratic Peace is based on the thesis that democratic states will not fight each other. Because there is a need for a stable world order in order for a free market economy and trade with each other to occur smoothly between countries. In this context, Doyle (Doyle, 1986), the democratic structure of governments is based on Kant's argument that the interdependence of states with each other will reduce conflicts, depending on the idea of democratic peace. Liberal approach; Liberal pacification or liberal imperialism being more peace-loving depending on the idea of democratic freedom is mainly based on the self-interest of the states (Viotti & Kauppi, 2016). If there is a situation that does not suit their interests, they may enter into an environment of conflict against more military armament and the regimes they claim to be authoritarian.

When examined in the historical process, it is seen that democracy is used as a tool of power by claiming the efforts to spread democracy as a cause of conflict and war in democratic regimes by trying to spread democracy or export democracy. In this sense, according to Barkawi, he states that dependent countries use mercenaries rather than using their own soldiers, as seen in the example of the USA, in order to transfer democracy and overthrow the elected governments of the countries deployed against democracy (Barkawi. & Laffey, 1999).

CHAPTER II

2. DIPLOMACY

2.1. History of Diplomacy

There is based the history of diplomacy in international relations on the talks made through the messengers during the Hittite and Egyptian civilizations. In the said period, these messengers in Ancient Greece and Rome, Ancient China, and India had similar duties to the diplomats of today (Sönmezoğlu, 2014). Tuncer (2015) states that the first example of diplomacy used in history is an ad-hoc form of diplomacy that does not show continuity, in which representatives sent abroad to fulfill a certain duty return home after completing their duties.

There has been observed that the transition from the ad-hoc diplomacy method to continuous diplomacy was structured on the solution of instantaneous situations in Italian city-states in the 15th century when their diplomats' subdued others without being deceived. For this reason, this method of diplomacy, which is based on cunning and deception, is based on distrust.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, it is seen that the country that steered diplomacy was France. This period has been expressed as the golden age of diplomacy. From the 16th century to the 18th century, it is seen that there was a period of diffusion of diplomacy to Europe. Diplomacy began to take its place in history as an institution only in the 18th century. There was a cosmopolitan structure in diplomacy at the level of rulers and diplomats in the 16th and 17th centuries. In this period, the establishment of a kinship connection by the monarchs through marriage and the fact that the diplomats were not citizens of the country contributed to the internationalization of diplomacy. It is seen that there were bilateral negotiations in diplomacy in this period. The Westphalia Conference of 1648 and the Utrecht conference of 1713 are historical examples of multilateral diplomacy. However, it was observed that there were protocol problems in both conferences.

With the Congress of Vienna held in 1815, the new era of diplomacy started and its becoming a diplomatic mission for the first time was approved by all the states participating in the congress. With this conference, the responsibilities of states in

Europe were emphasized and diplomatic law rules were transformed into international law rules as a result of agreements between states (Sönmezoğlu, 2014). In the Vienna Convention, the diplomatic mission's permanent representation of their states by mutual consent between the states (Parliament, 1961) and the Vienna agreement, the limits of the representation of the diplomats in the state they work in were determined. In the period until the First World War, Europe became the capital of diplomacy and the fates of countries outside Europe were determined at the conferences and meetings held in these capitals. In addition, institutionalized diplomacy is structured on protecting the interests (military and political) of the countries until the end of the First World War. For this reason, it is seen that secret meetings, negotiations and representation services take place (Author, 2020). In addition, classical diplomacy is structured to protect the power and status quo of states in the international arena. For this reason, it is seen that the governments of the period that represent the state carried out diplomatic relations based on the decisions taken at the state levels rather than the opinions of the people.

In the 19th century, it was a period in which legal legalization was completed with the agreement of the states in the international system on the diplomatic experience of Europe and the activities of its diplomats. The debates on the positions of diplomats in the Congresses of Vienna were resolved by multilateral agreement as a result of the Aix-La Chapelle Conference in 1818. On the other hand, it is stated by Sönmezoğlu that the rules of diplomatic protocol become used today, which was completed at the United Nations Conference on Diplomatic Relations and Immunities convened in Vienna in 1961 (Sönmezoğlu, 2014).

Diplomacy used until the end of World War I is called Traditional Diplomacy in the literature. The sovereignty and equality of states, the representation of the state belongs to the monarchs, the wealth and economic power of the monarchs are the power of the state. According to Morgenthau, domestic policy is not independent of foreign policy. However, according to the diplomatic tradition of Europe, foreign policy precedes domestic policy and the executives of foreign policy are autonomous in traditional diplomatic periods. The balance of power in the international system is the assurance of the states within the system (Author, 2020). Sönmezoğlu draws

attention to the fact that the main purpose of diplomacy in this period was to win power and political wars (Sönmezoğlu, 2014).

In this context, diplomats have an important position and privilege in their states in the classical understanding of diplomacy. Among the main duties of diplomats, the primary goal is to protect the interests of their own states and to win the power struggle in the resolution of interstate agreements. In the historical process of diplomacy, it is seen that it has evolved into different forms of diplomacy periodically. These types of diplomacy will be briefly discussed below.

Ad-Hoc Diplomacy method is used to solve a problem or to gain diplomatic momentum. The importance of Ad-Hoc diplomacy is that it is the first type of diplomacy used in history and that it takes place unilaterally and temporarily. Methods similar to the practices in Ancient Egypt and Hittite states, where the first examples were seen, were used in the ancient Greek states. In the period when this diplomacy method was used, it is seen that there were various rules in order to prevent the diplomatic activities carried out through the ambassadors to complete their duties completely and to prevent them from being harmed. The duties of the ambassadors in this period; It was to ensure the flow of information and news between the city-states. The important features sought in these diplomats are to have a loud voice and a memory that will not forget the message to be conveyed. When it comes to the Roman Empire period, although it seems that the problems in Ad-hoc diplomacy were solved with less use and negotiations by the soldiers due to the expansion of the Roman Empire, the conditions sought for diplomats changed. In the Byzantine Empire, unlike the Roman Empire, it is seen that the method of solving problems with negotiation and courtesy was used, and the Byzantine ambassadors used instruments such as courtesy and praise to find out the weaknesses of the states they went to. Understanding the importance of diplomacy in this period seems to be used more effectively than the actual war. In addition, it was also accepted in this period that diplomacy was an art or that diplomats were professionals (Nicolson, 1939, pp. 25-27). In addition, in this period, the changes in the qualifications sought in diplomats and the type of diplomat are observed. With the transition from an orator diplomat to an observer diplomat, it has become a necessity for diplomats to be educated (Erzen, 2014).

The first example of multilateral diplomacy is seen in Ancient Greek city-states. It is stated that the example of multilateral diplomacy in the modern sense was realized with the Westphalia Congress in 1648, which was convened after the Thirty Years' War. It is emphasized in the literature that Richelieu's contributions to diplomacy have an important role in the transition to multilateral diplomacy (Avar, 2016). The example of multilateral diplomacy, which had a temporary feature in the Westphalia congress, was followed by the Karlowitz Congress in 1699 with the participation of lawyers. This congress constituted a new turning point in diplomacy for Europe. The most important feature of the congress is the acceptance of newly formed institutions and organizations and reaching an international agreement with this agreement (Ortaylı, 2007). With this agreement, it enabled the formation of multilateral diplomacy realized through congresses. The change took place due to the difficulty of acceptance between the conjunctural and multilateral states in the bilateral negotiations to produce a solution. At the same time, the development of industry and technology as well as the formation of multilateral diplomatic institutions contributed to the development of this type of diplomacy (Erzen, 2014).

The origin of diplomacy in the modern sense emerged in the 15th century with the exchange of ambassadors between the city-states of Northern Italy, between the Papacy and the Germanic Empire. The permanent implementation of this practice in the 16th century was when it began to spread to Western and Northern Europe. The first application, XI. It was realized by the permanent appointment of an ambassador from Milan to the French court by Luis. As a result of the political and social change experienced after the establishment of sovereign nation states, the way of recognition of a state was realized by the establishment of diplomatic representations and the establishment of diplomatic relations. With this development, interstate communication began to be carried out through diplomatic missions. In this period, the states are in an anarchy system in which they have insecure and unstable relations with each other and the states are in an anarchy system with a high threat of war. For this reason, diplomatic relations based on trust cannot be mentioned due to the understanding that the risk of cheating and deception maximizes the interests of the state in inter-state relations. The differentiation of diplomacy from these concepts of hypocrisy has occurred as a result of the emergence of cooperation approaches

between states with the effect of the changing international system. By investigating the activities of the ambassadors, the frequency of the relations developed between the states enabled the mutual embassies to become permanent depending on their cooperation (Erzen, 2014).

As there is no common definition on parliamentary diplomacy, on the function of this concept; There is also no consensus on the distinction between inter-parliamentary cooperation and parliamentary diplomacy. Some of the researchers do not accept the bilateral meetings as parliamentary diplomacy and consider these meetings within the scope of cooperation. Researchers who do not accept bilateral meetings as parliamentary diplomacy state that inter-parliamentary cooperation cooperates with another parliament while maintaining its institutional identity. However, in the type of parliamentary diplomacy, “it is structured as a form created by two or more parliaments other than themselves” (Yakış, 2019).

However, it is accepted that the first created Parliamentary diplomacy emerged at the end of the First World War. This forum may have a corporate character, or a corporate identity may not be given to this form. Regardless of the identity of the form, it is at a higher level than the identities of the parliaments that form it. The use of negotiations in the League of Nations council established at the end of World War I is expressed as an example of parliamentary diplomacy. The concept of parliamentary diplomacy started to be used for interstate meetings held in the boards of international organizations established in the following periods (Erzen, 2014; Yakış, 2019).

In the concept of parliamentary diplomacy, it has a two-wing meaning and structure: the parliamentary process and method and the parliamentarians or parliaments carried out by the actors of diplomacy. According to Erzen (ibid, 2014), this diplomacy model has led to an increase in the visibility of parliaments and parliamentarians and parliamentary processes and motors. In this context, Erzen (ibid, 2014) emphasizes the idea that the old methods are not legitimate, drawing attention to the fact that states cannot conduct their relations in the new international system with traditional methods.

In parliamentary diplomacy, there are activities in which deputies take an active role in diplomacy and carry out depending on their initiatives. There are two wings in parliamentary diplomacy conducted by deputies. The first of these consists of the

international activities of the parliamentary bodies, and the other consists of the international parliamentary bodies. The deputies who carry out various activities in the parliamentary organs have foreign contacts with the friendship groups or commissions where the members of the parliament are, or the contacts of the foreign delegations from abroad to the deputies. In addition, foreign country contacts made by the assignment of deputies or parliamentarians by their countries, the written or oral questions of the commission established on foreign policy to the government, the activities of the Foreign Affairs Commission and the EU Committee, and the international commissions of sectoral commissions such as agriculture, environment or social affairs. negotiations are included.

Diplomatic activities carried out in terms of international parliamentary organs are the establishment of an organ that is not affiliated with any country's parliament and operating in these organs. Although the bodies created are independent from the parliament of the states, their members naturally take part in the parliaments of different states. For this reason, activities are carried out within the said bodies, leaving their national parliamentary identities in the background. The most obvious example that can be shown among such working bodies covers the contacts and activities of the parliamentary heads of the EU member and candidate countries within the EU (Erzen, 2014; Yakis, 2019).

2.2. Diplomacy and Power Relations

The relations between countries in the international system are directly related to the country's regimes, communication approaches, forces and reactions to crises and how they use diplomacy tools in making foreign policy of the state. Therefore, a state needs an action plan for the actions it has taken or will take, and the ground on which it can legitimize its actions. The legitimacy of state activities primarily requires the public acceptance of state policies and the common acceptance of the states of the world. In addition, the economic and political power of the state is also important. However, the management styles of the countries are also important in the foreign policy practices of the countries. In democratic countries, public support is needed in foreign policy. According to Morgenthau, the power of a nation depends on that nation's regime. For example, in an autocratic regime, foreign policy is determined by maximizing the interests of the country rather than the wishes of the people. In

democratic regimes, on the other hand, states need to persuade the public and the opposition relative to the legitimacy mechanisms that need to be supported by foreign policy (Morgenthau, 1970).

Diplomacy is one of the tools used in the relations of sovereign states with each other in international relations. Diplomacy is one of the most important means of maintaining international foreign relations peacefully. The origin of the word diplomacy, literally, comes from the Greek 'diploma'. The word meaning is a document that doubles. Until the 18th century, it was used with the meaning of clerks who examined and protected the two-fold official documents in the archives. In 1796, Edmund Burke gave a new meaning to the word diplomacy by defining it as "The Art of Managing International Relations" (Baban, 2021).

According to Machiavelli, the concept of diplomacy, which is defined as the deception of one side to the other, is an important weapon of the states from his point of view. Prince also emphasizes the interests of the state and the importance of public diplomacy. According to him, the legitimacy of the state requires the support of the public at home and the prince should have good diplomacy skills to protect the interests of the state at the international level (Machiavelli, 2014).

Morgenthau defines diplomacy as the brain of international power and emphasizes that it is a direct and effective method in international relations (Morgenthau, 1970).

With globalization, states have ceased to be only regional. In order to ensure understanding of states' actions in both military and political terms, only bureaucrats were insufficient and their communication strategies became state Public Relations (PR). With the development of information and communication technologies, the speed of being aware of globalization and the activities of its states has increased. It has created an interactive communication structure with new mass media. With the accelerated communication, the influence of the public in the political decisions of the states has increased. In this sense, politics reached large masses by being mediated. In this sense, the democratic structures and practices of the states had the opportunity to be closely watched by the public. In addition, the forms of government of states are related to their self-expression and image in the international arena. In this sense,

there is a relationship between the diplomacy studies carried out by the countries and the structures of their administrations.

The effectiveness of social media in the 21st century has led to the inclusion of new actors in decision-making mechanisms, both in domestic politics and international relations. In this sense, in addition to the abilities and discourses of statesmen (leaders), state institutions and communication institutions have also begun to gain importance (Köksoy, 2014).

The forms of diplomacy have been restructured to provide support and legitimacy by persuading the state's own and foreign public opinion and explaining its activities. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, it is seen that there has been a significant transformation in the communication strategies of the states. States do not only communicate with their citizens and other states through state institutions. In particular, in foreign policy, states are now influencing non-state actors, creating perceptions about them and conducting public relations studies. In addition, how states and leaders who govern states are perceived in the international arena, and the necessity of creating a country brand in order to manage these perceptions has emerged with new public diplomacy approaches. The images of the countries, the democratic practices, and the effects of the states are associated with the power ratio of the countries. In order to create an effective image, using the cultural influence and soft power elements to get the support of the public is one of the tools of the new public diplomacy approach.

2.3. Public Diplomacy

Democracies guarantee rights and freedoms in terms of implementation constitutionally. The separation of powers is the basic principle; legislative, executive, and judicial independence is important. Individual rights and freedoms, freedom of the press, the rule of law, the right to oppose, non-governmental organizations are important building blocks in democratic countries. The legitimacy of democratic states is important for their sovereigns. The forms of government of states are related to their self-expression and image in the international arena. In this sense, there is a relationship between the diplomacy studies carried out by the countries and the structures of their administrations. In recent years, states do not communicate with their citizens and other states only through institutions. Especially in foreign policy,

states are now influencing non-state actors, forming perceptions about them and conducting public relations studies. In this context, it is seen that there has been a significant transformation in the communication strategies of the states, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

James Pamment (2013) states that globalization is a shift in political communication that challenges the diplomatic activities traditionally conducted at the ministerial level. This change is defined as efforts to influence international civil society and to find new ways to evaluate the impact of communication channels (ibid, 2013). Pamment speaks of the effective responsibility of public debate and interest group lobbies in this paradigm. In this sense, it is a natural result that educational institutions take part in responsibility and promotion activities as well as the activities of the state or non-governmental organizations and State Economic Enterprises that cooperate with the state. For this reason, the actors mentioned above should be included in the communication strategy, taking into account their responsibilities and roles in communication studies. From this point of view, it has a transitive structure to public and non-governmental institutions and citizens due to its wide dialogue, cooperation, and scope.

Public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy because it is an environmental management structure at the global level in connection with the state, multinational companies, non-governmental organizations and international organizations, military organizations - both nationally and internationally (Cull, 2009).

In Public Diplomacy, which is carried out separately from the institutional structure of the states, cultural values have the feature of affecting other countries by going beyond the borders of the countries. Cultural diplomacy Dural expresses Gramsci's concept of hegemony as "Cultural hegemony," and Gramsci's concept of hegemony "before a class achieves political dominance, it can and should even establish its hegemony. Thus, hegemony refers to Flori as 'cultural and moral management before being political administration' (Dural, 2012).

Public diplomacy provides states with a different structure and opportunity to protect their national interests and show their power to other countries. II. The neo-liberal perspective that emerged after World War II made culture a tool of oppression.

In this context, cultural diplomacy, which started at the beginning of the 19th century, started to use culture as a power factor by developing themselves in this direction in the 1980s. Nye refers to this as “Soft Power” and states that it is as effective as other instruments. According to Nye, “Soft power generating resources are largely derived from the values that an organization or country expresses in its culture, the examples it sets with its internal practices and policies, and the way it deals with its relations with others” (Nye, 2004).

In the context of foreign policy making, Public Diplomacy directs and implements foreign policy. In the use of manipulation tools, only traditional diplomacy does not include the use of NGOs, foreign NGOs and the public, which are used by public diplomacy. In this sense, *"Public Diplomacy emphasizes the communication process initiated to determine the sympathy of the foreign public, its duties and interests"* (Signitzer, 2006).

Public diplomacy was conceptually used for the first time in 1965 with Gullion's explanations:

"Public diplomacy ... deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and conduct of foreign policy. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation of public opinion by governments in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country; the reporting of foreign relations and its impact on policy; diplomat and the process of communication and intercultural communication between people whose job as a foreign correspondent is communication" (Cull, 2006). Cull defines public diplomacy as “an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through cooperation with a foreign public opinion”. In this sense, Poyraz and Emre state that they can be expressed as the art and logic of reaching the hearts of other state citizens by using soft power elements (Poyraz and Dinçer, 2016).

One of the tools used in the public diplomacy approach helps the efforts of the targeted nation(s) to change the policies of the targeted nation(s) in line with their own policies through the intellectuals, press members and community leaders of the countries to be influenced. It is one of the characteristics of public diplomacy to carry out activities for the people of the targeted country through educational scholarships given through non-governmental organizations, cultural transfer through artistic

activities. If public diplomacy activities are carried out successfully, it provides important opportunities and opportunities for the affecting country.

Erzen states that the definition of public diplomacy, with reference to Potter, is defined as "...a government trying to influence the people and intellectuals of another nation in order to turn the policies of that nation to its advantage". Tuch defines public diplomacy as "the process by which government communicates with foreign peoples in order to understand the ideas and ideals, institutions and culture of a nation, as well as its national goals and current policies". Tuch is also an always open communication process by definition of public diplomacy. In the axis of all these developments, the paradigm shift called New Public Diplomacy draws attention.

In the 1974 report of the Stanton Panel on Information and Cultural Relations, he emphasizes that public diplomacy is a central part of USA's foreign policy (Tuch, 1990).

International relations have changed so drastically and permanently in this century that traditional diplomacy alone can no longer manage the peacetime affairs of nations.

Tuch expresses the difference in the usage areas of public diplomacy as follows:

"International relations have changed so drastically and permanently in this century that traditional diplomacy alone could no longer manage the peacetime affairs of nations" (Tuch, 1990).

The reason for this is that the theory of direct communication between peoples is an important feature of public diplomacy and it is defined as an indispensable component in peace times from communicating with peoples in international relations (ibid, 1990).

The communication structure of states is structured through the organizational innovation network strategy. In Trott's (2005) strategy, each unit is causally related to each other. When structuring the network model, communication should be planned strategically and directly and without intermediaries between government leaders and government officials. It is important that the communication structure within government units is structured through the organizational innovation network model (Trott, 2005). The organizational learning approach is important not only for NGOs

but also for governments. The ownership of the state in learning organisms influences the defensive strategy based on world conjunctures.

Koçel; (2015) "The issues that dominate the management approach of 2000 are quality, global competition, differences, empowerment, virtual and networking, teamwork, innovation and knowledge production." Images of the credibility of government leaders produced by public relations firms. This affects not only citizens, but also citizens of foreign states. By transforming public diplomacy into a structure that covers the image and promotion of the state, it has led to the formation of state-run institutions and organizations in the field of information and communication. According to Nye, public diplomacy is one of the tools of soft power. In this context, public diplomacy is an important tool not only for the image and information transmission of states, but also for long-term cooperation by determining the framework of state policies (Nye, 2008).

Public diplomacy has traditionally been defined and explained in the above.

However, in recent years, public diplomacy has differentiated from traditional diplomacy and has an interactive structure. For this reason, it is expressed as New Public Diplomacy (NPD) and manifests itself with changes. First, non-state actors and NGOs have an important place in the NPD. Secondly, with the technological developments, the communication channels of the people of the world have been moved to the internet. Third, these technological developments have blurred the sharp lines of news areas. Fourth, in the field of propaganda PD, studies on network communication theories have been initiated using the concept of marketing, especially branding. Fifth, PD gave up its image language to soft power and brand phenomenon. Sixth, the most important emphasis of the NPD was the mutual communication of people from the public and international actors, unlike previous communication. Finally, it is important to ensure bottom-up communication, called the task of building a relationship with the NPD. The importance of this is the structure that allows actors to expand their sphere of influence in guiding the international environment (Cull, 2009). In this sense, there are five basic categories of public diplomacy. These; listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange, and international broadcasting. In the study, these elements are explained under subheadings.

2.3.1. Listening

This is important to listen to a state or actor in terms of collecting data from the international environment, analyzing this data, determining diplomacy behaviors, and guiding the broad public diplomacy approach. Information about foreign public opinion is collected as part of its regular operation through traditional diplomacy and intelligence work. By following the changes in international views, these changes are followed by policy changes and the adoption of diplomacy strategies at the highest level.

In this context, *"it is common to see public diplomacy responding to international exchanges; it is more difficult to find listening or structured vision-following those shapes high-level policy"* (Cull, 2009).

2.3.2. Advocacy of public diplomacy

Advocacy in Public Diplomacy can be defined as an attempt to manage the international environment by conducting an international communication activity to actively promote an actor's specific policy, idea or general interests in a foreign public opinion (Cull, 2009). Based on this definition, the activities carried out in the PD include not only the press relations in the embassies but also non-governmental organizations, all activities aimed at changing the prejudices or negative views of the actor through internet channels.

2.3.3. Public diplomacy culture

In the process that started with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, before the use of military force, methods of rebuilding other countries in a way that contributed to the change of their economic and social structures were used. In this sense, cultural tools (Hollywood movies, literature, etc.) that will lead to cultural change and lifestyle changes in social areas are used before economic sanctions. The rapid development in communication, social media tools accelerated the transfer of culture.

In this sense, cultural diplomacy can be defined as the act of managing the international environment by facilitating the cultural resources and known achievements of the actor abroad or the transfer of culture abroad.

2.3.4. Change of public diplomacy

This can be defined as sending its citizens abroad during education and/or education and managing the international environment by accepting citizens of other

countries. For this purpose, student exchange programs and foreign NGOs or foundations are used.

2.3.5. International Broadcasting

"International broadcasting (IB) is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment using radio, television and internet technologies to interact with foreign publics. Commercial international broadcasting can still be considered PD, but it is PD for the corporate parent company and this may distort its output or cause the desired can insist on strict objectivity for their purposes" (Cull, 2009). Examples of this are the detection operations and broadcasts that reversed US war propaganda during the Gulf Crisis of 1991, by opening the first European branch of Al Jazeera television. strengthened by the media.

In this context, it is important for NATO to emphasize that strategic communication is a defense tool under the title of *"Strategic Communication, Public Diplomacy and Combating Disinformation"* in its 2030 vision. In this report, the deterrent and effective use of public diplomacy and the determination to take action when necessary are expressed. In addition, it is mentioned in the report that the trust in democratic institutions is shaken, and manipulation is done by using disinformation, propaganda and misinformation techniques. The report states that the danger posed by this situation is that they are trying to change the perception of NATO by rival countries for future generations. It has been stated that this poses a danger to the future of NATO and its allies. This emphasized rapid digitalization. Underlining the difficulties of digitalization in NATO strategic communication, the report states that NATO members do not make sufficient investments in digitalization and technology. In addition, the report emphasizes that digitalization and technology investments are the primary responsibility of the members, and if these investments are not willing, there will be security problems. In this context, stating that NATO should be aware of competing state and non-state actors, it added the following recommendations for informed negotiation to its vision report:

" 1. NATO should reinforce and accelerate the transformation of its strategic communications to enable the Alliance to compete more effectively in a highly competitive information environment. This includes investment in personnel, budget,

and technology, embedding an objective-driven approach to strategic communications, driven by audience research and underpinned by meaningful assessment and evaluation. A key element will be for NATO to uphold a strong and clear brand to bring coherence and unity of purpose to its many sub-brands. This will serve the goal of increasing public recognition, familiarity of, and support for, the Alliance.

2. NATO should prioritise the digital elements of its ongoing communications transformation effort to exploit data-driven insight and understanding of this complex environment, and to enable even more agile and focused engagement with its priority audiences using the full range of digital channels. *“Disinformation and propaganda are especially dangerous in times of rapid technological advancements.”*

3. Allies should take additional proactive steps to inform their citizens about and build support for Alliance policies, operations, and activities, and in order to advance NATO's aims.

4. While NATO accelerates digitalisation of its public communications functions, Allies should amplify face-to-face engagements with broader audiences while partnering with stakeholders in NATO's rich network of force multipliers like the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and Atlantic Treaty Association.

5. NATO should further enhance cooperation with partner nations, international organisations, private sector, think-tank communities, and academia in addressing the challenge of disinformation. From international organisations and national and local governments, to private companies, civil society and a free and independent media, all actors – including NATO – have a part to play.

6. NATO should make more disciplined and strategic use of ministerial and summit declarations as public communications tools. Since the discontinuation of ministerial declarations in 2011, summit declarations have ballooned in size and lost in practical communication value. NATO should see such statements as opportunities to explain to Allied publics what the Alliance is doing and affirm its key principles and commitments, as well as performing an internal function to task future work for NATO. While using longer summit communiques when needed to inform the expert community about the progress achieved in NATO work strands, the Alliance should resume the practice of ministerial statements on specific topics and cap the length of

these statements to encourage their use for messaging to the public. It should make heightened use of crisp, to-the-point Summit Declarations and NAC communiques, issued on occasions like the Salisbury incident, to achieve strategic communications goals.” (NATO 2030: United for a New Era, 2020).

Considering the recommendations in NATO's vision, the emphasis of technological progress in international relations and especially on the interactive structure of diplomacy is important. The effective use of non-state actors, academic societies, NGOs, and other public diplomacy actors has been a phenomenon emphasized not only by states but also by defense organizations. In addition, it is underlined that public diplomacy is a knowledge-based strategic communication model. In this context, the requirements of public diplomacy and the theoretical framework of strategic communication methods will be discussed in the next section.

2.4. Public Diplomacy Tools

In Nye's definition of hegemonic power, technological superiority, military and economic size, control of communication networks are the main determinants of power. Based on this, the tools of public diplomacy differ from the tools of traditional diplomacy. In this context, the actors of public diplomacy include the strategic use of public relations tools, which are more effective than the tools of foreign policy, since the target audience is the peoples of other countries, which are different from traditional diplomacy. It is seen that creating perception, image, and public opinion with soft power elements in the hands of countries is important in new public diplomacy models as an effective method.

While the power of traditional diplomacy continues in foreign policy making, developing technology networks have made communication fast and easily accessible in the world. In this context, as emphasized by the NATO concept mentioned above, the concepts of cyber security and cyber warfare have come to the fore. Defense bodies are established based on a new concept in foreign policy analyzes and decisions of countries. In this context, in addition to traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy has been a method used by foreign policy decision makers and its application area has expanded. Although public diplomacy emerged conceptually in the 1960s, when the literature is examined, it is seen that it was used in previous

years, especially in times of crisis. In 1917, it is seen that the "public information committee", which includes journalists and advertisers, was established in the USA. It is stated that the work of this committee is aimed at providing a positive perception of the image of the USA and the policies implemented during the war. Creel stated that the goal of the committee was not to make propaganda, but rather education and information. However, he sees movements such as serving news and providing materials about the conflicts as efforts to steer the US image to the positive side. In addition, Kunczik states that the delegations they organize by inviting foreign journalists to the USA in order to enable them to see and hear the events on the spot as public diplomacy work. It consists of public propaganda on the basis of the spread of American idealism to civilizations in every corner of the world (Kunczik, 2016).

Propaganda became the most used instrument with the Second World War, but over time, although it was initially used as a public diplomacy tool due to the legitimacy of propaganda and public diplomacy, they differ from each other conceptually and functionally. Public diplomacy is a concept related to relationship building. It has been emphasized by Leonard that it is about understanding cultures and people, conveying our point of view to others and coming together on common points, acting on the assumption that a country has its image and reputation (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002).

With the enlargement of the sphere of influence of democracies, it has become important to address and influence the public opinion of the countries to be influenced. For this reason, the main actor used in public diplomacy is not only state-affiliated institutions. Because, together with globalization, actors that create interaction such as multinational companies and educational institutions have started to carry out public diplomacy activities indirectly.

Soft power has three main sources: Culture, Political Value, and Foreign Policy (Nye, 2004). Nye emphasizes the three dimensions of public diplomacy as a means of establishing long-term cooperation by communicating effectively with each other. The first dimension has a state-centered communication structure and covers daily communication. This form of communication is expressed as crisis communication activities, which are used to cope with times of crisis. In the second dimension, which includes strategic communication, it is stated as a planned and strategically designed

communication approach similar to advertising campaigns. The last dimension includes exchange programs including cultural diplomacy activities, international cultural activities and sports (Nye, 2004). In this context, cultural transfer, which is one of the soft power tools in public diplomacy, includes education, language and sports activities besides art fields such as movies and TV series. Actors that are considered non-state sometimes take part in the diplomacy of the state, and sometimes they can continue their activities independently of the state. These actors; universities and schools, opinion leaders, media and news agencies, internal target audiences, global businesses, and private sector organizations, pressure groups, and supra-state organizations are accepted as the main actors of public diplomacy (Özkan, 2015).

Interaction has an important place in public diplomacy. Because it is possible to impose the lifestyles, languages, and ways of looking at life of nations on the peoples of other states through this way.

From Gramsci's point of view, culture emphasizes that it is used as an element of oppression by the hegemonic state/states. However, depending on the national cultural structure, it is seen that the perception of friends and enemies of nations is shaped in the relations between states. According to Nye, when countries use their soft power resources such as culture, political values, and foreign policies as a whole, they can achieve success in the work they do or will do (Nye, 2004). In the success of foreign policies of states, it is important how effectively they use their cultures, influencing the peoples of other countries. If a country can arouse admiration for its culture and living standards to another country, its sphere of influence and attraction increases. In the spread of culture, especially during the Gorbachev era of the Soviet Union, it was observed that the concepts of freedom and democracy in the people of the Soviet Union, especially on the youth, of the US culture were influenced by the advertisements of international companies, as well as artistic activities such as Hollywood movies, serials, rock concerts. In addition, achievements in sports and food culture of countries are used as tools that provide the export of culture, including animations of computer games, and increase the attractiveness of lifestyle with subliminal messages. Especially the development of technology, real and simultaneous access to these instruments with information and communication technologies facilitates the effective use of these resources.

Other sources of cultural interaction are institutions such as universities, opinion leaders and NGOs. In addition, with the development of new media and the digitalization of information flow, it is seen that cultural exchange has accelerated with interactive interaction over social media networks. In the context of public diplomacy, it shows that different cultures have rapid interaction with each other with technological developments. According to the Institute of Public Diplomacy; *“It is understood that two societies seek a dialogue between two cultures, not state representatives to intervene on behalf of their governments”* (Public Diplomacy Institute). In this sense, it is seen that civil dialogue develops in projects, conferences, and similar events based on international cooperation, and there is the interaction between cultures through the work of peoples together, apart from state instruments. In this context, citizens of each state become public diplomacy representatives. It is seen that the joint studies and the successes achieved at the end of the studies have a strong effect on the strong ties and network formations. Another important cultural agent is non-governmental organizations, and an important aspect of these non-profit organizations in terms of public diplomacy is their ability to act together in the face of a common problem. In this context, it is seen that non-governmental organizations cooperate internationally on every issue from environmental pollution to the rights of the disabled. The fact that these organizations, which unite around common values in the international context, come from different cultures and nations, causing different nations to transfer each other's cultures, lifestyles, and values to each other and to understand and sympathize with each other. These organizations can carry out effective and productive studies in communicating with the peoples of other states (Erzen, 2014).

It is stated that culture and media are tools that have an important role in public diplomacy. Agencies established abroad, military, and civilian education institutions, reputation management, lobbying activities and image management are closely related to the efforts of states to structure and renew their images. In this sense, depending on Morgenthau's theory, which refers to the importance of actions to be taken in the international arena for countries to protect their image and reputation, states need to work continuously on strategic communication in order to position their reputation and legitimacy. For this reason, public diplomacy planning or modeling of a state

should be done with strategic communication dimensions in the short, medium and long term.

Managing the changing balances in the 21st century has brought about change in the field of diplomacy. Eytan Gilboa (2006) stated that the US President Woodrow Wilson's emphasis on open diplomacy and making agreements publicly in the changing international system of diplomacy, stated that the new form of diplomacy emerged with new rules and techniques for the media, public exposure, government officials, diplomats, journalists and the public. means out. It is stated that with the successive revolutionary changes in politics and international relations, especially with the expansion of the role of mass media and media in diplomacy, changes are experienced in participation in political processes. In this context, with the increase in the transition from autocracies to democratic regimes, the developing technology of the mass media has a significant contribution. When democratization is considered in the context of freedom of press and opinion, the increase in the speed and spread of mass communication technologies is an important factor in informing the public. Because, as Gilboa (ibid, 2006) pointed out, the rapidly increasing networks and broadcast stations around the world have increased the speed of transmission of the event from any part of the world to the other end of the world and caused the growth of communication consumers. At this point, the image of a nation or leader, as well as its military and economic power, provide the effect that helps determine the status of a nation in society, as well as the use of communication and media. Gilboa draws attention to the two-stage process in the communication structure of public diplomacy. The first of these is direct communication, and while this communication structure is being designed, it is necessary to work to get the public support of the other state. The other is the design to increase the pressure of the public on the government, and in this design, it is an important factor to have a friendly approach to the country where the communication is intended to affect the public (Gilboa, 2006; Author, 2020). According to the author, although they have different approaches in the definition of the concept of public diplomacy, there is a consensus in the literature on certain issues. Constituting the common points of public diplomacy models; There is a consensus on relationship building, information management, positive image and perception management for foreign countries and influencing the foreign public

opinion. In this sense, there are discussions about literature models. There is a thought that the concepts of propaganda and public diplomacy have similar aspects to each other, making it difficult to understand the concept. However, the important debate in the literature is based on the concepts of public relations and strategic communication. According to some researchers, strategic communication is equivalent to public relations, while other researchers state that the two concepts have different concepts. Depending on these discussions, public diplomacy models appear in the literature.

John Robert Kellay's model, called the Defense and Consultation model, is based on Nye's dimensioning of public diplomacy under the headings of information, influence, and relationship. In information, it includes the dissemination of information in the short term or crisis, long-term persuasion studies that will ensure the attitudinal change of the target audience in the impact dimension, and the building of a long-term relationship between the people in the relationship dimension. Kelley's model is a design where the key dimensions are persuasion and impact. There are three elements in this design, although it is controversial, a model has been created on establishing reliable communication through transparent communication channels that are not based on propaganda and manipulation, having a short and long-term structure in time, and arranging the image in reactive and proactive situations. In the model, in the context of Nye's basic three dimensions, it is defined as open and transparent communication in the information dimension. The effect size is based on persuasion. In the relationship dimension, it is aimed to establish trust based on open and transparent communication and a win-win model based on cooperation between stakeholders and partners. This model has a proactive perspective in times of crisis. It is based on the principle of creating a positive perception to the foreign public by performing damage control in the three-term (short-medium-long) term.

Gilboa emphasizes that there is no clear definition of public diplomacy and that it is an interdisciplinary field. Gilboa's model is built on soft power, two-way communication, strategic public diplomacy, knowledge management and media framing. In the Cold War model Gilboa is based on the thesis that if the public of the target society can be persuaded to accept the image of the other society, they can pressure their governments to change their attitudes and policies. In this public diplomacy model, the goal is to change the internal political dynamics through

external persuasion. It is designed as an ethical concept used to examine public diplomacy across national borders in the Non-State International model through the mediation of individuals, NGOs, and activists. These actors use media events and news networks to support their cause globally. Gilboa states that this model is a model that can explain pro-democracy campaigns in China and campaigns that try to pressure the Chinese government for reform. In Gilboa's third model, the domestic public relations model, a state or government hires or hires PR firms and lobbyists in the target country to achieve its goals. If a government chooses this method, it believes it is effective and will make it easier to conceal the real forces and sources of funding behind the effort. While using this method, if a local support group or a counter movement is formed, the legitimacy and authenticity of the campaign will be strengthened. The lobby or PR firm hired from the local knows best the weaknesses of the target country and how to achieve the desired goals in a particular political and cultural context, and what to do in the face of difficulties. This model uses scientific knowledge and methods of public opinion polls known as "strategic public diplomacy" (Gilboa, 2008).

With the strategic use of public diplomacy, a state can make successful work towards the target by activating various pressure groups on the other state and especially when it uses communication tools effectively. In this sense, unity of action and discourse is important and communication should be planned strategically. Since the effectiveness and applicability of public diplomacy is realized through strategic communication planning, the next section deals with strategic communication.

CHAPTER III

3. POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

3.1. Political Communication Conceptual Definition

Conceptually, this is stated in the literature that there are multiple definitions of political communication and that there is no definition explained by a common decision. Political communication, which consists of the interaction of two social science fields, as in all social sciences, the concept is expressed with different definitions and approaches due to the constant change in the structure and dynamics of society.

Aysel Aziz defines political communication as different types of communication techniques used to make certain ideological aims of politicians be accepted by masses, blocs, or countries, to take action when necessary or to put them into practice (Aziz, 2007).

Denton and Woodward define political communication by evaluating the legislative, executive, and official authority of democratic countries through the sharing of the resources of the people. From this point of view, Denton and Woodward draw attention to the content and purpose-focused structure of political communication. They also emphasize the importance of strategy in political communication and that the role of political campaigns and image is undeniable, and they mention that the use of mass media is important for politicians (Denton & Woodward, 1990).

McNair criticizes Denton and Woodward for ignoring the symbolic facts of political communication. According to him, this definition includes verbal and written rhetoric. Brain McNair expresses political communication as a form of communication for political goals. In this context, according to him, only oral and written expressions are not sufficient. Relative presentations of politicians are important from their stances to their logos. For this reason, McNair states that political communication should include political identity and image while aiming at

the political goal. In this context, McNair emphasizes that political communication includes the following items:

- *“all forms of communication should be studied by politicians and other political actors for the purpose of achieving specific objectivess.*
- *Communication addressed to these actors by non-politician such a voters and newspapers columnist, and*
- *Communication about them and their activities, as contained in news report, editorials, and other forms of media discussion of politics”* (McNair, 1995).

In McNair's political communication structure, it is the communication studies carried out to create public opinion with the view that the sender of the communication tries to influence the political environment. In this sense, it provides public opinion formation through mass media. In particular, Walter Lipman (Lippmann, 1954 (1922), p. 27) emphasizes that in today's societies, public opinion is directed by political actors and media on defense, social and public issues. In this context, the concepts in question are included in the sub-headings since political communication is realized through persuasion and image management.

3.1.1. Public Opinion

Political communication includes all written and verbal discourses. The whole communication structure used by political power, all political actors and political institutions for a certain political purpose is included in the scope of political communication. With the development of technology, social media platforms, internet forum pages and interactive areas have been added to political communication tools. With the development of information and communication technologies, it has been possible for political institutions, leaders and official authority to reach the public in different ways and to communicate with their voters or the public or with the public of other countries. In this sense, political communication can direct the public through different channels, using campaigns, propaganda and other methods.

Ahmet İlkey Ceyhan (2018) emphasizes that in order to understand the conceptual framework of the concept of public opinion, it is necessary to understand the personality traits, situations and environmental effects of individuals in the society. In the context of liberal democracy, it is stated that the legitimate governments of democratic nation states represent the public opinion and respond to

their demands by reflecting the public opinion. On the other hand, there are debates in the literature about how and with what public opinion is formed. For this reason, it is seen that the concept of public opinion is defined with its broad and narrow meanings.

Savigny (2002), public opinion at large; It is seen that it is used as the representation of any phenomenon and the action of the public will, by considering it as public consciousness and will. While talking about individual opinions at the micro level, he analyzes with a holistic perspective (Lippmann, 1954 (1922), p. 11) at the macro level, and Noelle-Neuman reveals in the literature review that he provides the quantification of public opinion by using surveys.

It is seen that Habermas put forward the normative explanations of the formation of public opinion with the concept of "Public space". What Habermas means by the public sphere; consists of the interaction areas of the state and civil society. Individuals shape public opinion by having a say in the formation of public opinion and administration with the discussions they justify with their critical thinking between the state and the individual, based on related facts. In this sense, the public sphere reveals the communication that provides the formation of political culture and norms with the support of the society through negotiations. In democratic societies, the consensual compromising feature of the social contract, in which the public sphere shapes public opinion, emerges. These features, together with this approach based on freedom of expression, universal norms, Habermas reveals the critique and transformation of the relationship between the public sphere and political duties and civil society (Habermas, 1996 (1962), p. 52). In this context, Savigny (2002) emphasizes the relationship between public sphere and public opinion formation, and that the formation of public opinion emerges as a result of the mass media covering the public sphere. Savigny also draws attention to the intertwined nature of media access and the state. In this context, he states that the contemporary media has the task of balancing the modern state and that the attempts of the state and state institutions to direct public opinion in liberal democracies characterize the public sphere. In this case, he draws attention to the fact that the media cause the media to be the actor of the discussion rather than constructing the debates due to the pressures of the market forces and political actors. In other words, while it should be a balancing act between

civil society and state institutions in the public sphere, the media plays a leading role in the debates it brings to the public due to pressure.

As a result, it is seen that the media has an active role as well as the political actors in the formation of public opinion. In addition to conveying messages to target groups and masses by the use of media and similar tools in political communication, the coordination of political organizations is also used as a guiding tool for successful functioning. Another important concept that political communication uses is perception management.

3.1.2. Perception Management

Gülsünler and Tahmaz (2020), with reference to Morris, express perception as the brain's interpretation of information in a meaningful way through the confusion of information obtained with various different senses. The term, which was first used by the Ministry of Defense in the USA, started to be used as a method used in making political decisions in this country and in adopting these decisions by the world public opinion. Perception management is defined as follows in the US Department of Defense dictionary:

“Perception management — Actions to convey and/or deny selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motivations, and objective reasoning as well as to intelligence systems and leaders at all levels to influence official estimates, ultimately resulting in foreign behaviors and official actions favorable to the originator's objectives.

In various ways, perception management combines truth projection, operations security, cover and deception, and psychological operations” (The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 2009).

In perception management, it is expressed as a psychological process applied with designs made according to the external and internal characteristics of individuals in recognizing or defining a phenomenon, event or ideology. Perception management in military and political terms is defined as an important psychological tool in influencing the peoples of foreign countries or an operation.

They state that Gülsünler and Tahmaz Çitlioğlu define the concept of perception management as the purchase of result-oriented information presented to them in

connection with the thoughts, behaviors, acceptance and reactions of individuals and society. It is stated by Ali Saydam (2005, p.81) that providing access to data in perception management is an important element of the artificial information process.

Considering that it is the external factors that ensure that perception managers cannot distinguish between reality and fiction in perception management, there are many methods used by perception managers. First of all, in order to manage the perception, SWOT analysis of the target group should be made in order to change the individual perceptions of individuals about what they will perceive and how. This method helps to ensure that the desired situation to be perceived by revealing their strengths and weaknesses is effective in the achievement of propaganda, persuasion, and other studies. In other words, while managing perception, the themes of propaganda and slogans are determined in order to make persuasion work in line with the data obtained after research and analysis for the target audience. In addition, media studies and perception management are used to direct the perception to the design made in line with the desired target, to guide the public by arranging the perception of reality and fiction with virtual reality. Perception management has at least four steps. These;

“At a minimum, perception management includes four steps: (1) getting the target’s attention; (2) presenting relevant information to hold the target’s attention; (3) portraying the information in a way consistent with the target’s memory or experiences; and (4) repeatedly communicating the information in order to remain congruent, and avoiding the ploy from being discovered by the target. Additionally, the information should be timely” (Callimarrri & Reveron, 2003).

According to Siegel, three basic features should be present in a successful perception management. Firstly, “to establish and maintain public support at home and abroad in order to gain and maintain legitimacy; secondly, to establish a high degree of credibility to dissidents and/or third parties to fully understand the consequences of their actions, and finally to communicate intentions and objectives to the goals of local peoples who practice perception management.” to influence their attitudes and behaviors so that they act appropriately” (Siegel, 2005, pp. 118-119).

Since the main reason for the importance of perception management in political communication is to direct the current perception of the target audience as intended,

the communication strategy should be well planned. In this direction, politically desired image and perception can be created by providing the targeted purpose and the effect of political ideas and phenomena on the masses.

As a result; Perception management are important elements that will ensure the strategic planning of political communication, legitimacy, reliability and consistency in attitudes and behaviors, and effective persuasion efforts. Convincing the public is possible with the increase of the effectiveness of political communication and the successful and consistent management of the perception.

3.1.3. Persuasion

In the context of political communication, persuasion is one of the tools used to direct people to a specific goal. With the development of mass media, the number of channels used to persuade people has increased and the ways of reaching individuals have become easier. In addition, persuasion is an important instrument of perception management as an element of smart power. In order to manage perception in foreign policy, perception and image studies gain importance by strategically persuading other nations. In this sense, persuasion consists of three basic elements as “conscious intention, behavior change and message transmission” (Özkan A., 2007). In Bettinghaus's words, persuasion is "an individual's conscious attempts to change the behavior of other individuals or groups of individuals through message transmission" (ibid. p.129).

In general, persuasion takes place in the literature as the effect of communication with psychological approaches and the process of changing opinions by manipulation. Persuasion is seen as a part of the communication process and perception management. In this sense, media, the way the message is conveyed, and the effect of communication play a role in persuasion studies. It is emphasized that the culture and the sociology of the country in which the message is transmitted play an important role in the dissemination of messages through the media. In convincing the other party, in addition to how and in what way the message will be spread, the information that is required to spread the content of the message must be transmitted to the other party in a controlled manner. An important element in the formation of messages is the intention. While delivering a message to the audience to be

persuaded, it is important to design it within the framework of purpose and intention and to plan the communication strategically. Stating that there are six stages of the persuasion process, Özkan states that the first of these is to attract the attention of the target audience, and states that if the message does not attract attention, persuasion cannot be realized. In the second stage, it should be aimed to reach the maximum number of people with studies that will draw attention to the message. In the third stage, the communication of the target audience should be comprehended by the individuals with visual and auditory tools. It can be seen that the message given in the fourth stage of the persuasion process is accepted or rejected. The fifth stage is to determine how the opinions formed as a result of the fourth stage are reflected in attitudes and behaviors, and to carry out studies to ensure the continuity of this behavior accordingly. The last stage is defined as movement. What is meant by action includes either being motivated or being manipulated according to the reactions and behaviors resulting from the action. The interrelated persuasion process is completed with these six stages. An important point in persuasion work is the strong linking of these six stages. Even if individuals are convinced, they tend to return to their old habits. For this reason, it is necessary to constantly monitor communication and strengthen the comprehension stage (ibid. p.129-131).

In the context of the subject of the study, it is included in the literature research that perception management and persuasion studies have an important place in international relations, especially in public diplomacy. It is seen that states use these tools as an element of strategic communication work at various levels to protect their interests, especially in the context of soft power and smart power concepts (Payam, 2008). In particular, states carry out persuasion studies for the symbols and cultural codes of that people, as an element of power to explain the legitimacy of the policies of other states to their people and to change the perception of other state citizens with different perceptions by persuasion method. These studies cause the images of countries and leaders to change in the perception of other countries to different extents. For this reason, image management is as important as perception management and persuasion.

3.1.4. Image Management

Niță (2014), emphasizing the relationship of the image with the perceived and the range of perception in a psychological context; It states that there are concepts, objects or symbols that are mentally animated by imagery. In this sense, image refers to how people remember information when they perceive it, how they visualize it in their minds, and the structure they create as a result of reasoning by interpreting it sensory. Based on this image; individuals have a structure related to their past experiences, social environment, attitudes and behaviors, and cognitive characteristics. In this sense, image, perception of any phenomenon or individual or country and leader is related to the effect it creates in society. In this context, it is stated that the image is directly related to communication and open to variability. Bektaş (2010) emphasizes the importance of the image's function of creating and maintaining trust in line with internal and external goals. Abratt (1989) mentions the importance of two basic features of corporate image and identities in terms of the prestige of the actors and the protection of the actor.

The importance of institutional structures of the states and their images in the international arena has become important today. The image of a state in the international system is defined as “the way a country is perceived by foreign target audiences, the general impression it creates in the international platform, the prestige and prestige it has, the support it collects on international issues and the images it creates based on sympathy” (Karabulut, 2018). In this context, the national image, like the corporate image, should be built with the target audience by using the right communication and communication techniques at the right time and within a plan that aims to provide public support. While creating a national image, first of all, it is necessary to determine the interests and targets of the state and to create an effective communication strategy that plans the steps or actions taken in this direction in a way that will receive the support of the foreign public. For the creation of this positive image work, Berkman and Gilson; They state five factors that push corporations to create a positive image: "creating a general corporate identity, gaining a positive advantage in the press, attracting investors, creating a general goodwill atmosphere, and taking a stand on some issues that affect the corporation" (Berkman and Gilson 1987: p. 499). The creation of a positive image by states is not different from

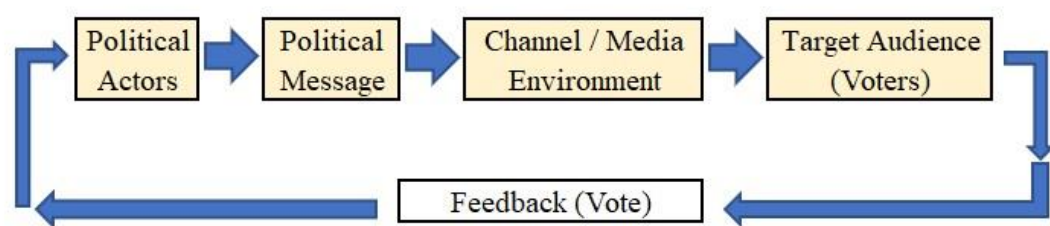
corporate image, and the ultimate goal of both is to gain and maintain a reputation. In this context, the more positive the country's image and reputation, the more positive a state is to explain and convince the citizens of other nations in the international arena. All these studies are only possible with the planning and implementation of political communication processes by the actors. The next section deals with the processes of political communication.

3.2. Political Communication Process

Although models of the communication process are limited, the most well-known is the communication model of Harold Laswell. In this model, it is seen that the issue of receiving feedback is missing in this model, which is schematized by mass communication as which actor expresses what and how with the aim of creating an effect on whom and through which channel. This missing item was added to the model by Melvin DeFleur. In later studies in the literature, Bruce Westley and Malcolm MacLean contributed to this model, which is defined as gatekeepers (Demir, 2018).

In political communication, Aziz uses various communication types and techniques to make the target audience accept certain ideological aims of political actors (Aziz, 2007). Based on this, in figure 1 Aziz shows the general communication processes:

Figure 1 General Communication Process

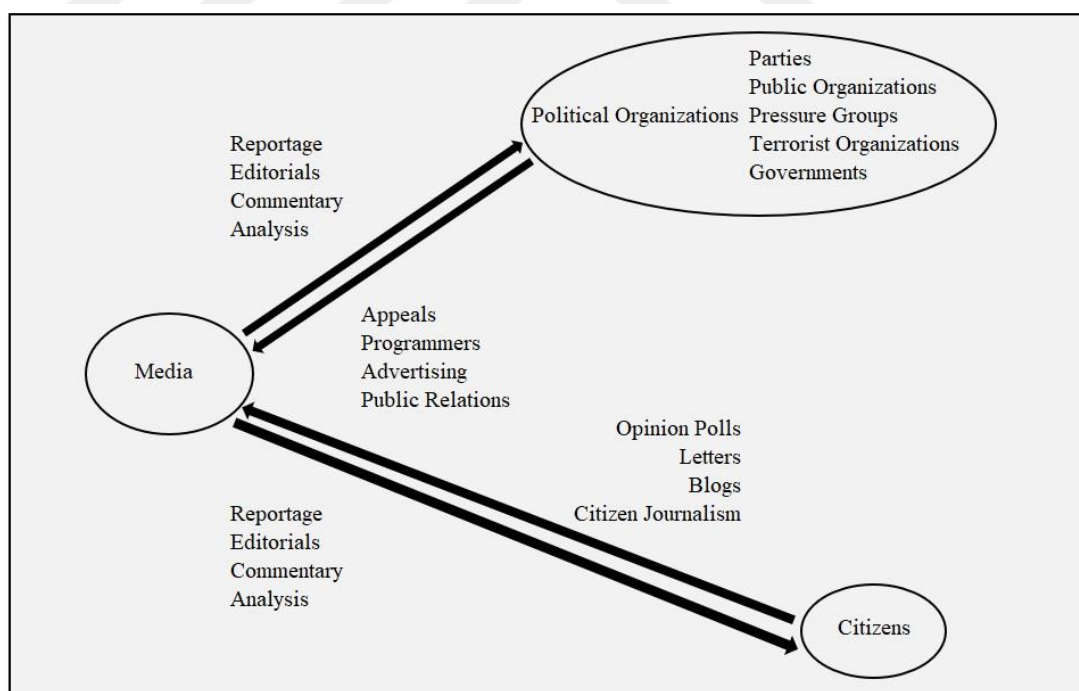


As can be seen from the figure, political communication processes are not different from general communication processes. The only aspect that differs from general communication is that it includes political elements and actors. In this system, where the information flow works from the ruler to the ruled, the messages of the

actors such as political parties, the government and political leaders are the dissemination of the message and information towards the citizen, which is expressed as the governed, and the feedback is instantaneous with the election results or the interactive internet today. can be expressed.

In the political communication process, as explained in the previous sections, the content of the message should be focused, and a strategic structure should be created. For this reason, everything from designing messages to communication techniques while expressing the process describes the political communication process as a whole (Tokgöz, 2010; Taşmurat, 2019). The process and structure of political communication activities differ according to the political actors and the elements used. According to McNair, there are three basic elements of political communication and different and various instruments are used in the strategies of the actors in communication in the context of the political actor's message and the organized event. The political communication elements of McNair (1995) are shown in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2 Elements of Political Communication



Explaining that Mahmut Oktay contributed to the link between political communication and democracy in providing control and transparency in politics, Demir emphasizes that the three functions of political communication are planned as a

systematic approach to achieve political goals. In this context, Oktay states that the first of the three dimensions of political communication helps to define the emerging political problem; These three stages take place through the media and when public communication is organized, it allows citizens to make their choices in the context of democracy. Therefore, the relationship between political communication and democracy is explained from this perspective.

The main purpose of the political communication process is that the political actors in the country want to attract the public to their side by making strategic planning to come to power. In international relations, on the other hand, political communication is related to the positive image and reputation that states will create in civil societies and citizens of other states. In particular, public diplomacy, which emerged in the 1960s, stands out with its elements of political communication and strategic communication. Strategic planning of political communication activities has gained more importance today, from columns published in the media as an effort to influence the citizens of other states, to academic studies, to promotional activities with NGOs and opinion leaders. From this point of view, the strategies of political communication actors to use mass media should be carefully planned.

3.2.1. Actors and Elements of Political Communication

Political communication actors have a wide range of definitions in the literature, such as political leaders, media professionals, pressure groups, unions, opinion leaders, who produce political discourse. Özkan considers Wolton's politicians, journalists, the public and those who express their opinions on politics in front of the public as the three legitimate elements of political communication. In addition, political parties, local governments, pressure groups and NGOs that have legitimacy in the political arena are among these actors (Özkan A., 2007).

3.3. Strategic Political Communication

NATO emphasizes strategic communication by using the topics of public diplomacy and strategic communication together. Today, where disinformation is used extensively, the success of public diplomacy practices has revealed the necessity for states to reach individuals living in target states through effective communication.

Strategic communication with its general definition; It is defined as a term used to denote the high-level networks of communicative efforts that organizations carry out

to convey their mission. By its nature, marketing in the field of communication has an interdisciplinary structure, including public relations, advertising, and management sciences. Strategic communication activities from the perspective of public relations; It is associated in the literature based on their definition within the scope of activities carried out towards target audiences in line with the objectives of the institutions.

3.4. Public diplomacy and strategic communication relationship

While Nye and Leonard express strategic communication as a tool of public diplomacy, they emphasize that according to some researchers, public relations and public diplomacy provide strategic communication for states (Signitzer & Coombs, 1992). The author states that, depending on Kunczik's model of Grunig and Hunt, symmetrical and asymmetrical models of professional public relations are defined as strategic communication. Likewise, Yazar reference to Sema Yıldırım Becerikli, states that the author defines public diplomacy as the strategic communication method of the governments. According to Becerikli, states try to influence other nations with their communication efforts. Farwel, on the other hand, expresses public diplomacy as a process that includes strategic communication.

Researchers, who see strategic communication as a tool of public diplomacy, point out the importance of using strategic communication in public diplomacy because of the power of influence on other nations by making use of tools such as timing, influence, and persuasion of communication instruments in public diplomacy practices in international relations. In this sense, they draw attention not only to strategic communication but also to strategic public diplomacy.

Increasing transparency and blurring in diplomacy reveal itself more and more today. For this reason, it is the change in diplomacy policies that draws attention in literature readings. Faris (2013) describes the change in modern diplomacy as foreign policy today “is being made in an environment of radically increased transparency, visibility and contention that in a more volatile world will inevitably lead to struggles for message discipline, participation and policy making”.

Hyman draws attention to the fact that the development of communication technologies and the changing structure of diplomacy through social media ensure

transparency and the emergence of secret talks of diplomats without reaching a consensus. He emphasizes that this situation will lead to the disclosure of the problems in the foreign policies and management styles of the states. Noting that diplomats will have a hard time doing their job, especially in autocratic states, Hyman said that this situation “is working in conflict environments, especially when diplomats are forced to negotiate with distasteful warriors who kill, maim and rape while holding some of the keys to peace, and perhaps even provide compensatory aid incentives. can complicate” (Hyman, 2003).

The effectiveness of non-state actors draws attention especially with the effect of forming global public opinion in the diplomacy understanding of the 21st century. Non-governmental organizations at the international level can conduct strong diplomacy by using media tools effectively and strategically. Due to the fact that NGOs direct and influence public opinion in a global context, it requires states to acquire the ability to direct public reactions with fast and accurate messages in today's conditions. For this reason, the success of public diplomacy, as seen in the last US presidential elections and especially in the examples of conflict, requires the speed of the communication structure and the effective use of new media platforms that provide conventional and interactive communication that will ensure the correct perception of messages. At the 2022 NATO meeting, the title of public diplomacy and strategic communication was presented as a new vision emphasizing the importance of this situation.

As a result, it becomes clear that the monologue structure of public diplomacy should be abandoned in the new period and the audience dimension should be seen as a step towards understanding the public. The world has begun to experience in the recent Ukraine-Russia war, in which the interactive structure of new media tools has begun to be used in the field of public diplomacy. Meanwhile, it is seen that only diplomats, conferences, peace talks, foreign affairs and defense officials provide information and guidance from platforms that are open to interaction through their social media accounts.

For this reason, while testing the second hypothesis in the analysis and evaluation section, the statements made during the Ukraine-Russia war, the statements of the leaders published by the official news agencies of the states will be analyzed,

and the discourse analyzes of the statements made from their social media accounts will be used by evaluating their applications in public diplomacy.



CHAPTER IV

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The main research question of the study; How does the level of democratization affect public diplomacy strategies during the crisis?

In this context, the main subject of the study is to model the country's public diplomacy and communication strategy, image and perception management by taking a holistic approach to the state policy of Türkiye during and after the crisis. In addition, the approaches of countries with different types of democracy in the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022 and how they used public diplomacy instruments in this period were determined as the sample universe. During the Russia-Ukraine war, the diplomacy, public diplomacy and strategic communication framework of USA, England, Germany, Türkiye and Russia are determined by discourse analysis. Soft power uses of countries are included in the analysis.

HYPOTHES 1: The image and perception of states with a high level of democratization are high in terms of public diplomacy effectiveness. Democracy levels of countries ensure that the country has a positive image on the people of other countries in the formulation of public strategy. At the same time, the interest of state leaders in democratic structures also affects the relations of countries with other countries. Depending on liberal theories, in the context of cooperation possibilities of democratic countries, democracy levels, reliability and legal approaches of countries are compared using panel data.

The point system of The Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index is determined by assigning a number to each of the grouping of 60 questions and answers and by weight average. The answers are evaluated by experts, and some answers are evaluated by surveys conducted in 167 participating countries. The questions of the index are divided into five main categories: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, civic participation, and political culture. Each main category has sub-question breakdowns. The answers for each section are evaluated between 0-1 and the scoring for the three-answer questions is evaluated as 0, 0.5, 1.

With exceptions, each category score is summed and multiplied by a coefficient of 10, and the average is taken by dividing it by the total number of questions. The

exception to the rule of thumb is the strictly specified value of several dependent variables specified in the procedure. The score calculation for critical areas in the index methodology is explained as follows:

“Adjustments are made to category scores if countries fail to score 1 point in the following critical areas for democracy:

1. Whether national elections were free and fair
2. Voter security
3. The influence of foreign powers on the government
4. Implementation capacity of public service policies.

If the scores of the first three questions are 0 (or 0.5), one point (0.5 points) is deducted from the index in the relevant category (election process and pluralism or functioning of government). If the score of the 4 sub-categories is 0, one point is deducted from the functioning of the state category index. Index values are used to place countries in one of four types of regimes:

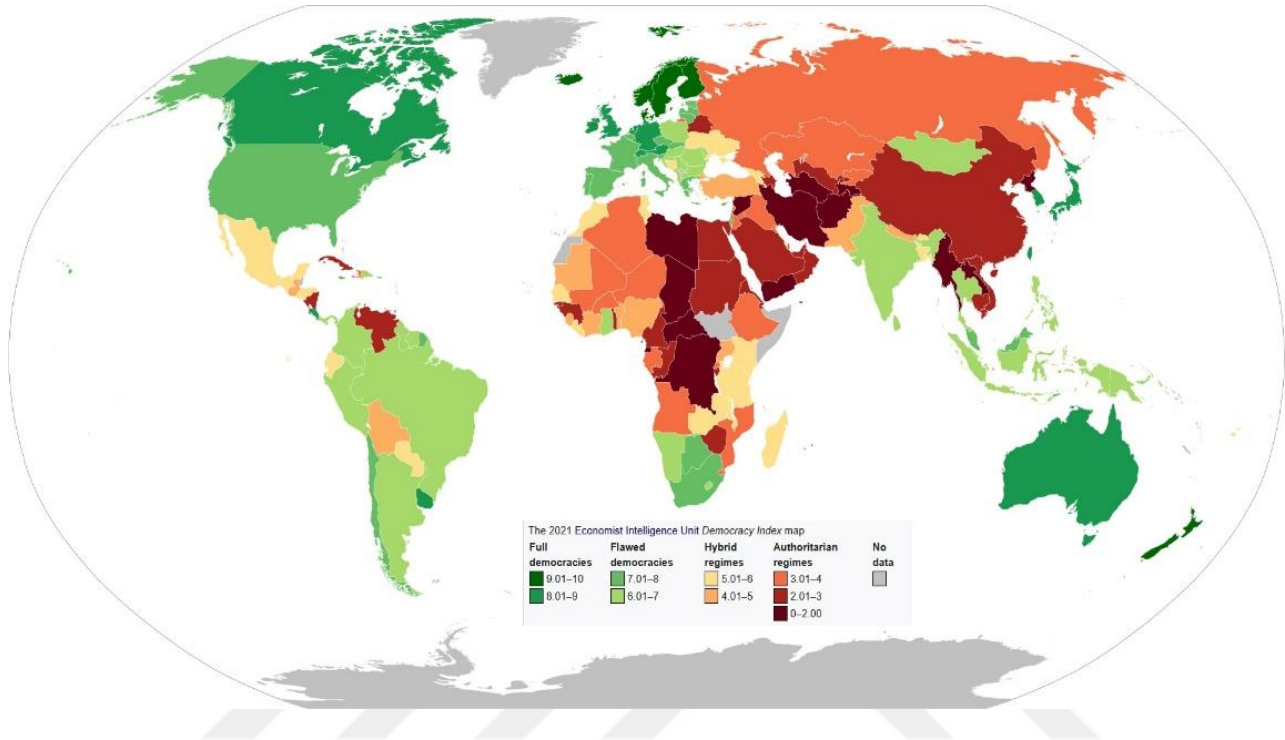
1. Full democracies -- points 8-10
2. Flawed democracies -- score from 6 to 7.9
3. Hybrid regimens - scores from 4 to 5.9
4. Authoritarian regimes - scores below 4

Threshold scores for regime types are based on overall scores rounded to one decimal place” (The Economist Intelligence Units, 2010).

The important feature of the index is that it is based on survey studies and evaluates by giving importance to public opinion surveys while determining the regime types of the country. In this context, this index was chosen because of its contribution to the study to evaluate the perception of democracy and image perception of countries as a study based on the perspective of the public. While Freedom house uses data from the index to show evaluations of countries' democracies on the areas of freedom, the Soft Power index is used to test the argument of height of domains. The soft power index, on the other hand, shows the comparison and impact areas of countries with their data in categories such as education and trade, which are not included in the democracy index.

Depending on the explanations above, the data showing the change in the score and ranking of the regimes of the selected countries of The Economist Intelligence Democracy Index between 2016-2020 are given in Tables1,2, and table .3

Figure 3 Democracy index map 2021 regime type score points



Note:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index?fbclid=IwAR0KLod6t2ngo8yGBFe90xTz4RY4n-VrPiG2IzSqsFpLwpBA2k0wEMttC-I The data of The Economist Intelligence Units on 16.05.2022, and the democracy indexes of 2016, 2017,2018,2019,2020 were prepared by Sinemden Oylumlu.

Table 1 The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index regime change chart

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
United States	▼ 0.07	—	▼ 0.02	—	▼ 0.04	▼ 0.07
Germany	▼ 0.01	▼ 0.02	▲ 0.07	—	▼ 0.01	—
Türkiye	▼ 0.08	▼ 0.16	▼ 0.51	▼ 0.28	▲ 0.39	▼ 0.13
United Kingdom	▲ 0.05	▲ 0.17	—	▼ 0.01	▲ 0.02	▼ 0.44
Russia	▼ 0.07	▼ 0.07	▼ 0.23	▲ 0.17	▲ 0.2	▼ 0.07

Change of regime type

Change of regime type

Table 2 The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index regime change type

RANK	2020	Regime type		2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
	25	United States	Flawed democracy	7.98	7.98	7.96	7.96	7.92
	14	Germany	Full democracy	8.63	8.61	8.68	8.68	8.67
	104	Türkiye	Hybrid regime	5.04	4.88	4.37	4.09	4.48
	16	United Kingdom	Full democracy	8.36	8.53	8.53	8.52	8.54
	124	Russia	Authoritarian	3.24	3.17	2.94	3.11	3.31

NOTE:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index?fbclid=IwAR0KLod6t2ngo8yGBFe90xTz4RY4n-](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index?fbclid=IwAR0KLod6t2ngo8yGBFe90xTz4RY4n-VrPjG2IzSqsFpLwpBA2k0wEMttC-I)

VrPjG2IzSqsFpLwpBA2k0wEMttC-I Edited by The Economist Intelligence Units, from the democracy index on 2020.16.05 by Sinemden Oylumlu, 2022

Table 3 The Economist Intelligence Units Democracy Index

Year 2020												
Number	Rank	Increase / Decrease	Country	Regime type	Overall score	Rank	Score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of Government	Political Participation	Political Culture	Civil Liberties
14	▼	1	Germany	Full democracy	8.67	▼	0.01	9.58	8.21	8.33	8.13	9.12
16	▼	2	United Kingdom	Full democracy	8.54	▲	0.02	10	7.5	8.89	7.5	8.82
25	—	-	United States	Flawed democracy	7.92	▼	0.04	9.17	6.79	8.89	6.25	8.53
104	▲	6	Türkiye	Hybrid regime	4.48	▲	0.39	3.5	5.36	5.56	5.63	2.35
124	▲	10	Russia	Authoritarian	3.31	▲	0.2	2.17	2.14	5	3.13	4.12

Note:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index?fbclid=IwAR0KLod6t2ngo8yGBFe90xTz4RY4n-](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Index?fbclid=IwAR0KLod6t2ngo8yGBFe90xTz4RY4n-VrPjG2IzSqsFpLwpBA2k0wEMttC-I)

VrPjG2IzSqsFpLwpBA2k0wEMttC-I The Economist Intelligence Units was edited on 16.05.2022 by Sinemden Oylumlu from the 2020 democracy index.

Table1, Table2 and Table3 show the changes in the averages of democracies between the years 2016-2021. According to the tables, according to the criteria measuring the democracies of the USA, Germany, Türkiye and Russia, there was a decrease in the general score scoring in 2016 compared to the previous year.

USA; Democracy score decreased in 2016, 2018, 2020 and 2021, and it was defined as flawed democracy in 2016, and a downward stability is observed in 2020 and 2021.

Germany's democracy score in 2016 decreased by 0.02 points in 2017, increased by 0.07 points in 2018 and remained stable in 2019. It decreased by 0.01 points in 2020 with the effect of the pandemic and remained at a constant point in 2021.

The UK's democracy score in 2016 rose by 0.17 in 2017 and remained stable in 2018. The democracy score, which decreased by 0.01 points in 2019, increased by 0.02 points in 2020, but experienced a radical decrease of 0.43 points with the effect of 2021 Brexit and the post-pandemic period.

Türkiye's democracy index showed a downward trend from 5.04 in 2016 to 4.35 in 2020. The decline in Türkiye's score has resulted in a low score in freedoms due to issues such as freedom of the press, legal processes, and rights to demonstration.

Russia's score in all areas is below 6 points, and it has low scores in all areas from freedom of elections. The lack of freedom of expression and freedom of the press, the legitimacy of the elections and the low score due to the silencing of the opposition have caused the country's regime to be autotritical for many years.

In the study, the analysis of the freedom index of countries is used to determine the spheres of influence of democratic and non-democratic countries by using the subdivisions of the index. The comparison of Freedom house's scores on electoral democracy, political rights, and civil liberties by years is given in Table 4.

Table 4 Freedom House Index comparison of liberties

	Electoral Democracy	2017				2018				2019				2020				2021			
		Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Free	Points	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Free	Points	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Free	Points	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Free	Points	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Free	Points
Germany	Yes	39	56	free	95	39	55	free	94	1	1	free	94	1	1	free	94	1	1	free	94
Russia	No	5	15	not free	20	5	15	not	20	7	6	not	20	7	6	not	20	7	6	not	20
Türkiye	No	18	20	Partly Free	38	16	16	not free	32	5	6	not free	31	5	6	not free	32	5	6	not free	32
United Kingdom	Yes	40	55	free	95	40	54	free	94	1	1	free	93	1	1	free	94	1	1	free	93
United States	Yes	36	53	free	89	33	53	free	86	2	1	free	86	2	1	free	86	2	2	free	83

When the democracy index and Freedom House Index data are compared, Germany, England, which is scored as full democracy, and the USA, which is a flawed democracy, are free, Türkiye, which has a hybrid regime score, is partially free, and Russia, which is scored as autocracy, is not free. The overall scores of the selected countries regarding democracy in Freedom house index are given in the table5 below.

Table 5 Freedom House 2020 detailed freedom table

Year 2020												
Number	Rank	Increase / Decrease	Country	Regime type	Overall score	Rank	Score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of Government	Political Participation	Political Culture	Civil Liberties
14	▼	1	Germany	Full democracy	8.67	▼	0.01	9.58	8.21	8.33	8.13	9.12
16	▼	2	United Kingdom	Full democracy	8.54	▲	0.02	10	7.5	8.89	7.5	8.82
25	—	-	United States	Flawed democracy	7.92	▼	0.04	9.17	6.79	8.89	6.25	8.53
104	▲	6	Türkiye	Hybrid regime	4.48	▲	0.39	3.5	5.36	5.56	5.63	2.35
124	▲	10	Russia	Authoritarian	3.31	▲	0.2	2.17	2.14	5	3.13	4.12

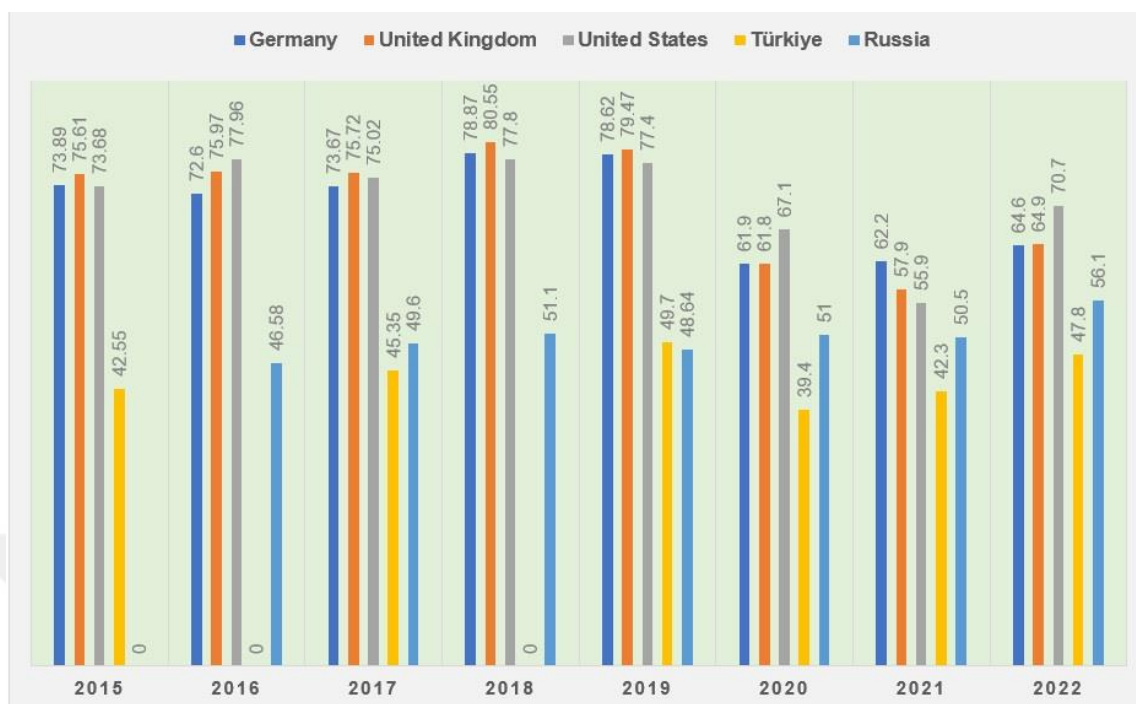
When the scores of the selected countries in the five main categories are compared, it is seen that the countries with full democracy have high scores in all areas. USA is described as a flawed democracy, with relatively low scores in electoral democracy and pluralism, government functioning, political culture, and Freedoms. When Türkiye's scoring is examined, it has been defined as a hybrid regime since it has a very low score in the field of freedoms compared to other countries and cannot score above 6 in other areas. Russia scored below 5 in every field except political participation and was expressed as an authoritarian regime. Freedom House deals with the criteria in the sections of electoral security, pluralism in scoring in the context of legitimacy and elective democracy. The legitimacy of the elections as well as the freedom of expression, the right of opposition and citizens to protest, the independence of law due to the separation of powers are examined in the sub-sections of other headings, and the limited freedoms cause the score in the field of freedoms to be low. In addition, the index evaluates internet restrictions in the field of freedoms.

Figure 4 Soft Power index categories

Note:

<https://fronteirasxxi.pt/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/brand-finance-global-soft-power-index-2021.pdf> Global Soft Power Index was edited by Sinemden Oylumlu on 16.05.2022.

Figure 5 Reputation domains of soft power index countries



Note:

<https://fronteirasxxi.pt/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/brand-finance-global-soft-power-index-2021.pdf> Global Soft Power Index was edited by Siemden Oylumlu on 16.05.2022.

Table 6 Soft power domain score and ranking table of countries

COUNTRY / YEAR	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Germany	73.89	72.6	73.67	78.87	78.62	61.9	62.2	64.6
United Kingdom	75.61	75.97	75.72	80.55	79.47	61.8	57.9	64.9
United States	73.68	77.96	75.02	77.8	77.4	67.1	55.9	70.7
Türkiye	42.55	-	45.35	-	49.7	39.4	42.3	47.8
Russia	-	46.58	49.6	51.1	48.64	51	50.5	56.1

Table 7 Soft power domain ranking table of countries

COUNTRY / YEAR	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Germany	2	3	4	3	3	2	1	3
United Kingdom	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	2
United States	3	1	3	4	5	1	6	1
Türkiye	28	-	30	-	29	30	27	22
Russia	-	27	26	28	30	10	13	9

Table 6 and Table 7 <https://fronteirasxxi.pt/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/brand-finance->

[global-soft-power-index-2](#) Global Soft Power Index was created by Sinemden Oylumlu on 16.05.2022.

When the soft power domain data is examined, it is seen that the countries with strong democracy have a strong perception of impact and image on other countries. Due to the commercial superiority of Russia, which is ruled by autocracy, between the years 2020-2022, Europe's dependence on Russia's products such as gas and wheat, as well as Russia's feature of being an opposing power state, there is a greater sphere of influence than Türkiye. However, with the Ukraine war, Russia was excluded from the category in 2022, despite scoring in the Soft Power index. It would not be wrong to evaluate the approach of non-state organizations in this way in terms of public diplomacy as non-state actors.

The United Nations Security Council, the European Union Security Commission, the condemnation of NATO, the decrease in the influence of Russia in international organizations such as the International Human Rights Organization, and the sanction decisions given to Russia show the height of the diplomatic power of democratic states. The reaction and boycott practices of the public and non-state institutions, from Russian-born athletes to Russian novels in many Western countries, by removing Russia from UEFA Cup, show that democratic countries are also more effective in public diplomacy than autocratic countries.

Hypothesis 2: In the management of crises, democratic and non-democratic countries act with security concerns.

In the Ukraine-Russia sample, the presidents, government spokespersons, foreign ministers, and defense ministers of the countries that are the subject of the study, their press statements, statements, telephone conversations with each other, statements after the NATO meeting, official news agencies of the countries and the official internet of the governments. Content and word analysis were made by collecting data from websites. The following word analysis is included in Table 8:

Table 8 Code Relationships Table

		RUSSIA	GERMANY	USA	TÜRKİYE	UK
KEYWORDS / TOTAL	1064	141	141	277	160	345
Security	103	3	26	34	16	24
Security\Denazification	16	14		2		
Security\Threat	55	15	6	24		10
Security\Stability	25	3	1	10	9	2
Security\Conflict	58	11	9	6	13	19
Security\Nuclear Ambitions	1	1				
Security\Nuclear Weapon	9	7	2			
Security\Weapon	96	22	29	15	9	21
Security\Territorial Integrity	20			6	12	2
Security\Defence	40		1	1	9	29
Security\Aggression	79	3	6	30	15	25
Security\National Security	10		4	6		
Security\Border Security	30	3	4	10	3	10
War\Fighting	196	6	28	45	51	66
War\Fighting\Military Operation	34	28		1	1	4
Democracy	22		2	14		6
Democracy\Liberty	9		1	6	1	1
Democracy\Autocracy	5			2		3
Democracy\Human Rights/Humanitarian	47	3	1			43
Democracy\Sovereignty	41	9	2	5	13	12
Democracy\Sanctions	159	12	18	54	8	67
Democracy\Freedom	8		1	6		1
Democracy\International Law	1	1				

Notes: This table was created as a result of the analysis made by Sinemden Oylumlu in the Maxqda program.

The relationship between the codes created from the analysis data of the Maxqda analysis program is given in Table 9 below:

Table 9 The relationship between the codes

Kod Sistemi	Security	Democratization	Threat	Stability	Conflict	Nuclear ambitions	Nuclear weapon	Weapon	Territorial integrity	Defence	Aggression	National Security	Border Security	War/fighting	Military Operation	Democracy	Liberty	Autocracy	Human Rights	Sovereignty	Sanctions	Freedom	International Law	TOPLAM
Security	0	5	25	14	11	0	7	32	18	17	39	8	18	44	9	10	3	3	12	22	33	7	2	338
Security/Democratization	5	0	5	2	6	0	8	8	1	2	4	1	3	9	10	1	1	1	2	5	4	2	3	73
Security/Threat	25	5	0	11	11	0	6	17	6	8	18	5	11	20	9	6	2	3	9	11	14	6	2	217
Security/Stability	14	2	11	0	5	0	2	8	6	4	9	4	5	9	2	0	0	0	2	7	5	1	1	102
Security/Conflict	11	6	11	5	0	0	3	16	2	2	16	1	8	21	7	5	2	4	7	7	13	4	2	163
Security/Nuclear ambitions	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Security/Nuclear weapon	7	2	6	2	3	1	0	8	1	2	4	1	4	7	1	1	0	0	1	3	2	2	2	64
Security/Weapon	32	8	17	8	18	1	8	0	11	16	1	12	37	8	9	3	3	12	15	32	6	3	3	255
Security/Territorial integrity	18	1	6	6	2	0	1	7	0	5	11	3	4	6	1	1	0	0	2	21	4	1	0	98
Security/Defence	17	2	8	4	2	0	2	11	9	0	15	0	6	13	1	5	1	0	7	8	10	3	1	123
Security/Aggression	39	4	18	9	16	0	4	26	11	15	0	2	18	41	5	10	4	4	15	18	34	6	2	309
Security/National Security	8	1	5	4	1	0	1	1	3	0	2	0	1	4	0	3	1	1	0	3	2	1	0	40
Security/Border Security	16	3	11	5	6	0	4	12	4	6	18	1	0	16	3	5	3	3	7	7	9	5	2	149
War/fighting	44	6	20	9	22	0	7	37	6	13	41	4	16	0	6	11	3	3	20	16	44	7	3	348
War/fighting/Military Operation	9	10	9	2	7	0	1	8	1	1	5	0	3	4	0	3	1	1	2	7	5	2	1	74
Democracy	10	1	6	0	5	0	8	8	1	5	10	1	5	11	1	0	0	3	4	3	9	7	1	69
Democracy/Liberty	3	1	3	0	2	0	0	3	0	1	4	1	3	3	1	2	0	3	1	2	3	2	0	38
Democracy/Autocracy	3	1	3	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	4	1	3	3	1	3	3	0	3	1	2	2	0	42
Democracy/Human Rights/humanitarian	12	2	9	2	7	0	1	12	2	7	15	0	7	20	2	4	1	3	0	7	10	1	2	129
Democracy/Sovereignty	21	5	11	7	7	0	3	15	21	8	18	3	7	16	7	3	2	1	7	0	18	3	1	186
Democracy/Sanctions	33	4	14	5	13	0	2	32	4	10	34	2	9	44	3	9	3	2	10	14	0	6	2	263
Democracy/Freedom	7	2	6	1	4	0	3	6	1	3	6	1	5	7	2	7	2	2	1	3	6	0	2	78
Democracy/International Law	2	3	3	1	2	0	2	3	0	1	2	0	2	3	1	1	0	0	2	1	2	2	0	33
Açıklamalar	12	1	12	5	11	0	8	12	3	2	8	2	3	10	2	4	1	2	3	5	8	2	1	113
TOPLAM	338	73	217	102	163	2	64	285	98	123	309	40	149	348	74	99	38	42	129	186	263	78	33	3366

Notes: This table was created as a result of the analysis made by Sinemden Oylumlu in the Maxqda program.

In the Maxqda program, in the coding of security data, the words related to security and democracy-related words were coded and analyzed to determine their emphasis on democracy. Regardless of the regime types, it is included in both word and content analyzes that countries act with the perception of security threat in their national, regional, and global interests in times of crisis. As it can be seen from the tables above, only the words of security were collected together with the countries selected at the beginning and during the Ukraine-Russia war, and the parties Ukraine, as well as NATO's statements. As a result of the word and content analysis made on 218 documents in total, the word security is mentioned 103 times in total in the statements made by the officials of all countries and in the news about their meetings with each other. The word threat was used 55 times, the word conflict 58, border security 30, national security 10, military operation 34, war and conflict 196 times. The total combination of security threat words is used 25 times as seen in Table 6. In this sense, regardless of the regimes and management styles of the countries, it is seen numerically that they act with security concerns in international relations in times of crisis.

When the statements of the country's officials before and during the Ukraine - Russia crisis are analyzed, it is determined that there are differences in the perception of security. It is seen that the countries of the region mainly emphasize the security of the region and the Black Sea and the effect that this will have on the global stability. The security perception of the USA emerges with the emphasis on the security of democracy and global security. The USA and NATO carry out communication studies based on the perception of the war between democracy and autocracy. All communication and information activities are structured in this direction. In particular, the hybrid nature of this crisis in the form of classical diplomacy, intelligence diplomacy, information-disinformation warfare, in addition to strategic communication and public diplomacy studies.

Putin's speech dated February 24, 2022 has content that uses public diplomacy effectively in the context of the subject of the study. Putin made his speech on February 21, 2022, with the security concerns of the expansion of the West and NATO within its borders, and that in this case, conflict would be inevitable. In his speech below on February 24, 2022, he expresses his security concerns as follows:

“I would now like to say something very important for those who may be tempted to interfere in these developments from the outside. No matter who tries to stand in our way or all the more so create threats for our country and our people, they must know that Russia will respond immediately, and the consequences will be such as you have never seen in your entire history.

I will begin with what I said in my address on February 21, 2022. I spoke about our biggest concerns and worries, and about the fundamental threats which irresponsible Western politicians created for Russia consistently, rudely and unceremoniously from year to year. I am referring to the eastward expansion of NATO, which is moving its military infrastructure ever closer to the Russian border.

It is a fact that over the past 30 years we have been patiently trying to come to an agreement with the leading NATO countries regarding the principles of equal and indivisible security in Europe. In response to our proposals, we invariably faced either cynical deception and lies or attempts at pressure and blackmail, while the North Atlantic alliance continued to expand despite our protests and concerns. Its

military machine is moving and, as I said, is approaching our very border” (President of Russia, 2022).

With this speech, Putin is trying to gather the public opinion in his own ranks by emphasizing the diplomatic efforts of Russia to prevent the threatening behavior of Russia from the West for years, covering its own borders and former Warsaw countries, both to his own public and to the international public. In his speech dated 09.05.2022, in parallel with the day he started the military operation, Putin stated the following:

“Another punitive operation in Donbass, an invasion of our historic lands, including Crimea, was openly in the making. Kiev declared that it could attain nuclear weapons. The NATO bloc launched an active military build-up on the territories adjacent to us.

Thus, an absolutely unacceptable threat to us was steadily being created right on our borders. There was every indication that a clash with neo-Nazis and Banderites backed by the United States and their minions was unavoidable” (President of Russia, 2022).

Putin's perception of security threat is also prominent in his last speech on 09 May 2022. Underlining the weapons assistance and military training of NATO members, Putin underlines that if they do not carry out this operation, the NATO threat will increase.

In Lavrov's speech below, quoted by the Russian news agency on February 22, 2022:

"We understand that now our colleagues are seeking to put all the blame for the breakdown of the Minsk agreements on Russia. Our European, American, and British colleagues will never stop and rest content until they use all their possibilities for the so-called punishment of Russia. They are already threatening with possible hellish sanctions, or, as they say, ‘mother of all sanctions.’ We are already used to it," he said in an interview with the Rossiya-24 television channel. According to Lavrov, sanctions will be imposed on Russia in any case. "In this connection, I would like to point, to my deepest regret, to the negative and provocative role of the European Union, which cannot be responsible for its words and actions," he said (Lavrov, 2022).

Despite Russia's pro-peace efforts, it is seen that they act in a way consistent with the perception and communication strategy over the NATO threat posed to their country.

Although Russia's acceptance of the Antalya Diplomacy form and its participation in the Istanbul Peace talks and the start of negotiations with Ukraine is a move made to show that it is pro-peace, these negotiations took place in an environment where weapons were not silenced. After these meetings, Lavrov, in his statement dated 07 April 2022, emphasized that the Chergigev and Kyiv attacks were mitigated as a sign of goodwill, and included the following statements, quoted by TASS news agency, which included the claim that the Western allies used Bucha provocation to impose sanctions and carried out a perception operation:

"Lavrov also said that Russian troops had de-escalated the situation in the Kiev and Chernigov area after the Istanbul meeting as a gesture of goodwill in order to facilitate efforts to make an agreement. "In response, a provocation was staged in Bucha, which the West immediately used in order to introduce another package of sanctions, and Ukrainian neo-Nazis carried out atrocities against Russian prisoners of war," the top diplomat stressed." (TASS, 2022)

In this sense, it is seen that the common communication language of the Russian authorities is uniform and they have consistency to influence the public opinion. In this context, it can be said that state officials are working on persuasion and persuasion about their actions by using a single language. It is seen that new sanctions have been implemented after the situation in Buhca. From the point of view of public diplomacy as a whole, although there is consistency in the discourses, the inconsistency of the discourses with the actions has led to the questioning of communication in terms of reliability.

When the statements of the President of Ukraine, Zelensky, and his team are examined, it is seen that this country also emphasizes the maintenance of democracy in their country, as well as security concerns. In his speech dated 22.04 2022, Zelensky uses the following expressions:

"Why did Russia start the war? The capture of Ukraine is its first step to establishing control over Eastern Europe, to destroying democracy in our region. Ukraine was and remains the mainstay of democratic processes in our region," said

the head of state. He added that Russia is bringing death and dictatorship to Ukraine, and after Ukraine, they will try to bring it all to Moldova, Poland, Georgia, the Baltic states, Kazakhstan, and other countries that they can 'reach' (Ukrinform, 2022).

Ukraine's foreign minister, Kuleba, in his speech dated 01.05.2022, emphasized that the cost of war would cause global economic and security problems, and emphasized that it would lead to global crises in terms of communication and perception in terms of public diplomacy and that the countries of the world should take responsibility to stop the war by developing the perception in this direction.

Since the beginning of the war, Ukraine has carried out its efforts to make their voices heard outside of official platforms by acting regularly with the emphasis on democracy and security to the world public opinion with non-governmental organizations, foreign representatives, and all state staff in international relations. In order to draw the attention of the world press to what happened in Kyiv, they organized protest demonstrations by organizing their citizens living abroad. After the attack, it is seen that the US, EU member states and non-governmental organizations for humanitarian aid in Türkiye, which is a riparian to the Black Sea, took action. The humanitarian aid of Turkish citizens, who acted with their own means to return to their homes, was displayed by the press and shared with international broadcasting organizations and implemented public diplomacy.

During this period, Türkiye has been an extraordinary country, especially with its diplomatic efforts. It is seen that the works of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu and Presidential Spokesman İbrahim Kalın are structured on the basis of a balanced policy in the region. Türkiye emphasizes the regional and global security threat in this process and strives to create peace and tranquility.

Before the start of the war, President Erdoğan's statement dated 22.02.2022, which underlined that an attack on the territorial integrity of a country is unacceptable for Türkiye and that peaceful approaches should be taken to ensure regional security, is as follows:

"We have made our message clear about the crisis. Our Foreign Ministry in its statement on the latest developments said Russia's decision to recognize the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk republics contradicts the Minsk agreements. It was stressed that

this decision is a clear violation of the political integrity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Ukraine. We consider such a decision by Russia unacceptable. We reiterate our call on the parties to follow common sense and respect international law" (Ukrinform, 2022).

In the statement made by İbrahim Kalın on May 01, 2022 after his visit to Kyiv, he explained peacebuilding and Türkiye's balance policy with the following words:

"... As you know, our contacts with Russia continue. Again, our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of National Defense, and other friends continued these talks. We will continue to be in contact with the Russian side from now on. Because in order to bring the two sides together around a table and prevent conflicts, the contact with the Russian side must also continue... If everyone breaks the bridge with Russia at the beginning of the war, who will talk to Russia, who will bring them around a negotiating table and persuade them to a peace agreement? Reminding that he had asked, Kalın said, "For this, Türkiye's balanced stance so far is appreciated by all parties. Our work towards this will continue. Our primary goal is not to gain recognition, but to truly end this war" (Orhan Onur Gemici, 2022).

It is understood from the following statements of the German and British officials that Türkiye's humanitarian aid and diplomacy efforts have a positive effect on the country's image and perception:

The British Government News website, which conveys the meeting of British Prime Minister Boris Johnson and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan after the UN meeting, dated March 24, 2022, included the following sentences:

"They shared their deep concerns at the increasingly brutal conflict unfolding in Ukraine, and the Prime Minister welcomed Türkiye's strong diplomatic leadership and humanitarian response" (gov.uk, 2022).

In the news of the German AFP news agency; Regarding Türkiye's diplomatic offensive and supporting Türkiye's diplomatic efforts, it has been stated that due to the friendly relations between the two countries in the conflict, the work of Erdogan and Turkish officials, Germany's approach, improved relations between Ankara and other countries and increased Türkiye's reputation.

By emphasizing Germany's concern for freedom and democracy in the Ukraine-Russia war and the order before the war, German chancellor Olof Scholz is

understood to underline the democratic values and discuss the democracy-autocracy war view with the following words:

"... cope with these challenges, social solidarity was necessary at an international level, including in NATO and the EU. We will show the world that we stand together. Freedom and democracy are suddenly not abstract concepts anymore, but things that must be defended" (DW News, 2022).

In the speech of US President Biden dated 02 March 2022;

"The actions and policies of persons that undermine democratic processes and institutions in Ukraine; threaten its peace, security, stability, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; and contribute to the misappropriation of its assets, as well as the actions and policies of the Government of the Russian Federation, including its purported annexation of Crimea, its use of force in Ukraine, and its purported recognition of the so-called Donetsk People's Republic or Luhansk People's Republic regions of Ukraine, continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States" (Whitehouse Brifing Room, 2022).

Bidon's speech above is based on the concepts of democracy, democratic institutions and sovereignty, as well as the perception of threat to the security of the international order. In this sense, the USA, Germany, England and Ukraine carry out public communication regarding the perception of the security threat in the context of the threat to the international order and democracy.

Türkiye expresses security as regional and global security, including the sovereignty rights of the nations in this war, human rights, and international law concepts. Continuing its stance towards stopping the threat to regional security and building peace more than democracy, it has focused on carrying out diplomatic works with a balance policy by fully applying the rules of the Montreux Agreement. It does not only evaluate the threat of war in an abstract way, but also has a discourse that draws attention to concrete border and regional threats.

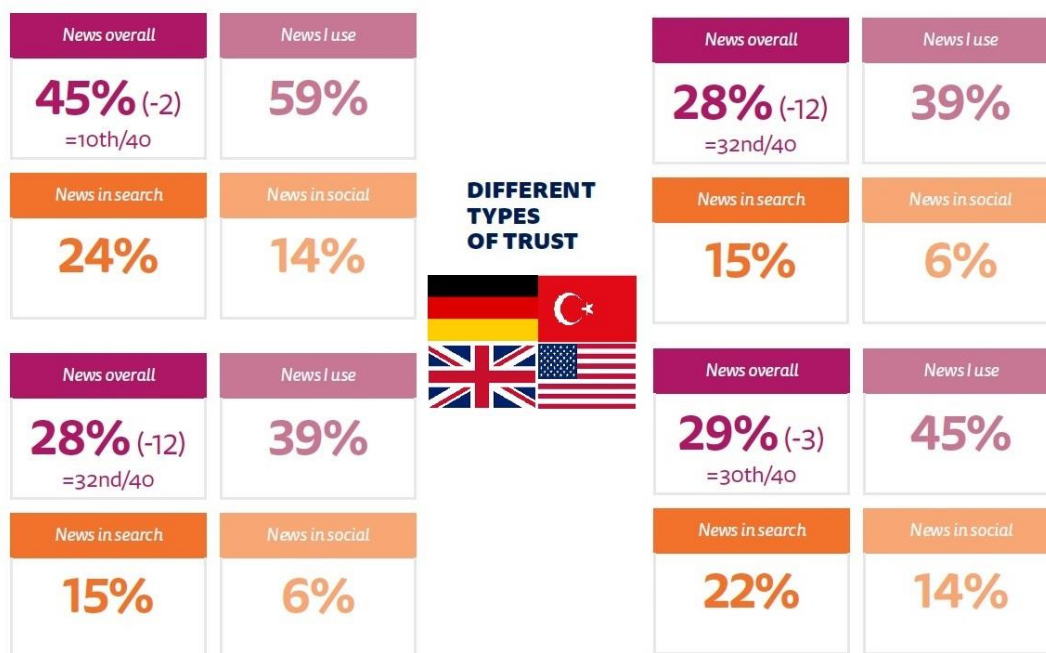
In summary, in the case of the Ukraine-Russia war, it is seen that the countries act according to their interests. There is consistency and continuity in the communication languages of the countries studied. From the perspective of public diplomacy and strategic communication, the importance of this coherent language

union for countries to reflect and convince the international public opinion is explained in the theory section, and in practice, these practices emerge clearly.

Hypothesis 3: The development of communication systems increases the dissemination of information in public diplomacy strategies.

As stated in the theory section, the speed of accessing information, news and information about events has increased with the development of information technologies. In the 21st century, communication has not only accelerated, but has come to a two-way, interactive structure. Due to the interactive nature of social media platforms, a content written by users has started to spread rapidly by sharing. Printed news media started to serve their users over the internet, and it was possible to make reader comments under the news. Thus, it has become easier to reach not only social media platforms, but also the written and visual media through technology. Figure 4 shows which channels the users of the selected countries follow the news on the internet and which channels they use:

Figure 6 Rates of countries' internet usage and for what purpose they use



Notes: Created by Sinemden Oylumlu from Reuters on 16.05.2022

In Germany, 45% of news is obtained from the internet. German users obtain information from news sites (59%), internet searches (24%), and social media (14%). 28% of users in Türkiye read the news from the internet. 39% of the users use news

sites, 15% internet searches, and 6% social media as Turkish internet users as news channels. 28% of internet users in the UK read the news from the internet. Of these, 39% use news sites, 15% use internet search, and 6% use social media. In the USA, 29% of the news is read via the internet. 45% of the news is followed by news sites, 22% by internet search and 14% by social media. This information is important because it shows which channels are valuable in strategic communication work and which channels are used to reach and spread the news to the user. In addition, the frequency of accessing news channels by users of social media networks and message applications is given in Figure 5 by country.

Figure 7 Five social media and message platforms usage rates by countries

TOP SOCIAL MEDIA AND MESSAGING					
Rank	Brand	For News		For All	
	1 Facebook	22%	(-)	49%	
	2 WhatsApp	16%	(-)	69%	
	3 YouTube	14%	(-5)	55%	
	4 Instagram	6%	(-)	25%	
	5 Twitter	6%	(+1)	13%	
	6 Facebook Messenger	4%	(-)	22%	
Rank	Brand	For News		For All	
	1 Facebook	24%	(-4)	65%	
	2 Twitter	14%	(-)	29%	
	3 YouTube	7%	(-3)	51%	
	4 WhatsApp	7%	(-2)	56%	
	5 Facebook Messenger	5%	(-1)	46%	
	6 Instagram	3%	(-1)	30%	



Rank	Brand	For News		For All	
	1 Facebook	49%	(+2)	67%	
	2 YouTube	45%	(-4)	71%	
	3 Instagram	41%	(+8)	66%	
	4 WhatsApp	31%	(-2)	67%	
	5 Twitter	30%	(-3)	44%	
	6 Facebook Messenger	10%	(-)	32%	
Rank	Brand	For News		For All	
	1 Facebook	35%	(-4)	63%	
	2 YouTube	24%	(+4)	61%	
	3 Twitter	17%	(+2)	29%	
	4 Facebook Messenger	9%	(-)	39%	
	5 Instagram	8%	(+1)	30%	
	6 WhatsApp	4%	(-)	13%	

Notes: Created by Sinemden Oylumlu from Reuters on 16.05.2022

It is seen that Facebook ranks first in terms of news content in Germany, Türkiye, England and the USA in terms of social media usage. In Germany, WhatsApp is the second, YouTube is the third, Instagram is the fourth and Twitter is the fifth, while Youtube is the second, Instagram is the third, Whatsapp is the fourth, and Twitter is the fifth in Türkiye. In the UK, Twitter is in the second place, YouTube is in the third place, Whatsapp is in the fourth place and Facebook Messenger is in the fifth place. In the USA, news is reached from Youtube in the second place, Twitter in the third place, Facebook messenger in the fourth place and Instagram in the fifth place. Although there is no Social media data used to get news from Russia,

Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and Twitter accounts were used according to the 2020 news before Russia closed the internet to the outside world on March 05, 2022. In 2021, with the restriction of these global accounts, it is seen that alternative platforms for which Russia has developed software have started to be used. However, these accounts were excluded from the statistical evaluation.

The fact that each country follows the news through the message channels and social media networks that spread to the global market ensures the rapid spread of the news. However, the handicap here is that disinformation spreads as quickly as true news. Since the data of Russia is not available in the tables, these data are not included. Information about Russia was obtained from <https://teloji.com/rusyada-en-fazla-kullanilan-sosyal-medya-platformlari/>.

Twitter data is transmitted to the user easily and quickly by retweeting on the internet. Since the Ukraine-Russia war was chosen as a case, the number of daily tweets posted on hashtags using these two words is 500. When a retweet is made for each tweet, this number becomes 1000. In addition, since a like on Twitter provides an image with the like icon on the people on the user's list, when a like is made for each twit, the likes of a user with 1400 followers will be seen by as many followers as their followers, and the information dissemination is rapid and multiplying at this rate. As an example, the section table with the highest number of followers in the hashtags searched on the words Ukraine and Russia on 17.05.2022 is given below.

Table 10 Information Spread rate twitter data analysis table section

1: Tarih/Zat: Tweet	3: Hashtaglar	4: Tür	5: Yanıtla	6: Yazar	7: Yazarın g	8: Yazarın k	11: Yazarın	12: Takipçile	14: Tweetler	17: Retweetk	8: Beğenile
5/17/2022 RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on 03:38:06 Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok		Retweet		amir_panj shir	● Tajik	Washington, DC	Khorasani	269	6250	9735	0
5/17/2022 RT @lesiasvaylenko: 53 wounded from #Azovstal and 210 Azov 03:38:06 battalion soldiers evacuated. To territories occupied by #Russia.	Azovstal Russia	Retweet		atari000				254	33508	334	0
5/17/2022 RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on 03:38:05 Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok		Retweet		amalfull1000	nadine			254	73368	9735	0
5/17/2022 RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their 03:38:05 knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first	Ukraine	Retweet		GermanDe Almagro	Germán de Almagro	Almagro, CABA,	Quien no quiere	122	35330	1421	0
5/17/2022 RT @MDAhidulIslam5: #Lavrov: For those who cannot sleep 03:38:03 because of the Russia #Ukraine #conflict, I give advice:	Lavrov Ukraine	Retweet		HusseinBr asil	Hussein -	Rio de Janeiro,	Peace and truth	4011	179550	4	0
5/17/2022 RT @60Minutes: "We're headed into an entirely new era of human 03:38:03 rights investigations and war crimes investigations," says Berkeley		Retweet		gatomalof or	KiwiforUkr aine	Fighting ignorant		23	191	191	0
5/17/2022 RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their 03:38:02 knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first	Ukraine	Retweet		Balazs815 66786	Balazs Molnar	Budaörs	Italian, English,	50	476	1421	0
5/17/2022 RT @__adn: In the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, 03:38:02 thousands of people shared pro-Milosevic revisionism/Bosnian		Retweet		merovingi ans	a nosy archaeolo	York, our Green &	Ross. temporary	1554	154821	31	0
5/17/2022 RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of 03:38:02 hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-		Retweet		BrendaWe ese	Brenda Weese	West Virginia,	Social Worker,	1712	384106	16	0
5/17/2022 RT @terror_alarm: EU/NATO pledges Never-Ending aid to 03:38:02 #Ukraine as Russia threatens the global security and world order.	Ukraine	Retweet		Profil_usu niety	Myśl o zbro dnia			90	15632	12	0
5/17/2022 RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on 03:38:01 Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok		Retweet		Satiristas	¡SATIRISTA SI!	United States	Comic provoke	4712	265965	9734	0
5/17/2022 RT @CesarB19073275: Rusia va a estar más saludable... 03:38:01 McDonald's saldra de Rusia por la guerra con Ukraine		Retweet		Aemon342 8	Aemon Targaryan	Poniente	Maestro. Guía y	15838	571227	2	0
5/17/2022 RT @KyivIndependent: Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern 03:38:00 Ukraine.		Retweet		drvasili	BILL DANIEL			25	6361	368	0
5/17/2022 RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on 03:38:00 Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok		Retweet		Wealth_M an	Scott McKenzie	Toronto, Canada	Canadian. c	401	12451	9734	0

Note: This table was created as a result of the analysis made by Sinemden Oylumlu in the Maxqda program.

Although information is disseminated through bot accounts on Twitter, it is also seen that the frequency of information dissemination is accelerated by opening accounts that only share information based on cases.

4.1. Discussion: Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication Proposal for Türkiye

As stated in the theory section, there have been periods when democracy was interrupted during periods of war and crisis. In these periods, democratic countries carry out diplomacy and communication activities depending on the interests and power of the countries. It is important for public diplomacy to communicate the threat made to the global system by the USA and Western countries in the Ukraine-Russia war with the emphasis on democracy. At the same time, according to the results of the analysis, the public diplomacy effectiveness of democratic countries has emerged as strong. In this context, strengthening the areas where Türkiye is weak in terms of democratic values is an important element that will increase the effectiveness of public diplomacy. Another result of the data obtained is that the concepts of democratic culture, education and rule of law increase the efficiency of the countries in the periphery. Political culture of countries is an important factor. The presence of deep political cleavages in domestic politics and the harshness of the political language used by politicians are reflected in the foreign policy of the country. For effective public diplomacy and strategic communication, the political split within the country should not be deep. Researches conducted in Türkiye as of 2022 show that the political split is high. This problem is seen as an important weakness in public diplomacy that needs to be resolved in a way that will enable the opposition to act together with the government in matters affecting the interests of the country. Türkiye's reputation and image can be enhanced if the ruling and opposition parties speak with one voice within the framework of state policy.

With the development of communication technologies, it has become easier to reach information and conventional media broadcasts at the international level of both the internet media and the conventional media. Television programs can be watched

all over the world via satellites, as well as live broadcasts over the internet. In the context of public diplomacy, the contents of research and discussion programs in television journalism gain importance in terms of strategic communication. In order to increase the image of the country, it is important that the guests of the mentioned programs develop a discourse and protect the image of the country by evaluating the discussion and knowledge level of the discussed issue from the perspective of country representation. In addition, they need to pay attention to discourses in government policies and communication strategies. In addition, it is important that the interviews to be given to the global media channels are handled within this framework so that the country can convince the citizens of other countries.

Films, TV series, educational exchange programs, country scholarships appear as important instruments in order to increase the reputation and image of public diplomacy. Funds should be allocated for foreign students who come to the country with exchange programs to get acquainted with Turkish culture. TV series and films that reflect the characteristics of the country should be supported, regular participation in international film festivals should be ensured, and Turkish business people should be encouraged to create domestic financing.

Academics should be encouraged to attend international conferences, meetings and seminars. Innovation should be prioritized in international publications and projects, and the incentive system should be arranged accordingly. As the representative of the country's public diplomacy, they should be included in academic platforms. Scientific studies need to be funded in order to increase the number of articles in international journals.

Business people are non-state actors in public diplomacy. At the same time, as opinion leaders, Turkish business people and organizations should carry out lobbying activities while developing cooperation based on foreign links and the interests of the country. In this context, it is important to bring together the countries where they will invest on the common denominator of the state and their own interests. In addition, creating a strong brand in the world market in high-tech products will also contribute to the image of the country. The expression of Bayraktar company's U.A.V. (Unmanned Aerial Vehicle)'s and A.U.A.V. (Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicle)'s as "Turkish Doctrine" by Fukuyama is an important example in this sense. Türkiye,

whose technological infrastructure has been strengthened apart from the arms industry, will be able to effectively use its significant potential to expand and consolidate its sphere of influence.

Along with the threats and opportunities tried to be expressed above, in Türkiye's public diplomacy and strategic communication model, the regional threats that Türkiye may face should be taken into consideration. The crisis potential arising from Türkiye's historical process and geopolitical position should not be ignored. Threats to Türkiye's national interests in Syria, the Middle East, the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean must be carefully considered.

It is explained in the analysis section that the effective use of Türkiye's "Peace at home, peace in the world" policy in the Ukraine- Russia war has increased its reputation. Therefore, the short- and medium-term model in the study focuses on the global public diplomacy crisis strategic communication of the above-mentioned regions.

Depending on the above factors, the public diplomacy strategy model for Türkiye has been planned as state actors and non-state actors.

State actors must do the following:

While planning public diplomacy, the public diplomacy policy of the state should be regulated and its continuity should be ensured by considering the founding values. In order to achieve this, it should be shown to the citizens that there is a state policy that they can trust even if there is a change in power. For this;

1) Adopting Türkiye's only discourse language by emphasizing the historical building blocks by the Directorate of Communications in the content of the communication that the state will make to its own citizens,

a) Ensuring citizens believe that the state listens and understands them without discrimination and that there is no discrimination in solving problems and applying laws,

b) Designing communication studies for Türkiye to receive the public's support in a transparent and accountable manner on international issues in the communication made by state institutions.

2) For the restructuring of the duties of commercial and cultural attachés in the reputation and image studies of the foreign representatives of the state in a way to support the elements of public diplomacy;

a. The ruling and opposition parties and all deputies to act as a single language by agreeing to defend all justified cases in Türkiye

b. Representing the country in the international arena with a common language of all politicians and policy makers

c. Fair and organization arrangements for the promotion of foreign commercial attachés and Turkish brands in order to increase exports and ensuring its continuity

3) To expand the sphere of influence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in public diplomacy studies;

a. Introducing the cultural heritage and ensuring the influence of Turkish culture on the spheres of influence, organizing congresses, symposiums and workshops

b. Tourism's international launches to promote cultural assets, modern Türkiye themed and Turkish lifestyle promotional films, as well as incentives to be given to TV series and films, as a result of the evaluation of the team consisting of academic (archaeology, anthropology, sociology and history) department members.

4) There is important that the public diplomacy works of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are carried out in the context of national interests and national security policies, and that it acts in the context of state policy, not government. In this context, in order to ensure the security of the Misak-ı Milli's borders, should be explained through foreign representations that no article of the international agreements to be made today and in the future, which is contrary to the interests of Türkiye, can be accepted.

5) The reputation, image and perception of countries and the perception of heads of state in the international system are directly related to each other, considering that they have a point value in the soft power index. For this reason, it is important that leaders take a stance in line with state policies in order to increase the perception of the state in foreign countries, not according to governments.

It is known that non-state actors have an important role in public diplomacy as well as state actors. non-state actors; NGOs, business people, athletes, artists, representatives of educational institutions; academicians, teachers, representatives of

Turkish companies engaged in international trade are non-state actors. It should be reminded to these actors that rhetoric and behavior contrary to the interests and security of the state in the foreign policy of the state may harm the public diplomacy strategy. It is these actors who can effectively emphasize the importance Türkiye attaches to regional peace and stability and create a sphere of influence by using the elements of commercial, cultural and sports diplomacy in other countries. In this sense, they have the potential to significantly increase Türkiye's sphere of influence and reputation-image work. In this context, the success of Türkiye in sports matches or the attitude of the sports team in case of any protest during these matches affect the image of the country. For this reason, the country's public diplomacy basic principles should be given to athletes in all fields, representatives participating in cultural events, academicians, teachers or students in educational events, and the image policy of the country should be explained.

By directing business people to technological investments, incentives for products that will compete with international companies and branded products exported to other countries should be made a part of perception and image studies.

It is important to ensure continuity in the model described above. However, another element that is just as important is flexibility. Because, when the international system changes, it is necessary to create public pressure on the administrators by convincing the public opinion of other states while seeking reconciliation without compromising the basic state policy and security strategy. For this, it is necessary to plan effective and strategic communication. Today, besides the conventional media, the interactive structure of social media networks has features to support the proactive structure of the new public diplomacy. Today, the fight against disinformation is an important element that should be included in the communication strategy. When we consider the indicators of the analysis section, the intensity of use of social media channels differs from country to country. Therefore, the things to be done while determining the communication strategy are as follows:

1. Determining the priority order of Türkiye's spheres of influence,
2. Determination of the language of communication in Türkiye,
3. Consistency of communication discourses by considering the power balance of Türkiye's goals and interests,

4. Ensuring the consistency of the discourse of the leader and other institutions and organizations
5. Determination of communication channels
6. Creating content for each channel in line with the characteristics of the channel
7. Establishing an open and continuous communication structure in interactive media is the first thing to do.

The data in the analysis section show that in the case of the Ukraine-Russia war, Türkiye's Black Sea and the geopolitical and global peace concept in which Türkiye is involved positively increase the image and perception of the country. Therefore, Türkiye's founding value, a communication strategy based on peace and reconciliation, will positively affect its sphere of influence. Türkiye needs to create an effective communication strategy for each of the EU, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, the Caucasus geography and the Middle East.

In order to overcome the handicaps in its democratic structure and to establish teams that will work in detail in the context of countries in the communication with Western countries and the USA, to ensure effective communication of teams that will prevent the rapid spread of disinformation through social media;

1. Establishing teams to analyze the comments written on the internet and social media channels, creating a common language and counter-information in line with the interests of the country.
2. Instantly providing accurate information supported by visuals, starting with the channels most used by countries,
3. To publish content that will provide foreign public support by increasing the spread of the agenda that Türkiye has created depending on its international interests,
4. Publishing the documents (not containing state secrets) of Türkiye's just lawsuits and using them as instruments in foreign policy, by updating them at regular intervals,

The above suggestions; Türkiye's communication plan should be planned from country to country and geographically from region to region by considering language use, culture and historical influence. For example, although Facebook ranks first for Germany, since German citizens read news sites on the internet, it would be effective

to develop a communication strategy for both channels. However, on the basis of the subject, the communication strategy needs to be structured.

For example; Although the strategy on the Armenian problem and the strategic content in the areas that threaten the economy and security of the Black Sea region are not the same, the main theme can be shaped on the basis of the concept of peace and security. The same is true for the security of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. As the main theme, Türkiye is a country that has the potential to use non-state actors effectively in public diplomacy and strategic communication in regions with historical proximity. It is in a position to influence public opinion and carry out activities that will create public pressure through associations and organizations established by Turkish citizens living outside of Türkiye and living in the countries they live in for a long time.

Türkiye can use the following elements to increase its public diplomacy strategy in a positive way in the short term:

1. Ensuring effective use by creating lobbying activities,
2. Increasing the attractiveness of Türkiye with promotions and advertisements,
3. Strategically organizing activities such as sponsorship in cultural activities, fairs, sports organizations and cultural tours,

What to do in the medium term:

1. Making impact and image studies of the country by cooperating with media and broadcasting organizations: Inclusion of all non-state actors as well as state actors
2. Providing sponsorships to take part in concerts of popular artists and international film festivals,
3. Regularly holding international events in Türkiye
4. Providing support to projects that will have an impact on the international community through NGOs,
5. Receiving sponsorships of sports organizations, as in the example of Turkish Airlines Euroleague (working to ensure that private sector companies take part in such organizations and to increase their number),
6. In addition to producing and marketing products on a global scale for sustainability, it is necessary to ensure that the know-how of technology brands has a positive effect on the market.

7. Establishing an environment that will create a positive impact by creating historical and cultural integration strategies for foreign students and visiting teachers taking part in educational exchange programs with the aim of introducing Turkish culture and adapting it to Türkiye,

In addition to Türkiye's effective communication strategy, in order to increase the image and reputation of the country regionally, the country's brand must be able to use effective language. The main purpose of the study; It is an effort to establish an effective Public Diplomacy and Strategic communication model for Türkiye. It is stated that among the public diplomacy target principles of Türkiye announced by the Directorate of Communications, studies focused primarily on the goal of becoming a regional and global power are carried out. Therefore, the proposal and model structure is built on the regional and global communication language and regional and global application areas that were not included in previous studies.

Türkiye's environment is one of the crisis regions in the world due to its geopolitical position. Due to Türkiye's location; There are areas of crisis due to the developments in Greece and Cyprus, the Black Sea (the war between Ukraine and Russia), the Azerbaijan-Karabakh conflict, and the developments in Iraq and Syria, which threaten Türkiye's security across borders and beyond. In order to explain to the citizens of other countries that the diplomatic and military operations that Türkiye will carry out in these crisis areas are a security threat, first of all, Türkiye's crisis period public diplomacy and communication strategy model should be created. For this reason, two different but complementary models are proposed in the study. The first model is designed for crisis periods. The second model is the strategic communication model, which covers the times when there is no crisis, and it is the short-medium term modeling. Because, as emphasized in the theory section, in an environment with an interactive structure in international relations, long-term public diplomacy and strategic communication model will not be efficient. The model prepared based on the recommendations is included in the following section.

CONCLUSION

The model design for Türkiye is structured on the five basic features of Public Diplomacy tools and Public Diplomacy specified by NATO. While creating the Public Diplomacy Model, the first step is to identify the risky regions and countries by conducting research. The causes of the risk need to be determined objectively.

Due to its geographical location, Türkiye is in the middle of regions open to crises. For this reason, Türkiye is divided into two categories as historical crisis areas and crisis areas arising from cyclical change.

It is planned to design the language of communication on the areas of influence of the public diplomacy instruments to be used effectively, with the policies to be developed and revised in line with the cyclical change, predictable conflict and crisis areas, and the policies to be developed and revised by adhering to the state tradition of the Republic of Türkiye. In this context, it is necessary to act with common values in the language to be used for the countries that have a common history and can be influenced and increase this effect, and to create discourses that can affect the citizens of other countries. In addition, it is important to ensure the continuity of this discourse policy in state and non-state institutions.

Although the second category emerges acutely based on the necessity of carefully monitoring the conjuncture-related changes and creating action plans based on flexibility, it is important to manage these crises in order to create measures to prevent these problems from becoming permanent.

As the crisis regions and issues are related to historical processes, planning and research by calculating the results of future and predictable events have been added to the model. For example, predictable issues such as migration waves that may occur due to global warming should be included in medium-term public diplomacy work. Irregular migration waves arising from regional conflicts can be foreseen for the future as well as the current crisis. In addition, the water crisis, which may occur due to the climate crisis, may indicate the risks we may face with our neighboring countries, as in the past, and may create the possibility of conflict with our neighbors. It is necessary to establish working groups consisting of scientists related to the subject for the survival of the country by working in these areas today. In addition, the continuity of the work of the aforementioned risk identification research groups

should be ensured. Depending on the results obtained, a risk-fighting policy should be established in the short-medium term. These studies should be planned in order to protect Türkiye's interests with strong information in future agreements or negotiations in international relations in line with the interests of Türkiye. In the communication strategy of the prepared plans, the language of communication and the channels to be used should be planned as a result of research, in a way that will affect the public opinion of the peoples of the countries in the region and the countries that may be interlocutor from outside the region.

Crises have the feature of bringing opportunities. For this reason, it is necessary to use the human resources that can make an objective and scientific evaluation, the employment of the working personnel whose continuity will be ensured, in order to predict the risks and possible crises and to calculate the cyclical changes. In addition to the regional specialization of the working groups, being able to analyze international relations and having competencies in the fields of political communication will enable them to plan and implement while forming strategies.

As mentioned above, Türkiye has the potential to be present in many regions with its geographical location and the breadth of its spheres of influence. Türkiye's potential to become stronger can create a threat perception among hegemonic powers. It is important to reflect effectively in the language of communication with perception, management and image design that Türkiye acts with the principle of conciliatory, pro-peace and "Peace at home, peace in the world" drawn by Atatürk. Türkiye has revealed its position and image in the Ukraine-Russia War with its balance policy and efforts to achieve peace. However, it is observed that perception management is different from the intentions of the country by making disinformation. For such approaches, Türkiye needs to turn this crisis into an opportunity by regularly reflecting the culture of reconciliation in the language of communication.

Recently, it is seen that USA and EU countries have acted with the perception that there is a war between democracy and autocracy. For example, in a seminar attended by EU High Representative for Foreign Relations and Security Policy Josep Borell at the summer school of Menendez Pelayo University in Spain, he emphasized that world democracies continue to decline and authoritarian regimes show their power, and said, "The imperialist ambitions of China, Russia and Türkiye. There is a

news report from the newspaper Cumhuriyet citing the phrase “they are showing off” and also emphasizing the geopolitical roles of these countries (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 2022). This type of propaganda and communication, especially in the summer school of the university, is important in terms of showing how public diplomacy is used by the USA and EU countries. Emphasizing the democratic, secular and social state structure in Türkiye's constitution through communication channels has gained particular importance. In addition to providing a fast and effective response through communication channels, the breadth of a country's sphere of influence is not an imperial structure. In addition, it should be emphasized that democratic institutions work within the framework of democratic rules. For this reason, seminars and conferences should be formed in educational institutions together with government institutions and should be responded to in the same way. In addition, activities such as travel programs that NGOs will prepare jointly should be organized. In these activities, attention should be drawn to both the socio-cultural structure of the country and the liberal nature of life in the country.

In order to turn crises into opportunities, it is necessary to identify the agents of influence in the relevant regions and to have the equipment and opportunities to intervene in the event of a crisis with effective activities. What is meant by agents of influence is organizations such as local associations, business people's associations and Turkish companies with commercial affiliates abroad, established by cognates in the countries to be influenced.

If Türkiye and the countries in the crisis region have a common historical and cultural infrastructure, public diplomacy studies should be carried out by using the positive aspects of the common heritage. As an extension of the common historical and cultural heritage, it is important to determine the characteristic structures of the countries, to create sympathy among the peoples of the relevant countries and to ensure that they influence their states by using the similar aspects of the cultures.

It is also an important element in realizing industrial and economic cooperation between countries. In addition to the awareness provided by UAVs and SIHAs in the military field, it is important to increase the competitiveness of Turkish brands in competing markets. For example, if Germany is known for its reliability concept,

Volkswagen is known for its brands and the USA is for Apple, then Türkiye's creation and promotion of such brands can be used as an element of public diplomacy.

The country's public diplomacy policy should be determined above politics and designed in accordance with the interests of the country within the international system. It is important to use the same language of discourse in the framework of state policy and in matters concerning the interests of the country, in the language of discourse to be used in the meetings of the government and the opposition at the international level. Due to its geographical location, Türkiye is located in a region where crisis risks are high. The Ukraine-Russia war, the Syrian problem, the structuring of terrorist organizations endangering Türkiye's border security, the creation of a common language of discourse by both ruling and opposition party representatives and leaders, although there are differences of political opinion in line with the interests of the country in Türkiye's public diplomacy strategy. A stable country image should be drawn. Türkiye continues its balance policy and pro-peace approach, which it has inherited from the past to the present. The mediator role he assumed in the Ukraine-Russia war, the grain corridor studies and his efforts to contribute to the end of the war using diplomatic means are explained by state actors at the level of the Directorate of Communications and Presidency on every platform. As in this example, state actors at the level of international institutions in Türkiye express these studies. In addition, non-state actors have responsibilities to inform and persuade the public of other countries in a way that supports state policies, as stated above. In the previous section, the duties of state actors and non-state actors in public diplomacy studies were explained. In this context, it is important for political communication to develop a supra-political approach in the foreign policy of the country, and for state and non-state actors to act in line with the interests of the country in this context. Public diplomacy policy is related to the image and perception management of the strategic communication structure. In the study, Türkiye's strategic communication model was designed based on the public diplomacy model. The strategic communication model is divided into image management and perception management. In addition, the model also includes how to use communication channels depending on the data obtained in the analysis section.

Perception management as can be seen in the Türkiye Public Diplomacy and Strategic communication model scheme, the discourse section is divided into three as determination of media policies, discourse strategy and discourse creation, and three sub-headings have been determined for information-based, media use, culture-art, and education. All this communication strategy is directly related to the state policies of public diplomacy. In addition, the use of media is a natural part of image management. Although the use of media in perception management and image design is different, the language of discourse in social media and conventional media is different, but content integrity should be prepared depending on state policies.

An important element of perception management is setting the agenda. In times of crisis, the attitude and behavior models of the country, the leader and the state institutions can provide access to data that will show how the country is perceived. In addition, how a country solves both regional and global problems it faces during crises can affect the perception of the country positively or negatively. Therefore, as an extension of the country's state policies, the rhetoric and actions that reveal its conciliatory, strong and regional dominance should be the common goal of both the country's leader, state institutions and all non-state actors by using media channels. It is important that the image of the leader and the image of the country show parallelism. As seen in the analysis section, democratic countries have the potential to create more power and sphere of influence than autocracies in the international arena. In this context, the country's approaches to democratic rights and freedoms in the international arena affect the image of a country and its leader. In addition, it is seen that the countries with strong democracy have a high power of persuasion in the fight against disinformation. For this reason, it is important that the approach of the Directorate of Communications to emphasize the structure that develops democratic values is one of the main themes of the strategic communication language. In addition, in order to prevent disinformation studies on Türkiye's democratic values, it is necessary to ensure that the democratic institutions of the country work with sensitivity and to announce these studies to the world public opinion through communication channels with an effective discourse plan. In this study, the discourse plan is associated with the strategic planning of the contents in image design. While creating a perception strategy, it is necessary to investigate how Türkiye is perceived

in other countries, to determine how prestige and prestige is perceived, and to design it in order to strengthen the weak aspects in the strategic plan. Renewing this study at regular (six-monthly, yearly) intervals will be a useful study to review the change in perception and strategy.

Perception management in the fields of culture-arts, sports and education is an important factor in promoting Türkiye. In the field of culture, it is seen that especially TV series and film exports are important in terms of country perception and image. The fact that the script contents of TV series and movies reflect the life style of the modern and democratic Turkish people as much as they are historical, and that each ethnic group living in Türkiye has an approach that shows that they can live in reconciliation and solidarity with each other, will be able to influence the foreign public opinion and enable Türkiye to govern in the direction it wants. In addition, cinema and TV series shootings with foreign partners are important in terms of promoting the culture and lifestyle of the country. The promotion of civilizations living in Türkiye in the past, with the animations to be made in historical and touristic areas technologically, and the simulations of historical assets in digital areas are also seen in this study as factors that will positively reflect on the perception and image of the country.

The values of the country are introduced in schools to foreign citizens coming to Türkiye through student and educator exchange programs. Student unions that will introduce the life of the country outside of classes, free tour programs are supported by the state and are recommended as an element that can strengthen the perception of the country. In addition, the creation of scholarships and funds with the cooperation of the state and industry for the countries that do not have an exchange program and want to be influenced will help both the perception and image of the country and the prestige and reputation of Türkiye in a positive way.

Türkiye's image design should be regulated in line with state policies, as stated in perception management. The state image in the media should be planned without compromising state policies. Both conventional media communication and social media communication should be structured as a single voice as stated before. In the statements given to the foreign press, the interests of the country should be prioritized by all segments. Care should be taken to solve the problems experienced within the

country within the scope of democratic values, and such problems should be tried not to be reflected in the world press. In this context, all stakeholders need to be attentive in creating content. While creating content, planning should be done according to the structure of communication channels. As can be seen in the results of the analysis, the internet following rates of print and visual media are high. Therefore, the timing of the news or column in the conventional media is important. In these channels, detailed information can be transferred. The use of media should contribute to the efforts to strengthen the image and perception of the country in stagnant periods as well as in crisis periods. What is meant here is; It is the expression of criticism and warning without interfering with the freedom of the press, taking into account the interests of the country. However, in regions where there are crises in conventional channels, such as Syria, Greece, Cyprus and the Aegean issue, they are non-state actors who will take on the duty of advocating for Türkiye's justification in the international law.

On the other hand, in the analysis section, it is stated that the social media is an interactive medium suitable for disinformation and the strength of the speed of information dissemination. Therefore, the speed of information dissemination is important when sharing information on social media. Social media, which is the media most used by the public in times of crisis, spreads information very quickly through “bot” accounts. Therefore, while creating the social media strategy and content, it can be ensured that the information to be shared can be rapidly disseminated, especially by determining the prime time of the public at day intervals. This statistical information is easily determined in social media channels. One of the results in the analysis section is that the countries examined use different social media channels at different rates. Accordingly, the specific communication channel plan for the public to be affected should be used to manage the image and perception. For example, during the Ukraine-Russia war, Russia stopped using all social media channels originating from the USA and broadcasts on its own channels. In this context, Russia will not be able to reach the public through broadcasts on Twitter or Facebook. Planning needs to be redesigned in times of crisis.

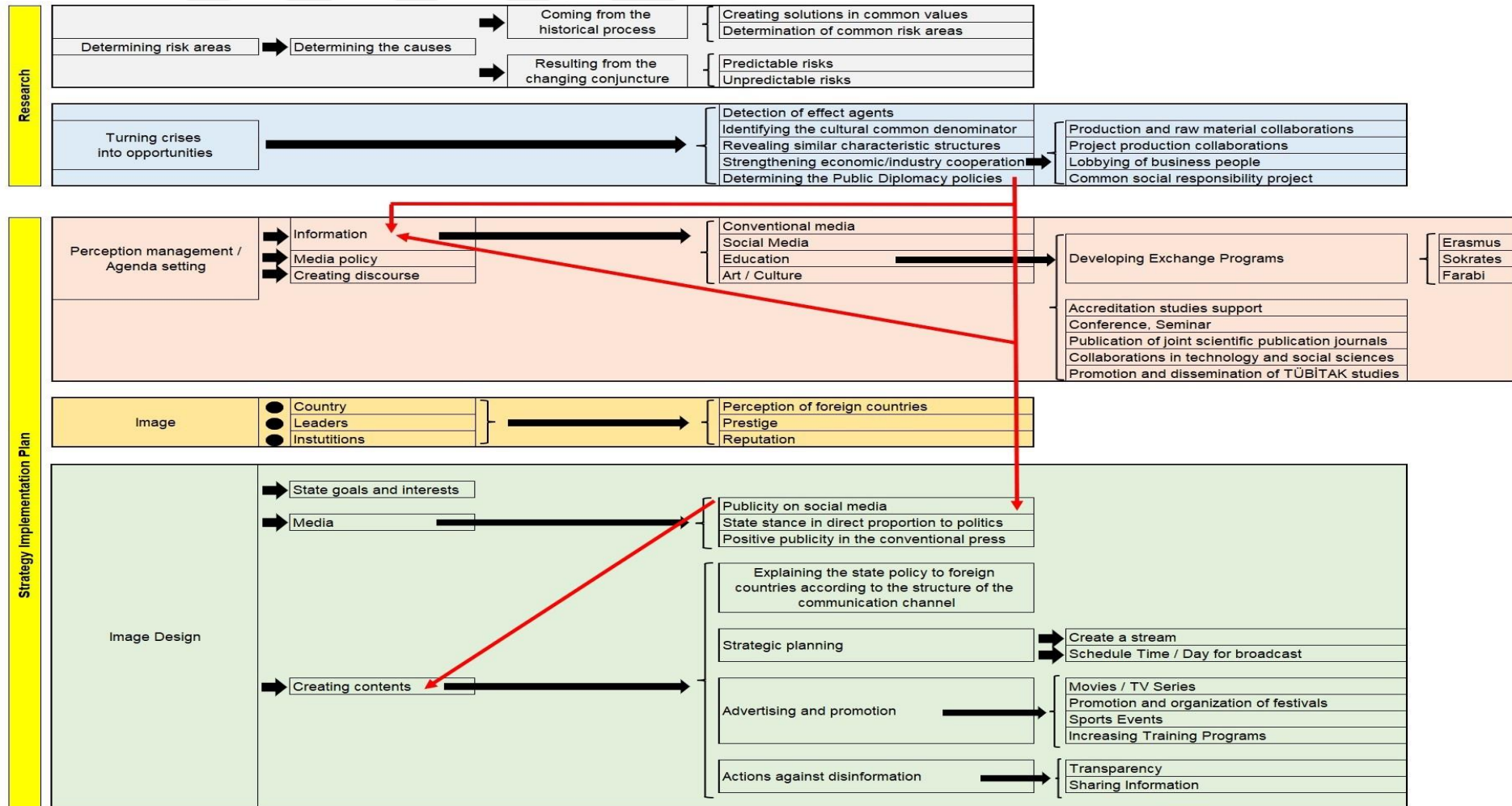
Finally, while fighting against disinformation in social media, it is necessary to provide fast and accurate information, transparency, and rapid dissemination of accurate information. For this reason, it will be an effective method to create

information content at regular intervals and in a way that ensures continuity in order to fight against disinformation spreading rapidly with bot accounts.

The models of Türkiye's Public Diplomacy below Figure 8 in the next page.



Figure 8 The models of Türkiye's Public Diplomacy



REFERENCES

- Abratt, R. (1989). *A New Approach to the Corporate Image Management Process*. Journal of Marketing Management, 5(1), 63-76.
- Aktaş, M. (2015). *Demokrasi Kavramına Eleştirel Bir Bakış*. Muş Alparslan Üniversitesi Social Science Journal, 3(1), 87-105.
- Avar, Y. (2016, November 25). *TÜİK Academy*. Retrieved 12 13, 2021 from <https://www.tuicakademi.org/devletlerarasi-iliskilerin-gelisimi-diplomasi-tarihi/>
- Avşar, Ö. A. (2019). *Nitelikli Demokrasi Bağlamında Demokrasi ve E-Demokrasi İlişkisi*. Uluslararası Yönetim İktisat ve İşletme Dergisi, 15(4), 1101-1118.
- Aydemir, E. (2018). *Kamu Diplomasisi*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Publication.
- Aziz, A. (2007). *Siyasal iletişim: Siyasal İletişim Olgu ve Süreci, Siyasal İletişimde Yöntem ve Teknikler, Siyasal Partilerde İletişim, Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler ve Seçim Kampanyaları* (Second edition). Ankara: Nobel Publication.
- Barkawi, T., & Laffey, M. (1999). *The Imperial Peace: Democracy, Force and Globalization*. SAGE Journal, 5(4), 403-434. doi:10.1177/1354066199005004001
- Bektaş, F. (2010). *Örgütsel İmaj ve Örgüt Kültürü: Öğretmen Adayı Örneğinde Nedensel Bir Araştırma*. Eğitim ve İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi/Journal of Education and Humanities / Theory and Practice, 1(Summer), 5-18.
- Berkman, H. W., & Gilson, C. C. (1987). *Advertising Concept and Strategies*. Random House.
- Callimarr, P., & Reveron, D. (2003). *China’s Use of Perception Management*. International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, 16, 1–15. doi: 10.1080=08850600390121430
- Ceyhan, A. İ. (2018). *Siyasal İletişimde Kamu Diplomasisi*. Ankara: Akademisyen Publication.
- Chomsky, N. (1993). *Medya Denetimi*. İstanbul: Tümm zamanlar Publicaiton.
- Colleagues from US, *Europe expected to use all possibilities to "punish" Russia — Lavrov*. (2022, 02 22). TASS Russian News Agency: retrieved from <https://tass.com/politics/1408451>

Cull, N. J. (2006, 04 18). "Public Diplomacy" Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase. USC Center on Public Diplomacy. University of Southern California. Retrieved 03 18, 2019 from <https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/public-diplomacy-gullion-evolution-phrase>

Cull, N. J. (2009). Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press.

Cumuriyet Gazetesi. (2022, August 23). AB'den Rusya, Çin ve Türkiye'ye suçlama: Emperyalist emelleri var. İstanbul.

Dahl, R. A. (1971). Polyharchy: Participation and Opposition. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Dahl, R. A. (2003). Democratic policies in advanced countries: Success and Challenge. New Worldwide Hegemony: Alternatives for Change and Social Movements, 51-70. Retrieved from <http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/ar/libros/hegeing/Dahl.Pdf>.

Dahl, R. A. (2021). Demokrasi Üzerine (Sixth edition). (B. Kadioğlu, Tra.) Ankara: Phoenix Publication.

Darlington, R. (2021, December 03). Russian Political System. Retrieved December 13, 2021 from [rogerdarlington: http://www.rogerdarlington.me.uk/Russianpoliticalsystem.html](http://www.rogerdarlington.me.uk/Russianpoliticalsystem.html)

Demir, F. (1998). Demokrasilerde Hükümet Sistemleri ve Başkanlık Hükümeti Rejimi. İzmir: EĞİAD. Retrieved from <https://www.egiad.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/arastirma-raporlari/demokrasilerde-hukumet-sistemleri.pdf>

Demir, N. (2010). Demokrasinin Temel İlkeleri ve Modern Demokrasi Kuramları. Ege Akademik Bakış / Ege Academic Review, 10(2), 597-611.

Denton, R. E., & Woodward, G. C. (1990). Political Communication in America. New York: Preager.

Doyle, M. W. (1986, December). Liberalism and World Politics. American Political Science Review, 1151-1169.

DW News. (2022, 03 23). Retrieved 05 16, 2022 from <https://www.dw.com/en/germany: https://www.dw.com/en/germany-chancellor-scholz-vows-to-help-ukraine-in-speech-to-parliament/a-61227132>

Ekmen, B. (2021, July). Zorlayıcı Diplomasi Bağlamında Küba Füze Krizi'nin Analizi. *The Journal of Diplomatic Research-Diplomasi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 91-108.

Erdem, K. (2014). D. D. Yıldız, & H. Y. Kaya (Ed.) içinde, *Karşılaştırmalı Hükümet Sistemleri Yarı-Başkanlık Sistemi: Fransa, Polonya ve Rusya Örnekleri* (s. 173-228). Ankara: TBMM Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.

Erkul, H., Kara, H., & Şimşek, S. (2016). ABD ve Almanya Yerel Yönetimlerinin Karşılaştırılması. *Yönetim Bilimleri Dergisi / Journal of Administrative Sciences*, 14(27), 33-58.

Erzen, M. Ü. (2014). *Kamu Diplomasisi*. İstanbul: Derin Publicaiton.

Faris, D. M. (2013). From the Age of Secrecy to the Age of Sharing: Social media, Diplomacy, and Statecraft in the 21st Century. S. Kalathil into, *Diplomacy in the Information Age* (s. 35-50). Washington: Institute for the study of diplomacy.

Freedom House. (2021). *Freedom in the World 2021 Methodology*. Retrieved 10 19, 2021 from file:///C:/Users/sinemden.oylumlu/Downloads/FreedomInTheWorld_2021_Methodology_Checklist_of_Questions.pdf

Freedom House. (2022). Retrieved 05 16, 2022 from freedomhouse.org: <https://freedomhouse.org/reports/freedom-world/freedom-world-research-methodology>

Gilboa, E. (2006, March 17). Mass Communication and Diplomacy: A Theoretical Framework. *Communication Theory*, 10(3), s. 275-309. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2000.tb00193.x

Gilboa, E. (2008, March). Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 55-77.

gov.uk. (2022, 03 24). Retrieved 05 16, 2022 from gov.uk: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-meeting-with-president-erdogan-of-Türkiye-24-march-2022> adresinden alındı

Gözer, K. (1998, Kasım-Aralık). Cumhuriyet ve Monarşi. *Türkiye Günlüğü* (53), 27-34. Retrieved Türk from Anayasa Hukuku: www.anayasa.gen.tr/cumhuriyet.htm

Gözler, K. (2013). *Anayasa Hukukuna Giriş*. Bursa: Ekin Kitabevi.

Göztepe, E. (2010). Çoğunlukçu Demokrasi Anlayışına Karşı Çoğulcu Demokrasi Modelleri: NormatifDüzenleme Olanakları ve Bunun SınırlılığınıÜzerine Bazı Düşünceler. Çoğulcu Demokrasi Çoğunlukçu Demokrasi İkilemi ve İnsan Hakları Toplantısı. 10, s. 130-176. Ankara: Türkiye Barolar Birliği. Retrieved 11 11, 2021 from chrome extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/viewer.html?pdfurl=http%3A%2F%2Ftbbyayinlari.barobirlik.org.tr%2FTBBBooks%2Fcogulcu-demokrasi.pdf&cflen=21704051&chunk=true

Grieco, J. M. (1988). *Anarchy And The Limits Of Cooperation: A Realist Critique Of The Newest Liberal Institutionalism*. International Organization, 42(3), 485-507.

Güçyetmez, M. (2017). *Karşılaştırmalı Demokrasi Modelleri ve Hükümet Sistemleriyle İlişkisi*. Hacettepe HFD, 7(1), 479–496.

Gül, H., Kamalak, İ., & Gül, S. S. (2017, December). *Amerikan Başkanlık ve Fransız Yarı-Başkanlık Sistemleri Işığında Türkiye'nin Yeni Cumhurbaşkanlığı Hükümeti Sistemi*. Strategic Public Management Journal, 3 (Special Issue), 101-120.

Gülsünler, M. E., & Tahmaz, Ş. (2020, January). Siyasal İletişim ve Algı Yönetimi İlişkisinin İdeolojik Açıdan Değerlendirilmesi. Erciyes İletişim Dergisi, 7(1), 321-344.

Gurr, T. R. (2010). *Why Men Rebel* (Vol. The Fortieth Anniversary hardcover edition). New York: Taylor & Francis.

Gürsoy, Y. (2018). *Rejim Değişiklikleri: Otoriterleşme ve Demokratikleşme*. S. Sayarı, & H. D. Bilgin içinde, *Karşılaştırmalı Siyaset Temel Konular ve Yaklaşımlar* (s. 76-100). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Habermas, J. (1996 (1962)). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere an Inquiry into a Category*. Cambridge: Polity.

Habermas, J. (2012). "Öteki" olmak "Öteli ile Yaşamak" Siyaset Kuramı Yazıları (6 b.). (B. Tut, Ed., & İ. Aka, Tra.) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Hakyemez, Y. Ş. (2003). Çoğunlukçu Demokrasi Anlayışı, Rousseau ve Türk Anayasaları Üzerindeki Etkisi. Retrieved 06 02, 2021 from Dergipark: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/628756>

Hennen, L. (2016). The European Public Sphere and the Internet. R. Ralf, A. Georg, & H. Leonhard (Ed.) içinde, *Electronic Democracy in Europe: An Introduction*. Switzerland: Springer.

Huntington, S. P. (1996). Üçüncü Dalga: Yirminci Yüzyıl Sonlarında Demokratlaşma. (Ergun Özbudun, Tra.) Ankara: Yetkin Yayınları.

Hyman, G. F. (2003). Complicating the Already Complicated: Diplomacy, Development, and the New Media. S. Kalathil into, *Diplomacy Development and Security in the Information Age* (s. 63-78). Washington: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

Işık, S. (2017). J. J. Rousseau ve Egemenlik Anlayışı Üzerine. İnönü Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi, 8(2), 79-98. doi:DOI: 10.21492/inuhfd.336067

J.Linz, J. (1990). The Perils of Presidentialism. *Journal of Democracy*, 1(1), 51-69. doi:10.1353/jod.1990.0011

Jervis, R. (1999). Realism, Neoliberalism and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate. *International Security*, 24(1), 42–63.

Kalathil, Shanthi. (2013). Diplomacy Development and Security in the Information Age. S. Kalathil, S. Arsène, D. Faris, & S. G. Crai (Ed) into, *Transparency and Volatility: International Relations in the Information*.

Kalfa, C., & Ataay, F. (2015, Ekim). Rousseau ve Çoğunlukçu Demokrasi Anlayışı. *Alternatif Politika*, 7(3), 457-489. Retrieved from <https://alternatifpolitika.com/>

Kama, S. (2016, 10 30). Parlamenter Hükümet Sistemi Olarak “Westminster Modeli” Britanya Örneği Üzerine Bir Deneme. *Marmara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Hukuk Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 22(2), 161-201.

Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü. (n.d.). Retrieved 06 10, 2021 from kamudiplomasisi.org: <https://kamudiplomasisi.org/component/content/article/39/61-kamu-diplomasisikaynaklari.html>

Karabulut, B. (2018). Uluslararası İlişkilerde İmaj Yönetimi: Ulus Markalaşması Örneği. *Uluslararası Kriz ve Siyaset Araştırmaları dergisi*, 2(2), 169-192.

Kissinger, H. (2000). Diplomasi. (İ. H. Kurt, Tra.) İstanbul: İşbankası Kültür Yayınları.

Kitchen, N. (2010). Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation. *Review of International Studies*, 36(1), 117-143.

Koçel, T. (2005). *İşletme Yöneticiliği*. İstanbul: Arıkan Yayınları.

Köksoy, E. (2014). Kamu Diplomasisi ve Halkla İlişkiler İlişkisi: Kuramsal Bir Değerlendirme. *Marmara İletişim Dergisi* (22), . 211-231.

Korkmaz, T. (2016, 11 09). Hükümet Sistemleri ve Türkiye Üzerine Bir Analiz. *Akademik Hassasiyetler*, 43-57. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/270522>

Kunczik, M. (2016). *Images of Nations and International Public Relations*. New York: Routledge.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1992). *Hegemonya ve Sosyalist Strateji*. (A. Kardam, & D. Şahiner, Tra.) İstanbul: Birikim Publication.

Leonard, M., Stead, C., & Smewing, C. (2002). *Public Diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Centre.

Levitsky, S., & Way, L. A. (2002, April). The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 51-65. Retrieved from https://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/files/SL_elections.pdf

Levy, J. S. (2008). Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy: The Contributions of Alexander George. *Political Psychology*, 29(4), 537-552.

Lippmann, W. (1954 (1922)). *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan.

Luke, J. (1824). *Two Treatises of Government*. London: Longman and Co.

Maurice, O. U., Kanayo, O., & Nancy, S. (2014). A Comparative Analysis of the Interplay of Administrative and Political Structures of the Legislature in the Legislative Procedures of Selected Federal Systems. *Procedures1 of Selected Federal Systems*, 41(1), 27-35.

McNair, B. (1995). *Brian McNair An introduction to Political Communication (Third Edition)*. London and New York: Routledge.

Metin, Y., & Erece, B. (2016). Bölge Devlet ve Federal Devlet Mukayesesi: İspanya ve Federal Almanya Örneği. *Bölge Devlet ve Federal Devlet Mukayesesi: İspanya ve Federal Almanya Örneği*, Retrieved 06 07, 2019 from <http://dergipark.org.tr/mdergi/issue/24952/263404>

Mine İnanç Demir. (2018). Siyasal İletişim: Kavramsal Bir Derleme. Uluslararası Sanat Kültür ve İletişim Dergisi, 1(1), 79-104.

Morgenthau, H. (1948). Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace. Chicago: Alfred Knoff.

NATO 2030: United for a New Era (2020). NATO.

Newton, K., & Deth, J. W. (2010). Foundations of Comparative Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Newton, K., & Deth, J. W. (2010). Karşılaştırmalı Siyasetin Temelleri. (E. Saraçoğlu, Tra.) Ankara: Phoenix Publication.

Nicholson, S. H. (1942). Diplomacy. London: Oxford University.

Nicolson, H. (1939). Diplomacy. London: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.14552/page/n5/mode/2up>

Niță, A. M. (2014, s. 309). The Importance of Image Management for a Good Society. Revista De Cercetare Si Interventie Sociala, 44, 308-320.

Nye, J. S. (2004). Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. New York: Public Affairs.

Nye, J. S. (2008). Public Diplomacy and Soft Power. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 616, 94-109.

Nye, J. S. (2011). Neorealism and Neoliberalism. World Politics, 40 (2), 235–251.

Gemici, O. O. (2022, 05 01). Anadolu Agency. Retrieved 05 16, 2022 from aa.com.tr: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/kalin-istanbul-surecinin-devam-ettirilmesi-rusya-ukrayna-savasinin-sonlandirilmasinda-kilit-rol- oynayabilir/2577328>

Ortaylı, İ. (2007). Evrensel Barış Projeleri. 24, s. 367-371. Anayasa Yargısı. Retrieved 12 19, 2021 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/issue-file/27359>

Öymen, O. (2002). Silahsız Savaş. İstanbul: Remzi Bookstore.

Özdemir, A. (2021, 7 1). Cumhurbaşkanlığı Hükümet Sisteminin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İdari Teşkilatına Getirdiği Yenilikler. Journal of Academic Value Studies, 7(3), 284-297.

Özdemir, G. (2010). Çoğunlukçu Demokrasi Anlayışına Karşı Çoğunlukçu Demokrasi Modelleri. E. Göztepe (Ed.) into, Çoğunlukçu Demokrasi–Çoğunlukçu Demokrasi İkilemi ve İnsan Hakları (s. 130-173). Ankara: TBB Publication.

Özkan, A. (2007). Siyasal İletişim Stratejileri. İstanbul: Tasam Publication.

Özkan, D. D. (2015). 21. Yüzyılın Stratejik Vizyonu Kamu Diplomasisi ve Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisi İmkânları. TASAM.

Parliament and the Government. (n.d.). Retrieved 12 12, 2021 from UK Parliament: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/how/role/relations-with-other-institutions/parliament-government/>

Payam, M. M. (2008). Güvenlik Bağlamında Güç Kullanımı ve Algı(lama) Yönetimi. *Mecmua Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 3(5), 15-25.

Powell, R. (1991). Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory. *The American Political Science Review*, 85(4), 1303–1320.

Poyraz, E., & Dinçer, M. (2016). Public Diplomacy Activities of Türkiye in The Globalizing World. 3(1), 30-48.

President of Russia. (2022, 02 24). Retrieved 05 16, 2022 from President of Russia: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843>

Sartori, G. (2014). Demokrasi Teorisine Geri Dönüş. (T. Karamustafaoğlu, & Turhan, Tra.) Bursa: Sentez Publication.

Savigny, H. (2002). Public opinion, political communication and the internet. *Politics*, 22(1), 1-8.

Schefold, D., & Ayiter, P. D. (1973, December 07). Rousseau'nun Devlet Öğretisinin Tarihselliği ve Güncelliği. Retrieved 11 08, 2021 from Dergipark: <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/viewer.html?pdfurl=https%3A%2F%2Fdergipark.org.tr%2Ftr%2Fdownload%2Farticle-file%2F631741&chunk=true>

Schmidt, A. G. (2001). Demokrasi Kuramlarına Giriş (Second editon, Vol. 152). (K. M. Emin, Tra.) Ankara: Vadi Publication.

Schumpeter, J. A. (2003). Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. London and New York: Stockholm University.

Şener, B. (2012). Savaş ile Barış Arasında Bir Kriz Yönetim Stratejisi Olarak Zorlayıcı Diplomasi ve Türk Dış Politikasındaki Örnekleri. *New Security Ecosystem and Multilateral Cost*, 157-190.

Siegel, P. C. (2005). Perception Management: IO's Stepchild. *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement*, 13(2), 117-134.

Signitzer, B. H., & Coombs, T. (1992). Public relations and public diplomacy: Conceptual Convergences. *Public Relations Review*, 18(2), 137-147.

Sönmezoğlu, F. (2014). *Uluslararası Politika ve Dış Politika Analizi*. İstanbul: D&R Publication.

Taşmurat, T. (2019). Siyasal iletişim süreci ve siyasal mesaj stratejileri. *Nosyon: International Journal of Society and Culture Studies*, 2, 64-79.

TBMM. (1961, April 18). [tbmm.gov.:](https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc068/kanuntbmmc068/kanuntbmmc06803042.pdf) Retrieved from https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc068/kanuntbmmc068/kanuntbmmc06803042.pdf

The Constitution Center of US. (n.d.). The Constitution of the United States. Retrieved 6 05, 2019 from [constitutioncenter.org: https://constitutioncenter.org/media/files/constitution.pdf](https://constitutioncenter.org/media/files/constitution.pdf)

The Constitution of the Russian Federation. (2014). Retrieved 12 16, 2021 from The Constitution: <http://www.constitution.ru/en/10003000-06.htm>

The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms. (2009, August 19). Retrieved May 01, 2022 from [archive.org: https://web.archive.org/web/20091108082044/http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/new_pubs/jp1_02.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20091108082044/http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/new_pubs/jp1_02.pdf)

The Economist Intelligence Units. (2007). Democracy Index 2007. Retrieved 10 19, 2021 from The Economist: chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/viewer.html?pdfurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.economist.com%2Fmedia%2Fpdf%2Fdemocracy_index_2007_v3.pdf&clem=103127&chunk=true

The State Duma Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. (2018, November 09). Retrieved 12 13, 2021 from The Political System of the Russian Federation: President and Government: <http://duma.gov.ru/en/news/28748/>

Tilly, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Newbery: Award Records, Inc.

Tocqueville, A. D. (2016). *Amerika'da Demokrasi (Vol. 1)*. (S. S. Özdemir, Tra.) İletişim Publication.

Tokgöz, O. (2010). *Seçimler, Siyasal Reklamlar ve Siyasal İletişim*. Ankara: İmge Bookstore.

Trott, P. (2005). *Innovation Management and New Product Development* (Third edition). England: Pearson Education Limited.

Tuch, H. N. (1990). *Communicating with the World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tuncer, H. (2015). *Eski ve Yeni Diplomasi* (PhD Thesis Summary). Ankara University SBF Journal, 37(1), 251-257.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası. (1982, 10 18). Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Retrieved from <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/viewer.html?pdfurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.icisleri.gov.tr%2Fkurumlar%2Ficisleri.gov.tr%2FicSite%2Filleridaresi%2FMevzuat%2FKanunlar%2FAnayasa.pdf&clen=1036301&chunk=true>

UK Parliament. (n. d). Retrieved 12 12, 2021 from Anglo-Saxon origins: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/originsofparliament/birthofparliament/overview/origis/>

UK Parliament. (n.d). Retrieved 12 12, 2021 from the contents of Magna Carta: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/originsofparliament/birthofparliament/overview/magnacarta/magnacartaclauses/>

Ukrinform. (2022, 05 20). Retrieved 05 16, 2022 from [ukrinform.net: https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3464012-zelensky-asks-portugal-for-tanks-apcs-antiship-missiles.html](https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3464012-zelensky-asks-portugal-for-tanks-apcs-antiship-missiles.html)

Uygun, O. (2014). *Devlet Teorisi*. İstanbul: Oniki Levha Publication Ltd.

Uygun, O. (2020). *Demokrasi: Tarihsel, Siyasal ve Felsefi Boyutlar* (Reviewed fourth edition). İstanbul: Oniki Levha Publication Ltd.

Viotti, P. R., & Kauppi, M. V. (2016). *Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorileri*. (M. Aksoy, Tra.) Ankara: Nobel Bokstore.

Waltz, K. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*.

Wendt, A. (1999). *Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics*. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391-425.

Whitehouse Briefing Room. (2022, 06 March). Retrieved May 16, 2022 from [whitehouse.gov: https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-)

releases/2022/03/02/a-message-to-the-congress-on-the-continuation-of-the-national-emergency-with-respect-to-ukraine/ (USA 02 03 2, Position 6)

Yakış, Y. (2019, 11 26). Parlamenter Diplomasi. Retrieved 12 19, 2021 from yasaryakis.com.tr: <https://www.yasaryakis.com.tr/parlamenter-diplomasi/>

Yalçındağ, S. (1992). Federal Almanya ve Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimler. Ankara.

Yazar, F. (2020). Kamu Diplomasisi: Kriz Yönetimi Yaklaşımları. Ankara: Nobel Scientific Publication.



APPENDIX A: Information Propagation Speed on Tweeter

#	Date / Time	Tweet	Hashtags	Type	Replies	Account Owner / Writer	Real Name of Writer	Writer's Location	Followers	Tweets	Profile acceptance	Profile date	Re tweeter	Likes	Language	Sources
1	5/17/2022 03:38:06	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		amir_panjshir	○● Tajik	Washington, DC	269	6250	false	7/28/2009 05:20:00	9735	0	English	Twitter Web App
2	5/17/2022 03:38:06	RT @lesiavasylenko: 53 wounded from #Azovstal and 210 Azov battalion soldiers evacuated. To territories occupied by #Russia. This is step 1...	Azovstal Russia	Retweet		atari101000	atari		254	33508	false	7/1/2009 14:17:40	334	0	English	Twitter for Android
3	5/17/2022 03:38:05	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		amalfull1000	nadine		254	73368	false	1/15/2011 14:21:48	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
4	5/17/2022 03:38:05	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		GermanDeAlmagro	Germán de Almagro	Almagro, CABA, Argentina	122	35330	false	1/28/2012 00:04:12	1421	0	English	Twitter Web App
5	5/17/2022 03:38:03	RT @MDAhidulIslam5: #Lavrov: For those who cannot sleep because of the Russia #Ukraine #conflict, I give advice: Imagine that this is what...	Lavrov Ukraine conflict	Retweet		HusseinBrasil	Hussein - BBRJustiça #FreeAssangeNOW	Rio de Janeiro, Brasil	4011	2E+05	false	1/19/2013 02:54:34	4	0	English	Twitter Web App
6	5/17/2022 03:38:03	RT @60Minutes: "We're headed into an entirely new era of human rights investigations and war crimes investigations," says Berkeley professo...		Retweet		gatomalofo	KiwiforUkraine		23	191	false	5/6/2022 02:42:36	191	0	English	Twitter Web App
7	5/17/2022 03:38:02	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		Balazs81566786	Balazs Molnar	Budaörs	50	476	false	11/26/2020 07:57:10	1421	0	English	Twitter for Android
8	5/17/2022 03:38:02	RT @__adn: In the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, thousands of people shared pro-Milosevic revisionism/Bosnian genocide denial from...		Retweet		merovingians	a nosy archaeologist says vote AND ua	York, our Green & Septic isle	1554	2E+05	false	5/12/2013 23:48:44	31	0	English	Twitter for Android
9	5/17/2022 03:38:02	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		BrendaWeese	Brenda Weese	West Virginia, USA	1712	4E+05	false	5/3/2012 23:39:29	16	0	English	Twitter for Android
10	5/17/2022 03:38:02	RT @terror_alarm: 🇺🇦 NATO pledges Never-Ending aid to #Ukraine as Russia threatens the global security and world order. https://t.co/ZJLB...	Ukraine	Retweet		Profil_usuniety	Myślzbrodnia		90	15632	false	10/19/2021 23:49:28	12	0	English	Twitter Web App

11	5/17/2022 03:38:01	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Satiristas	jSATIRISTAS!	United States	4712	3E+05	false	3/16/2010 23:52:18	9734	0	English	Twitter Web App
12	5/17/2022 03:38:01	RT @CesarBI90732775: Rusia va a estar más saludable... McDonald's saldra de Russia por la guerra con Ukraine		Retweet		Aemon3428	Aemon Targaryan ✖	Poniente	15838	6E+05	false	11/28/2013 06:02:48	2	0	Spanish	Twitter Web App
13	5/17/2022 03:38:00	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		drvasili	BILL DANIEL		25	6361	false	9/13/2010 18:53:44	368	0	English	Twitter Web App
14	5/17/2022 03:38:00	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Wealth_Man	Scott McKenzie	Toronto, Canada	401	12451	false	6/13/2010 00:02:11	9734	0	English	Twitter Web App
15	5/17/2022 03:38:00	RT @cnni: A Russian merchant ship loaded with grain stolen in Ukraine has been turned away from at least one Mediterranean port and is now...		Retweet		mariaporfy	Maria Porfyratos	Kifisia, Greece	434	1E+05	false	9/23/2011 13:38:15	81	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
16	5/17/2022 03:38:00	RT @McFaul: So many call for Biden to end Russia's invasion of Ukraine war through diplomacy. Why do they never call for PUTIN to end the w...		Retweet		12beats208	Me and the beasts		46	716	false	5/4/2022 00:17:50	5154	0	English	Twitter Web App

17	5/17/2022 03:38:00	Europe's efforts to punish Russia economically for invading #Ukraine have hit Germany the hardest among European countries surveyed, with 53% of German adults saying they are worse off than a year ago. https://t.co/nLErZW0wld https://t.co/jRGdEUVPYx	Ukraine	Tweet		MorningConsult	Morning Consult		53848	41572	true	5/30/2010 20:23:44	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
18	5/17/2022 03:37:59	RT @mrsorokaa: There's no official information yet, but it looks like some sort of agreement was reached between Ukraine and Russia concern...		Retweet		Chester_Cheong	Chester Cheong	Petaling, Selangor	70	4086	false	10/8/2017 07:34:05	307	0	English	Twitter for Android
19	5/17/2022 03:37:59	RT @Hagosweldehans: "Many of the principles that Blinken enunciated regarding Russian aggression in Ukraine also apply perfectly to the con...		Retweet		HiwotGebrekork1	Hiwot Gebrekorkos	saudi Arebia	687	44346	false	12/23/2021 22:28:39	108	0	English	Twitter for Android
20	5/17/2022 03:37:58	-McDonalds is leaving Russia after 30 years because of the war in Ukraine-🍔🇺🇦 https://t.co/K0Nk5XOqmQ		Tweet		JohnBar51443689	John Frederick Barnum	St Petersburg, FL	696	3936	false	8/4/2021 15:02:31	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
21	5/17/2022 03:37:58	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Zelensky: Russia's 'special operation' already failed. President Volodymyr Zelensky said that Russian soldiers who...		Retweet		norbert_schmalz	Norbert Schmalz	Rüthen	467	21857	false	8/6/2012 16:19:03	2743	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
22	5/17/2022 03:37:57	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		kylebrandenber1	kyle brandenberger		44	2584	false	2/26/2022 16:56:24	268	0	English	Twitter Web App

23	5/17/2022 03:37:57	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		JustCoolMonkey	JustMonkey		8	804	false	2/25/2022 08:18:03	9734	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
24	5/17/2022 03:37:57	RT @60Minutes: "I feel it's almost my duty, that when we're faced with all this information showing terrible things that are happening, to...		Retweet		gatomalofo	KiwiforUkraine		23	191	false	5/6/2022 02:42:36	85	0	English	Twitter Web App
25	5/17/2022 03:37:57	RT @RT_com: Ukraine warns of draconian measures to support crashing economy An extended conflict with Russia may lead to huge tax hikes an...		Retweet		aggantesde	ana garcia garcia		998	3E+05	false	9/22/2017 22:21:21	21	0	English	Twitter Web App
26	5/17/2022 03:37:57	RT @fascinatorfun: Here, & this in an article dated 11 Feb - so before the invasion, he says "Most important. An armed conflict with Ukrai...		Retweet		anabl18	Ana Ribeiro ❤️	London, England	1025	1E+05	false	7/15/2015 19:16:01	3	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
27	5/17/2022 03:37:55	RT @McFaul: What Is China Learning From Russia's War in Ukraine? Foreign Affairs https://t.co/yKSsezKvIJ		Retweet		piratJa	Файна Хунта		258	77757	false	6/5/2011 21:56:55	4	0	English	Twitter Web App
28	5/17/2022 03:37:55	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		wpimentel47	william pimentel	Toronto Ontario	14	2918	false	2/21/2022 18:01:33	268	0	English	Twitter Web App
29	5/17/2022 03:37:55	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		FedUpGOPer	Fed Up Republican	Norman, OK	467	1E+05	false	5/18/2012 21:22:07	9734	0	English	TweetDeck
30	5/17/2022 03:37:54	RT @andersostlund: If @EmmanuelMacron and @Bundeskanzler think they can force a dictate peace (Minsk III) on Ukraine they should think agai...		Retweet		dwigsy	Dwight Smith	Sydney, Australia	315	8379	false	4/16/2009 22:31:00	2429	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
31	5/17/2022 03:37:51	RT @cliffordlevy: Estonia's tough stance against Putin: "I only see a solution as a military victory that could end this once and for all,...		Retweet		girl_down_oz	Girl Downunder 🇺🇦🇺 🇺🇦	The Land Downunder! 🇺🇦 🇺🇦	219	16265	false	5/16/2017 04:31:45	120	0	English	Twitter for Android
32	5/17/2022 03:37:51	Live: Fighters leaving Mariupol steel works - Ukraine https://t.co/jmTlwQZldd #Ukraine #Mariupol #Russia #UkraineRussiaWar	Ukraine Mariupol Russia Ukraine Russia War	Tweet		MoRaY1959	Alan G	In the Middle of Nowhere	3744	43985	false	6/17/2009 17:25:15	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
33	5/17/2022 03:37:50	RT @RichardEngel: A NATO official tells @NBCNEWS Russia has lost about 1/3 of the combat power it had when it invaded Ukraine in Feb.		Retweet		HellenaPierro	Hellena Pierro	San Bruno, CA	1812	1E+05	false	2/27/2017 22:11:47	726	0	English	Twitter for iPad
34	5/17/2022 03:37:50	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		nehoez	uaWhereeto	Planet Earth	485	91483	false	3/11/2018 18:08:26	9734	0	English	Twitter Web App

35	5/17/2022 03:37:49	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		MartiniShotLA	martini shot 🍷🍷	in traffic	2208	29613	false	8/28/2020 18:46:52	9734	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
36	5/17/2022 03:37:49	RT @cnni: "Europe was hit this week by yet another abrupt interruption to its supply of natural gas from Russia — the latest incident under...		Retweet		mariaporfy	Maria Porfyratos	Kifisia, Greece	434	1E+05	false	9/23/2011 13:38:15	17	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
37	5/17/2022 03:37:49	RT @FiorellalsabelM: "MapsUkraine," an account relaying info on the Russia-Ukraine conflict has been suspended from Twitter. https://t.co/...		Retweet		stevebait	Thought Criminal		9041	1E+05	false	1/17/2011 00:17:29	281	0	English	Twitter Web App
38	5/17/2022 03:37:49	RT @The_NewArab: Kremlin Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov made strange comments in a video posted online last week saying 'if you 'cannot sle...		Retweet		HusseinBrasil	Hussein - BBRJustiça #FreeAssangeNO W	Rio de Janeiro, Brasil	4011	2E+05	false	1/19/2013 02:54:34	3	0	English	Twitter Web App
39	5/17/2022 03:37:47	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		jdcushman	Jeremiah Cushman	DeeCee Sprawl	1818	2E+05	false	7/29/2011 03:05:40	9734	0	English	Twitter for Android
40	5/17/2022 03:37:47	RT @SnorlaxFan26: Slowly the Atlantic Council/NATO strategy is revealed. The Ukraine War is not just designed to "weaken Russia's military...		Retweet		rRealNeilNash	Nash	England	7465	2E+05	false	5/23/2017 12:31:24	1104	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
41	5/17/2022 03:37:46	>>> https://t.co/5f01bdy70l #News #Philippines #Israel #UAE #China #Russia #India #Japan #SouthKorea #Mexico #UK #Germany #Ukraine #France #Iran #Canada #Italy #Emirates #EU #Australia #Denmark #RussianFederation #GreatBritain #SaudiArabia #Brazil #Tunisia #Ethiopia #Hungary https://t.co/9EG4wbcaVt	News Philippines Israel UAE China Russia India Japan SouthKorea Mexico UK Germany Ukraine France Iran Canada Italy Emirates EU Australia Denmark Russian Federation Great Britain Saudi Arabia Brazil Tunisia Ethiopia Hungary	Tweet		Bbsoe123Henry	THE BEST BIBLE STUDY ON EARTH.		185	1	false	3/16/2015 15:50:40	0	0	Unknown	Twitter Web App
42	5/17/2022 03:37:46	RT @lesiavasylenko: 66 filtration camps have been identified across #Russia. 95000 Ukrainians have been deported and are kept in these inhu...	Russia	Retweet		wendy_dorian	wendydorian _ Save Democracy		2163	96641	false	9/23/2017 03:53:54	460	0	English	Twitter Web App
43	5/17/2022 03:37:46	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		AlixMihay	Mihay alix		235	28695	false	7/9/2018 02:30:11	9734	0	English	Twitter Web App
44	5/17/2022 03:37:45	RT @SocialistMMA: U.S. claims they are fighting "terrorism" in the region How is this any different than Russia's justification of "denazi...		Retweet		RealKrishivA	Krishiv Agarwal		56	758	false	4/14/2022 09:52:32	422	0	English	Twitter for Android

45	5/17/2022 03:37:45	Russia will not get away with trying to redraw Ukraine's borders by creating facts on the ground and waiting out Kyiv and its allies, Olaf Scholz says, insisting that the West would not stand for a "diktat," or dictated, peace forced on the country. https://t.co/0S8wMJwlqq		Tweet		myrddenbuckley	Gary Buckley™	Earth	2190	2E+05	false	5/8/2010 04:30:40	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
46	5/17/2022 03:37:45	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Masky_Jay_Hood y	Creepypasta Slenderverse Fan		1852	6E+05	false	11/1/2009 08:54:24	9734	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
47	5/17/2022 03:37:44	RT @TheStudyofWar: "Russia has likely run out of combat-ready reservists, forcing it to integrate forces from private military companies an...		Retweet		SoundSide24	SoundSide24ua 🌸		787	2E+05	false	6/18/2017 04:13:09	266	0	English	Twitter for iPad

48	5/17/2022 03:37:44	RT @SamRamani2: Switzerland's Defence Ministry is mulling joint military exercises with NATO countries Russia's war with Ukraine has kill...		Retweet		chthonic_79	Chthonic (Using Acct.) CA ❤️ UA PL	Canada	152	17027	false	3/16/2012 02:20:37	373	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
49	5/17/2022 03:37:43	RT @arielmou: This Is No Time to Go Wobbly on Russia by @Kasparov63 https://t.co/CSrVMDpOQm a través de @WSJOpinion		Retweet		Faby_Nava77	Faby Nava Cuarentona MX 🇲🇽 🇲🇽 🌸 🙏	Boca del Río, Veracruz de Igna	11891	1E+06	false	8/9/2018 07:21:16	2	0	English	Twitter for Android
50	5/17/2022 03:37:43	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		kindlee55	peacebee 🇺🇸 🇺🇸 🇺🇸 🇺🇸	Georgia, USA	7379	5E+05	false	2/28/2011 14:38:40	1420	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
51	5/17/2022 03:37:42	RT @FiorellalsabelM: If the U.S & NATO spent all this time highlighting how a country like Russia had zero excuses for "invading" Ukraine a...		Retweet		watarisingapore	watari	Johor, Malaysia	61	3444	false	10/25/2015 21:11:42	863	0	English	Twitter for Android
52	5/17/2022 03:37:42	RT @igorsushko: #CRIMEA: A masked man poured #Ukraine color paint onto the city administration building in #Yevpatoriya in the middle of th...	CRIMEA Ukraine Yevpatoriya	Retweet		mirabust	Mirian Bustamante	San Juan Morros	2141	3E+05	false	8/20/2009 19:43:03	146	0	English	Twitter for Android
53	5/17/2022 03:37:42	Wake up people! Twitter is only getting worse with the censorship 🇺🇸 🇺🇸! Its 2022 and we are STILL having to put up with mccarthyism! Ask yourself WHY. & WHY R we spending more on Ukraine/Russia war then Ukraine OR Russia!? #FreeSpeech #ukraine #UkraineRussianWar #StopCensorship https://t.co/U59QBr8kIH	FreeSpeech ukraine UkraineRussianWar StopCensorship	Tweet		Wulfrache	Wulfrache 🇺🇸	Atlantic City, New Jersey	212	1560	false	10/12/2021 21:28:40	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
54	5/17/2022 03:37:42	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Tiredandangry2	AnonymousHippo potamus		81	7512	false	2/11/2020 08:49:26	9734	0	English	Twitter for Android

55	5/17/2022 03:37:41	@IsmailSabri60 Mungkin tol gan PTPTN tak nampak sangat. Tapi harga barang turun & harga minyak turun, Kita boleh Rasa. Cuba tanya siapa yg naikan harga minyak Ron 97 baru ni? Kalau nak bagi alasan perang Ukraine-russia. Kita negara pengeluar minyak. ☺		Reply	IsmailSabri60	sirkulangka17	John Law 🇲🇾	Sitiawan/Manjuring/Lumut	602	63483	false	2/24/2016 08:49:25	0	0	Indonesia	Twitter for Android
56	5/17/2022 03:37:41	RT @Youblacksoul: 1/2 #Ukraine continues to "fight" its citizens. In Volchansk, #Kharkov region, the #Ukrainian authorities forbade the man...	Ukraine Kharkov Ukrainian	Retweet		happyfinko	Dee Proud Albertan 🇨🇦	Canada	6253	3E+05	false	10/9/2014 20:07:34	62	0	English	Twitter for Android
57	5/17/2022 03:37:41	RT @GicAriana: Nowhere in Ukraine will be safe until Russia is defeated. The only option is the total annihilation of Russian military forc...		Retweet		Peninna95697909	Peninnah		982	83642	false	3/31/2021 22:10:47	75	0	English	Twitter for Android
58	5/17/2022 03:37:40	RT @BSBonner: A Ukrainian unit had to retreat under Russian fire. Its captain stayed and died protecting his troops /via @globeandmail http...		Retweet		alice_erling	Alice Erling	Canada, quebec	22	24	false	4/9/2022 10:38:06	16	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
59	5/17/2022 03:37:39	RT @Blue_Sauron: Russian self-propelled gun goes into a huge explosion after being hit by Ukrainian UAV corrected artillery fire. #Russia #...	Russia	Retweet		jb_bellet	JB Petten	San Francisco	1089	51692	false	8/24/2015 17:25:12	282	0	English	Twitter for iPad
60	5/17/2022 03:37:39	RT @kishineff: Are the people of the Donbas Oblast in Ukraine Russian separatists or Ukrainian or Russia-Ukrainians? Russell Bentley talks...		Retweet		kishineff	Jason Kishineff for Congress CA-4 (I)	American Canyon, CA	23802	73336	true	8/27/2012 10:45:50	5	0	English	Twitter for Android
61	5/17/2022 03:37:39	RT @kmartynov: Guardian пишет, что Путин очень увлекся войной и принимает тактические решения на уровне бригадного генерала. Возможно, его...		Retweet		somoc71955	John Hingst	Iowa, USA	878	52377	false	6/16/2009 03:02:25	21	0	Russian	Twitter for Android
62	5/17/2022 03:37:38	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		mikeyhorse	Mike	Brooklyn, NY	322	52131	false	3/27/2009 17:45:37	9734	0	English	Twitter for Android
63	5/17/2022 03:37:37	RT @PostOpinions: Russia is losing. That might make Putin more dangerous, the Editorial Board writes https://t.co/6ZgrKTPkkZ		Retweet		TihTri	Tihomir Trišić	Belgrade, Republic of Serbia	2076	2E+05	false	8/10/2011 22:07:33	2	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
64	5/17/2022 03:37:37	In Ukraine and Internationally, Scenario Darkens for Russia https://t.co/JOh0BucxHx https://t.co/qroju30f7w		Tweet		NATOlizer	Trending NATO News	Evere, Belgium	3535	1E+05	false	10/14/2014 10:58:09	0	0	English	Lead Stories Feed Publisher
65	5/17/2022 03:37:37	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine	Retweet		b_robban	Robert Björklund	Sweden	82	21647	false	9/7/2012 09:39:15	13	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

66	5/17/2022 03:37:37	@WannerCheryl Yes, thanks for asking! Russia WWII, if you can believe it. The invasion of Ukraine wasn't happening when I started writing 		Reply	WannerCheryl	CatherineAHamil	Catherine A Hamilton	Portland, OR	2513	2939	false	5/1/2012 06:17:22	0	1	English	Twitter for iPhone
67	5/17/2022 03:37:36	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Hungary president: 'We will forever say no to all efforts to restore the Soviet Union.' Katalina Novak, Hungary's...		Retweet		coppert0p	coppertop		10	2234	false	1/18/2013 06:02:25	2760	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
68	5/17/2022 03:37:35	RT @KyivIndependent: The move follows Russia's threats against Finland and Sweden, including a Russian official's statement that they may b...		Retweet		Masky_Jay_Hood y	Creepypasta Slenderverse Fan		1852	6E+05	false	11/1/2009 08:54:24	376	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
69	5/17/2022 03:37:35	RT @MelaniePodolyak: Right now my hometown of Lviv is being hit by cruise missiles. Multiple explosions, anti-aircraft system units are wor...		Retweet		Plantit11	sally d	Portland OR	1030	19380	false	9/6/2019 23:07:16	243	0	English	Twitter Web App
70	5/17/2022 03:37:35	@alxcharlesdukes @JeffBezos No gas prices were hella high before Russia v @Ukraine		Reply	alxcharlesdukes	LukePhi81858820	Luke Phillips	Constantinople	1	28	false	11/1/2021 22:12:10	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
71	5/17/2022 03:37:34	RT @lesiavasylenko: 66 filtration camps have been identified across #Russia. 95000 Ukrainians have been deported and are kept in these inhu...	Russia	Retweet		GermanDeAlmagro	Germán de Almagro	Almagro, CABA, Argentina	122	35330	false	1/28/2012 00:04:12	460	0	English	Twitter Web App
72	5/17/2022 03:37:34	Ukraine latest: Russia pushed back from Kharkiv; Turkey says no to NATO expansion; defenders signal end to Azovstal steelworks siege https://t.co/2BXkdt9mgT via @ABCAustralia		Tweet		JagathKey	Jagath Kumara	Galle, Sri Lanka	490	8139	false	10/2/2010 14:39:49	0	1	English	Twitter Web App
73	5/17/2022 03:37:33	RT @OccupyDemocrats: BREAKING NEWS: In a huge loss for Putin and the Russian economy, McDonald's announces that it is pulling out of Russia...		Retweet		DresslerMarsha	Marsha Ann?		11	17961	false	2/27/2019 01:12:24	1534	0	English	Twitter for Android
74	5/17/2022 03:37:33	RT @Suzy_NotSuzy: General Flynn has filed a \$50M claim against the FBI and Justice Dept for "malicious prosecution" related to the now-disc...		Retweet		KevinBaker412	Kevin Baker	Ohio, USA	4603	48122	false	7/18/2018 19:28:23	136	0	English	Twitter Web App
75	5/17/2022 03:37:32	RT @Great_tgray: Russia's invasion of Ukraine has diverted international attention from conflicts elsewhere, especially of the genocide unf...		Retweet		saymoneyh	haben tgraweyti		819	44780	false	2/8/2022 19:55:55	58	0	English	Twitter for Android
76	5/17/2022 03:37:32	RT @mhmck: Ukraine is now able arm a million people. All of these soldiers are capable of fighting the Russian invaders or simply holding g...		Retweet		PfaffSC	dpfaff		12290	4E+05	false	2/4/2012 18:17:59	210	0	English	Twitter Web App
77	5/17/2022 03:37:31	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		UDumbMeSmart	BLBL		73	927	false	8/25/2021 12:07:18	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
78	5/17/2022 03:37:30	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		waggles111	Alan Kleinman	United States	1840	3E+05	false	9/13/2011 00:43:51	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
79	5/17/2022 03:37:30	RT @LadyPieLives: Michael Flynn files \$50 million claim against feds in prelude to lawsuit over Russia probe https://t.co/5v4GJBSI7C via @J...		Retweet		SamTexan1986	Sam Collins	Houston, Texas	308	1989	false	4/27/2022 06:42:38	377	0	English	Twitter Web App

80	5/17/2022 03:37:29	RT @Telegraph: 🇺🇦 Ukrainian fighters evacuated from the Azovstal plant will be exchanged for captured Russian soldiers, Ukraine's deputy defe...		Retweet		BarCirr	BarCir	Natal, Brasil	369	52967	false	11/29/2021 23:32:17	5	0	English	Twitter for Android
81	5/17/2022 03:37:28	RT @Antiwarcom: Mitch McConnell: 'Name Russia State Sponsor of Terrorism!' @RonPaul #Russia #Ukraine #NATO #MilitaryIndustrialComplex http...	Russia Ukraine NATO Military Industrial Complex	Retweet		the_pr0t0typ3	the_pr0t0typ3	Seaside Heights, NJ	372	3877	false	5/20/2008 07:47:45	7	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
82	5/17/2022 03:37:28	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		FrancoisHabs	François	Québec, Canada	179	778	false	9/13/2014 00:29:59	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPad
83	5/17/2022 03:37:27	RT @McFaul: What Is China Learning From Russia's War in Ukraine? Foreign Affairs https://t.co/yKSsezKvIJ		Retweet		amalfull1000	nadine		254	73368	false	1/15/2011 14:21:48	4	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
84	5/17/2022 03:37:27	RT @ajamubaraka: Accept it or not, from Russia's view it is fighting in Ukraine to keep NATO from significant parts of its borders & the U....		Retweet		PointsNorthe	Points Northe		2025	3E+05	false	3/22/2017 00:00:50	1339	0	English	Twitter Web App
85	5/17/2022 03:37:26	RT @disarmonia: Want no food shortages? End russia. Want no refugee crisis? End russia. Want normal fuel market? End russia.		Retweet		your_psychoo	Kit #SAVEAZOVSTA L UA	Ukraine	2391	1560	false	4/19/2017 19:42:38	139	0	English	Twitter for Android
86	5/17/2022 03:37:26	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Dmarchm	David Marchman		47	1052	false	9/2/2011 04:38:38	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
87	5/17/2022 03:37:25	@DanCrenshawTX Dan I am a registered conservative I agree we should help Ukraine but there has been no help at the southern border there has been no help for the inflation in our country and when we ask questions we get accused of being pro Russia		Tweet	DanCrensh awTX	mitchxxx59	The RealDetroitMitch	Waterford, MI	18	1015	false	6/26/2015 05:52:03	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
88	5/17/2022 03:37:24	RT @lesiavasylenko: 53 wounded from #Azovstal and 210 Azov battalion soldiers evacuated. To territories occupied by #Russia. This is step 1...	Azovstal Russia	Retweet		PfaffSC	dpfaff		12290	4E+05	false	2/4/2012 18:17:59	334	0	English	Twitter Web App
89	5/17/2022 03:37:24	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		PamAqua2017	🕒one decade left to save habitable Earth	CT us	1555	75267	false	2/1/2017 22:17:23	268	0	English	Twitter for iPad
90	5/17/2022 03:37:24	@Tryndaboss @Semerko1 @michaeldweiss @AndreaChalupa The best thing to do would be destroy them. That's what happened to the nukes in Ukraine after the fall of the Soviet Union. If Russia disarms, then their is a conceivable world where nobody has nukes.		Reply	Tryndabos s	RussTaylorPhD	Dr. Russ Taylor	Jurassic Park	1125	44409	false	3/24/2016 23:58:15	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
91	5/17/2022 03:37:23	RT @arielmou: This Is No Time to Go Wobbly on Russia by @Kasparov63 https://t.co/CSrVMDpOQm a través de @WSJOpinion		Retweet		ElyWBlack	Elizabeth UA		594	1E+05	false	7/29/2017 23:43:58	2	0	English	Twitter for Android

92	5/17/2022 03:37:23	RT @Engr_Naveed111: 8: Israel (Establishment also wants to recognize) 9: Limited Trade and ties with China 10: Russia		Retweet		mubeen630	Mubeen	United States	84	4337	false	9/7/2009 23:57:48	211	0	English	Twitter for Android
93	5/17/2022 03:37:21	RT @Great_tgray: International solidarity with Kyiv in the face of Russian aggression is admirable, however Tigrayans who have been brutali...		Retweet		saymoneyh	haben tgraweyti		819	44780	false	2/8/2022 19:55:55	49	0	English	Twitter for Android
94	5/17/2022 03:37:21	RT @RichardEngel: A NATO official tells @NBCNEWS Russia has lost about 1/3 of the combat power it had when it invaded Ukraine in Feb.		Retweet		PaulStewartII	Paul Stewart II	Toronto, Canada	6193	8E+05	false	5/1/2011 23:47:48	726	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
95	5/17/2022 03:37:20	RT @Engr_Naveed111: 8: Israel (Establishment also wants to recognize) 9: Limited Trade and ties with China 10: Russia 11: Airbases for ...		Retweet		Haiderjakhar1	Alihaider Jakhar	Perth, Western Australia	255	26204	false	12/24/2020 11:34:53	211	0	English	Twitter for Android

96	5/17/2022 03:37:20	RT @iverbytskyi: So why did Russia invade Ukraine, but it's not invading Finland? The answer is that it is not about NATO, and it never was...		Retweet		anijaZam	Ankica Merkša	Zagreb	577	5513	false	8/26/2009 16:46:32	949	0	English	Twitter for iPad
97	5/17/2022 03:37:20	RT @searche02540804: Show this to all those retard friends of yours that think we need to nuke Russia because of Ukraine Russia good Ukrai...		Retweet		Brockathy	Kathryn Hoover Brock	Blue Mountain Beach, Florida	1914	65007	false	5/19/2010 14:34:05	56	0	English	Twitter Web App
98	5/17/2022 03:37:19	RT @FiorellalsabelM: If the U.S & NATO spent all this time highlighting how a country like Russia had zero excuses for "invading" Ukraine a...		Retweet		alapresidence	wonderpalm	Germany	739	1E+05	false	9/17/2015 04:27:32	863	0	English	Twitter Web App
99	5/17/2022 03:37:19	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		joslyne_raquel	Joslyne	Galt's Gulch	2986	20089	false	10/3/2016 22:50:13	195	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
100	5/17/2022 03:37:18	RT @BSBonner: A Ukrainian unit had to retreat under Russian fire. Its captain stayed and died protecting his troops /via @globeandmail http...		Retweet		bn880	BN880	Canada	227	15917	false	9/26/2009 21:22:00	16	0	English	Twitter Web App
101	5/17/2022 03:37:18	UK: Russia has lost one third of combat forces in Ukraine https://t.co/liQXfJySua via @YouTube		Tweet		FalkoInc	Falko Luedtke	Vancouver, BC	1475	13954	false	3/31/2008 20:13:58	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
102	5/17/2022 03:37:18	RT @RALee85: Ukraine published documents reportedly from Russia's 1st Tank Army showing its losses through March 15. It lists: 61 KIA, 209...		Retweet		bradet2016	boekarest		52	20723	false	11/8/2016 10:03:22	1347	0	English	Twitter Web App
103	5/17/2022 03:37:17	#Hitler interfered in similar fashion to disastrous ends - none of #Vlad's Generals would dare oppose him. What blunders he's already committed will surely only worsen	Hitler Vlad Putin Ukraine	Tweet		OpTrusteeLG	OpTrusteeLG	United States	1019	46478	false	5/16/2011 02:10:58	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
104	5/17/2022 03:37:16	RT @andersostlund: If @EmmanuelMacron and @Bundestkanzler think they can force a dictate peace (Minsk III) on Ukraine they should think		Retweet		melenchonov	Sergey Melenchonov	Genève, Suisse	146	6553	false	3/1/2022 12:16:39	2429	0	English	Twitter for Android

115	5/17/2022 03:37:07	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		Marylvs2sing	 Mary B.	Pennsylvania, USA	1607	12957	false	10/15/2013 22:42:01	16	0	English	Twitter for Android
116	5/17/2022 03:37:07	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		Las4Liberty	LisaMarie	USA	3538	39939	false	5/5/2016 03:26:22	368	0	English	Twitter for iPad
117	5/17/2022 03:37:06	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		FataleFun	fun_fatale		445	8971	false	9/25/2019 03:10:15	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
118	5/17/2022 03:37:05	RT @RobinBrooksIIF: The global economy is teetering on the brink of recession. The two biggest export economies - Germany (blue) and China...		Retweet		TheAltraman	Altraman		6	30	false	10/3/2021 12:43:52	78	0	English	Twitter Web App
119	5/17/2022 03:37:05	@JeffLeb89313977 @ILoveDaStock @AP "260 Ukrainian fighters surrender in a blow to Russia" lol how are you this delusional? Russia is winning and Ukraine has zero chance.		Reply	JeffLeb89313977	cheeto_roger	 Shitpost Malone	New Orleans, LA	11	396	false	2/19/2018 18:50:24	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
120	5/17/2022 03:37:05	RT @jsolomonReports: Michael Flynn files \$50 million claim against feds in prelude to lawsuit over Russia probe Just The News https://t.c...		Retweet		veganvecoh	Marie		35174	3E+05	false	9/9/2015 01:55:49	691	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
121	5/17/2022 03:37:04	RT @iverbytskyi: So why did Russia invade Ukraine, but it's not invading Finland? The answer is that it is not about NATO, and it never was...		Retweet		Dreamer2909	NatureGirl	USA	38	1965	false	5/17/2009 03:06:39	949	0	English	Twitter Web App
122	5/17/2022 03:37:04	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		kindeegooly	Kindeegooly		315	1E+05	false	3/16/2021 19:19:09	9735	0	English	Twitter for Android
123	5/17/2022 03:37:04	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		SoftArtoday	Moved account		279	31692	false	10/26/2009 14:20:26	368	0	English	Twitter Web App
124	5/17/2022 03:37:04	@spartan_odst @zhangz1105 @Reuters What?? Your troops are still in Iraq till this day. The present government of Iraq is still the puppet you guys put in power. Like you put a puppet in Afghanistan but got chased out in 2 minutes. Btw, Russia can make same claims you are making of Saddam about Ukraine President		Reply	spartan_odst	Enixword	okhai stev enix	North Pole	88	3159	false	11/10/2012 20:06:12	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
125	5/17/2022 03:37:04	RT @nytimes: Russian forces in Ukraine have underperformed to a degree that has surprised most Western analysts, raising the prospect that...		Retweet		OfftheHenn	Henry	California, USA	34	3111	false	10/31/2018 07:36:21	60	0	English	Twitter Web App
126	5/17/2022 03:37:04	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		CollapseTalkPod	Collapse Talk	Texas, USA	7772	4748	false	6/12/2018 22:04:46	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

127	5/17/2022 03:37:03	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		jenniferholton7	jennifer holton	Texas, USA	1425	91830	false	5/28/2016 17:06:21	9735	0	English	Twitter for Android
128	5/17/2022 03:37:02	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		LindseyC57	Lady Lindsey GenieHelm UA	Angerland, Dis- United Kingdom	5479	20251	false	7/3/2019 00:20:19	9735	0	English	Twitter for Android
129	5/17/2022 03:37:02	Ukrainian forces push Russians out of Kharkiv region, back over border https://t.co/2YxkEyE4Bi @nypost - As I've said, Ukraine is Russia's Viet Nam, on steroids. The fact that millions of Ukrainians are willing to die for their country is insurmountable for Russian troops!		Tweet		RaviBatra	Ravi Batra	New York, USAus	2014	37180	false	5/13/2009 03:31:48	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
130	5/17/2022 03:37:02	@DoitMoon22 @CNN They are taken to Russia occupied territory, all civilians evacuated from Azovstal were taken to Russian occupied territory, than to Ukraine.		Reply	DoitMoon22	Tigers00018	Tigers		3	480	false	3/3/2022 03:08:37	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
131	5/17/2022 03:37:01	RT @FiorellalsabelM: If the U.S & NATO spent all this time highlighting how a country like Russia had zero excuses for "invading" Ukraine a...		Retweet		stranahan	Lee Stranahan RU	Sanford Medical Center	85236	3E+05	true	5/7/2007 05:26:41	863	0	English	Twitter for iPad
132	5/17/2022 03:37:01	'Russia is running out of manpower' and Putin may have to shrink his war aims more: national security analyst - Raw Story - Celebrating 18 Years of Independent Journalism https://t.co/dJSKR8S0OW		Tweet		klassalle	Kennith Lassalle	Jefferson, LA	267	1E+05	false	6/5/2009 21:33:39	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
133	5/17/2022 03:36:58	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Brakkabadoom	Boomstick		94	14082	false	3/4/2011 10:14:33	9735	0	English	Twitter for Android
134	5/17/2022 03:36:58	RT @anders_aslund: "Lithuania designates Russia as a terrorist country, a global first." The US should follow suit. https://t.co/jkT0yBk9OH		Retweet		johnnieja23	johnnieja23@gmail.com		25	4957	false	9/16/2018 20:29:31	1518	0	English	Twitter for Android
135	5/17/2022 03:36:57	RT @JuliaDavisNews: Meanwhile on Russian state TV: in a rare moment of clarity, senior military analyst Mikhail Khodaryonok is back with an...		Retweet		pjlacasse22	pjlacasse. He's impeached Twice FOREVER!!	United States	10808	4E+05	false	2/26/2016 00:07:01	136	0	English	Twitter for Android
136	5/17/2022 03:36:57	@DanCrenshawTX No just No to sending money to Ukraine. I am born in raised in USA, my concern's are southern border, high gas and food prices, inflation. That is NOT pro Russia, I am ProAmerica. I work hard for the taxes government collects!		Tweet	DanCrenshawTX	usa_incognito	incognito		46	7654	false	9/8/2013 06:11:58	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
137	5/17/2022 03:36:57	RT @McFaul: So many call for Biden to end Russia's invasion of Ukraine war through diplomacy. Why do they never call for PUTIN to end the w...		Retweet		cynical420	t sutton		5452	2E+05	false	5/13/2014 21:35:06	5154	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

138	5/17/2022 03:36:55	RT @LazarosSimeon: @visegrad24 Macron says we should not humiliate Putin. Now he wants to make it easier for EU to pay him for Russian gas....		Retweet		askgro	Anne P. Grodin		186	90048	false	1/6/2011 00:06:37	51	0	English	Twitter Web App
139	5/17/2022 03:36:55	RT @AnaCabrera: McDonald's says the "humanitarian crisis caused by the war in Ukraine, and the precipitating unpredictable operating enviro...		Retweet		fs3frm	FRM (He/Him)	California, USA	337	20702	false	1/22/2009 01:48:41	85	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
140	5/17/2022 03:36:54	@In1Ends @Dmob16191287 @GonzaloLira1968 Oh boy... speaking of ALTERNATE REALITY... Why is the U.S. *negotiating a ceasefire...* ON BEHALF OF UKRAINE?		Reply	In1Ends	Kikasitsu	The Gilded One	The Infinite Void	605	52078	false	4/11/2011 02:31:23	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
141	5/17/2022 03:36:54	@EmbassyofRussia @mfa_russia @PMSimferopol @RussianEmbassy @RusEmbUSA @RussianEmbassyC @calebmaupin @georgegalloway @MauriceSchleepe @dwilliam9940 @RusConsCapetown You speak about denazification of Ukraine. I say "Russia and Ukraine must be Christianized".		Reply	Embassyof Russia	FabianEdoBarco	FabiánEdoBarco co	Colombia	156	9952	false	8/12/2019 20:03:06	0	0	English	Twitter Web App

142	5/17/2022 03:36:53	RT @nytimesworld: United Nations investigators said on Tuesday that they had recorded the unlawful killing of 300 civilian adults and child...		Retweet		RomTwit	Rosemary Dill	CT	2106	46656	false	4/21/2009 03:32:10	16	0	English	Twitter for iPad
143	5/17/2022 03:36:52	RT @SnorlaxFan26: Slowly the Atlantic Council/NATO strategy is revealed. The Ukraine War is not just designed to "weaken Russia's military...		Retweet		watarisingapore	watari	Johor, Malaysia	61	3444	false	10/25/2015 21:11:42	1104	0	English	Twitter for Android
144	5/17/2022 03:36:52	RT @KyleWOrton: Ilia Chernilevsky, one of many ordinary citizens in #Ukraine who took up arms to defend his country against #Russia's invas...	Ukraine Russia	Retweet		luchanka	Valentyna Kelley	Gilbert, Arizona	132	1385	false	5/9/2009 02:16:27	6	0	English	Twitter for Android
145	5/17/2022 03:36:51	Let's save lives and prevent mass starvation world wide @NATO last I heard neither Ukraine nor Russia owns the Black Sea - or didn't until you gave it to him https://t.co/bcKUzeklJy		Tweet		JustmeAnybody	Justme Anybody	Democrat in the USA	668	91026	false	9/15/2020 16:47:55	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
146	5/17/2022 03:36:51	RT @cliffordlevy: Estonia's tough stance against Putin: "I only see a solution as a military victory that could end this once and for all,...		Retweet		KathrynMD7	KD@KDugovich	Washington	61	4922	false	1/1/2017 22:05:05	120	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
147	5/17/2022 03:36:51	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		ShaveJohn	@shavejohn		1680	41870	false	7/1/2013 00:20:03	195	0	English	Twitter for Android
148	5/17/2022 03:36:51	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Amurs_US	👑Amapaa👑u		364	3410	false	9/5/2012 12:06:36	9735	0	English	Twitter for Android

149	5/17/2022 03:36:50	RT @DarthPutinKGB: Russia will have to join NATO for protection against Ukraine.		Retweet		Luisdelamora	Luis De la Mora	Guadalajara	529	9084	false	12/17/2009 02:20:27	3572	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
150	5/17/2022 03:36:50	RT @igorbobic: Full story: 11 Republican senators buck their leadership -- which was just in Kyiv in solidarity with Zelenskyy -- and vote...		Retweet		SElsworth4	S. Elsworth 🇺🇸🇺🇸	Southernmost Southern CA	598	77155	false	7/8/2020 02:44:15	26	0	English	Twitter for Android
151	5/17/2022 03:36:49	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		ALEX_11org	Alex11	Berlin	744	22863	false	3/19/2013 16:31:30	1421	0	English	Twitter for Android
152	5/17/2022 03:36:49	RT @usatodayDC: Months after shocking the world by invading Ukraine, Russia's military advancement in Ukraine is "losing momentum," accordi...		Retweet		busolomareenn	BUSOLOMAREE NN™💎💎💎	NAIROBI	13815	20334	false	4/21/2013 08:27:23	17	0	English	Twitter for Android
153	5/17/2022 03:36:48	RT @SamRamani2: Switzerland's Defence Ministry is mulling joint military exercises with NATO countries Russia's war with Ukraine has kill...		Retweet		RabbitResist	🐰RabbitResist🌸 🇺🇸🇺🇸🇺🇸		1365	3540	false	9/9/2018 04:04:16	373	0	English	Twitter for Android
154	5/17/2022 03:36:47	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		Maria_PascualV	Maria Pascual i Vall	Barcelona	429	46793	false	8/30/2020 16:54:46	16	0	English	Twitter for Android
155	5/17/2022 03:36:47	RT @SNMilitary: A number of factors led to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. These factors include: NATO's encroachment of Russia's Western bro...		Retweet		IfeOcio	Ife Ocio RU Z	48200	1450	2E+05	false	10/16/2015 11:06:29	70	0	English	Twitter for Android
156	5/17/2022 03:36:46	RT @nytimes: Russian forces in Ukraine have underperformed to a degree that has surprised most Western analysts, raising the prospect that...		Retweet		Sergiolsaza16	Sergio Isaza UA		57	2139	false	10/1/2020 05:20:16	60	0	English	Twitter for Android
157	5/17/2022 03:36:45	RT @seikatsu: Estonia's Tough Voice on Ukraine Urges No Compromise With Putin https://t.co/5ruhqw5CV3		Retweet		johnmilko1	UA John PaulUA	Florida	763	64816	false	9/15/2013 14:44:15	57	0	English	Twitter for iPad

158	5/17/2022 03:36:44	What Is China Learning From Russia's War in Ukraine? Foreign Affairs https://t.co/yKSsezKvIJ		Tweet		McFaul	Michael McFaul	Stanford, California	8E+05	1E+05	true	1/3/2012 19:36:02	4	8	English	Twitter for iPhone
159	5/17/2022 03:36:44	RT @HuffPostPol: Officials say Sweden has decided to apply for NATO membership to end more than 200 years of military nonalignment because...		Retweet		ericserati68	stephen	🌐	6805	3E+05	false	7/4/2012 02:01:58	14	0	English	Twitter for Android
160	5/17/2022 03:36:44	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Fearnl1Fearnley	Valkyria Fearnley	Oslo Norway	76	5397	false	11/4/2021 16:59:03	9735	0	English	Twitter Web App

161	5/17/2022 03:36:43	RT @RockStroke: Ayer fue Finlandia, hoy Suecia confirma que solicitará su ingreso a la OTAN. Esto, insisto, era IMPENSABLE hace dos meses....		Retweet		cheja_r	Raquel C	Mexico	66	2064	false	6/10/2016 17:03:32	61	0	Spanish	Twitter for iPhone
162	5/17/2022 03:36:43	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		_jo_kerr_	JoJo	Ontario, Canada	1176	5173	false	3/6/2009 00:45:13	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
163	5/17/2022 03:36:42	RT @cnni: CNN Exclusive: Putin honored a Russian general who oversaw atrocities in Syria. The same general led cluster bomb attacks on civi...		Retweet		mariaporfy	Maria Porfyratos	Kifisia, Greece	434	1E+05	false	9/23/2011 13:38:15	72	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
164	5/17/2022 03:36:42	RT @780thC: Russian troops in Ukraine have shown the perils of using cell phones in modern-day warzones. https://t.co/yHAMn7xYIL @TaskandPu...		Retweet		SindSec	Matthew O'Rourke	Augusta, GA	252	2347	false	3/23/2009 21:11:24	27	0	English	Twitter for Android
165	5/17/2022 03:36:41	RT @MoscowTimes: More than a dozen military recruitment offices have been attacked across Russia since the invasion of Ukraine in late Febr...		Retweet		michele088	michele	Toronto 🇨🇦	3150	57501	false	5/3/2011 18:36:39	63	0	English	Twitter Web App
166	5/17/2022 03:36:41	@iverbytskyi On a personal whim, I compared the areas russia is focusing on to maps of Ukraine's oil, coal, gas, rare metals, and agriculture and the result is, well, quite compelling. And of course there's the issue of water and land passage to Crimea and the rest of S. Ukraine.		Reply	iverbytskyi	Dreamer2909	NatureGirl	USA	38	1965	false	5/17/2009 03:06:39	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
167	5/17/2022 03:36:41	RT @MayorBWPayne: Como decía un personaje de una gran novela militar que leí, "Vorágine", sobre un presidente ficticio que se metía a hacer...		Retweet		karumar70	KaRu	Buenos Aires	487	1E+05	false	8/16/2012 19:30:34	11	0	Spanish	Twitter for Android
168	5/17/2022 03:36:40	@stacarter @THELumberGuru @alxcharlesdukes @JeffBezos Inflation isn't a bad thing if it can be managed and this one we can (people have jobs!) despite factors US cannot control such as Russia's invasion of Ukraine. If people consumed less via eating healthy/losing weight, avoiding unnecessary purchases, inflation can be controlled. https://t.co/LcpvCOMPdq		Reply	Factschaser	Factschaser	Facts Chaser 🌐 👤👤👤👤	Washington, DC	1090	4808	false	7/30/2021 02:03:43	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
169	5/17/2022 03:36:39	RT @jsolomonReports: Durham, Sussmann legal teams agree on 38 possible jurors, trial could start by Tuesday #JustTheNews https://t.co/Wfb...	JustTheNews	Retweet		MsAvaArmstrong	AvaArmstrong, usAuthor	Last Outpost	1E+05	8E+05	false	4/17/2014 18:02:47	141	0	English	Twitter Web App
170	5/17/2022 03:36:39	RT @apmassaro3: This newfound European worry that Ukraine may whip Russia too badly is the most embarrassing yet. The more complete the Rus...		Retweet		LLaanoja	Lauri Laanoja		3	301	false	2/28/2022 12:48:27	1290	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
171	5/17/2022 03:36:38	RT @MichelobMarxist: "If you cannot sleep because of Russia - Ukrainian conflict, there are some advices to calm you down. First imagine th...		Retweet		HusseinBrasil	Hussein - bBRJustiça #FreeAssangeNO	Rio de Janeiro, Brasil	4011	2E+05	false	1/19/2013 02:54:34	2342	0	English	Twitter Web App

							W									
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

172	5/17/2022 03:36:38	RT @proudukraine: Today, Russian saboteurs tried to break through the state border in the #Sumy region(North-East of #Ukraine), Ukrainian b...	Sumy Ukraine	Retweet		folkistparty	Folkist Party	Greenland, U.S.A	39	7398	false	11/17/2019 07:57:46	17	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
173	5/17/2022 03:36:37	@TuckerCarlson @TulsiGabbard Sorry but I support giving the arms to Ukraine. I agree with the congressman from Texas. I don't know about you but I don't want to stand by as thousands of innocent civilians are butchered by Russia just because Russia is not attacking the U.S.		Tweet	TuckerCarlson	ProfLib	LibProf		48	7773	false	7/26/2020 23:54:42	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
174	5/17/2022 03:36:37	This Is No Time to Go Wobbly on Russia by @Kasparov63 https://t.co/CSrVMDpOQm a través de @WSJOpinion		Tweet		arielmou	Ariel Moutsatsos UA	Washington DC & New York	51033	46279	true	6/16/2009 22:27:25	2	1	English	Twitter Web App
175	5/17/2022 03:36:36	RT @RichardEngel: A NATO official tells @NBCNEWS Russia has lost about 1/3 of the combat power it had when it invaded Ukraine in Feb.		Retweet		SoftArtoday	Moved account		279	31692	false	10/26/2009 14:20:26	726	0	English	Twitter Web App
176	5/17/2022 03:36:35	RT @RMGarabedian: Twitter is losing interest in Ukraine--my posts on it have gone from 100s of responses to nearly 0, but this is JAW-DROPP...		Retweet		LtjgSpace	elnotcho.eth	Boston, MA	188	25660	false	11/6/2018 21:43:26	40	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
177	5/17/2022 03:36:35	RT @BSBonner: A Ukrainian unit had to retreat under Russian fire. Its captain stayed and died protecting his troops /via @globeandmail http...		Retweet		wpimentel47	william pimentel	Toronto Ontario	14	2918	false	2/21/2022 18:01:33	17	0	English	Twitter Web App
178	5/17/2022 03:36:34	@andersostlund @EmmanuelMacron @Bundeskanzler Ukraine should push Russia out and start strategically taking out military bases ,troops inside Russia, spare the civilians f the military up and capture Putin . Hold him responsible for war crimes .		Reply	andersostlund	Alan56554621	Alan		17	280	false	5/2/2022 23:23:19	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
179	5/17/2022 03:36:34	RT @RichardEngel: A NATO official tells @NBCNEWS Russia has lost about 1/3 of the combat power it had when it invaded Ukraine in Feb.		Retweet		BreakingNewsMan	John Marshall	Between Shangri-La & Paradise	834	8524	false	10/2/2010 08:23:22	726	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
180	5/17/2022 03:36:34	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		khoben	Pierre Pronchery	Berlin, Germany	510	12631	false	2/25/2011 15:38:48	368	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
181	5/17/2022 03:36:32	@theshgofdfw @baronichitas No gains in weeks? Where do you get your information from? RF forces are now outside of Barvenkovo. Most of Russia's losses happened in the first 10 days. Since then, the ratio is about 1:7. Ukraine is losing about 500 soldiers a day and total losses 50k+.		Reply	theshgofdfw	NovationRichard	Richard Novation	Skopje, Macedonia	124	3048	false	10/3/2021 03:55:50	0	0	English	Twitter Web App

182	5/17/2022 03:36:32	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		cnewq5	Christopher Newcombe	Earth	368	24329	false	3/27/2009 06:33:40	195	0	English	Twitter Web App
183	5/17/2022 03:36:31	RT @andersostlund: If @EmmanuelMacron and @Bundeskanzler think they can force a dictate peace (Minsk III) on Ukraine they should think agai...		Retweet		Guackboy	Charles Torrens 	Canarias, Spain	2562	87739	false	7/9/2011 20:13:22	2429	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
184	5/17/2022 03:36:30	RT @IGN: McDonald's revealed it is permanently closing all 850 locations in Russia due to the humanitarian crisis and "unpredictable operat...		Retweet		Dex162	Steve		86	33727	false	3/30/2010 02:21:08	254	0	English	Twitter for Android
185	5/17/2022 03:36:29	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		FranciaBravo5	Francia Bravoua	Hamilton, Ontario	434	22517	false	11/2/2018 18:22:21	9735	0	English	Twitter for Android
186	5/17/2022 03:36:27	RT @searche02540804: Show this to all those retard friends of yours that think we need to nuke Russia because of Ukraine Russia good Ukrai...		Retweet		JRenee4V	JRenee'		354	9358	false	8/7/2020 21:20:10	56	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

187	5/17/2022 03:36:26	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		chilwarner	Noela Chilcott	Moffat Beach Australia	103	11211	false	7/30/2014 15:03:32	268	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
188	5/17/2022 03:36:25	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		WillGarn	William		71	30675	false	6/3/2009 03:55:38	9735	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
189	5/17/2022 03:36:24	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		CirleiAC	Cirlei Araújo 	Goiás, Brasil	398	2700	false	7/6/2012 06:31:36	9735	0	English	Twitter for Android
190	5/17/2022 03:36:24	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		Masky_Jay_Hood y	Creepypasta Slenderverse Fan		1852	6E+05	false	11/1/2009 08:54:24	368	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
191	5/17/2022 03:36:24	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		PamAqua2017	 one decade left to save habitable Earth	CT us	1555	75267	false	2/1/2017 22:17:23	16	0	English	Twitter for iPad
192	5/17/2022 03:36:23	RT @te3ej: @LanaMirman It means that Russian Air Force strategic bombers and/ or their supporting refuelling tankers are flying. Russia has...		Retweet		HappyOldSoul	Bones	Texas	5038	69010	false	8/24/2010 22:40:51	5	0	English	Twitter Web App

193	5/17/2022 03:36:22	@FreedomWorks Would be "gross negligence" to permit resurrection of #USSR #Putin's ambitions do not stop at #Ukraine; it is in US interest to defeat/destroy #Russia This is America's fight and it is now occurring in #Ukraine. \$40B is cheap price to defeat RU now; will cost much more later.	USSR Putin Ukraine Russia Ukraine	Reply	FreedomW orks	jonjaroker	Jon Jaroker	New York City	63	1264	false	1/22/2010 04:53:51	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
194	5/17/2022 03:36:22	RT @SeriouslyMimi7: Filed claim then lawsuit 📄 https://t.co/ET2Cn5c7ES		Retweet		TCGibboney	TC	North Idaho	2936	1E+05	false	2/13/2016 20:43:23	111	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
195	5/17/2022 03:36:20	RT @RALee85: Ukraine published documents reportedly from Russia's 1st Tank Army showing its losses through March 15. It lists: 61 KIA, 209...		Retweet		alukhan_	Ali Kab	Beşiktaş, İstanbul	97	3591	false	4/17/2016 01:06:10	1347	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
196	5/17/2022 03:36:19	Tucker blamed Ukraine for the latest Putin invasion for trying to join NATO. He made a short cut, eliminating the violation Putin made in '14 of the '94 Budapest Accord when Ukra denuclearized in exchange for Russia,US & GB being guardians of its sovereignty & Putin still invaded		Tweet		FrankPLP2022	Frank F. Garcia	The Freest State in the Union	518	10554	false	1/13/2022 21:12:50	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
197	5/17/2022 03:36:19	@mccaffreyr3 Wow. If I heard him correctly, Ukrainian soldiers have the will to fight and Russian soldiers don't. He signaled that Ukraine will soon have 1 million professional soldiers eager to attack a smaller,nonprofessional Russian force. Lastly, Russia must exit Ukraine soon.		Reply	mccaffreyr 3	BuzzardsRoostTN	JB 🇺🇦		12	2215	false	2/12/2022 19:18:03	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
198	5/17/2022 03:36:17	RT @lesiavasylenko: Ukrainian military unit pushed #Russia back to the border and reinstalled #Ukraine border sign. #Kharkiv region. It's a...	Russia Ukraine Kharkiv	Retweet		grim_skanktasm	GrimSkankMeliss a	Cleveland, OH	281	557	false	12/10/2012 02:09:31	1282	0	English	Twitter for Android
199	5/17/2022 03:36:16	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		JimHarr09011504	Jim Harrington	Dorchester Bay, Boston	147	60520	false	5/19/2021 23:45:33	368	0	English	Twitter for Android
200	5/17/2022 03:36:16	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		SchneringPat	Pat schnering	Sarasota, FL	62	62214	false	9/26/2016 23:58:39	1421	0	English	Twitter for iPad
201	5/17/2022 03:36:16	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		JohnTheWhite1	John The White		1291	60079	false	10/9/2018 16:54:35	9739	0	English	Twitter Web App
202	5/17/2022 03:36:15	RT @michaeldweiss: Putin involved in war 'at level of colonel or brigadier', say western sources https://t.co/50tMthoCmL		Retweet		JaimeRisk	Jaime Zapata	Bogotá, D.C., Colombia	586	9769	false	12/2/2010 21:01:44	216	0	English	Twitter for Android
203	5/17/2022 03:36:15	RT @maria_avdv: Beyond words. Today Ukrainian military 227th battalion of the 127th territorial defense brigade reached the border with		Retweet		TXFartingsworth	Robb Royer	Virgin Islands, USA	5195	2E+05	false	1/28/2017 17:57:14	4196	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

		Rus...														
204	5/17/2022 03:36:15	@cnni That is one of the policies he should've tackled hours after being sworn in, instead of waging a proxy war in Ukraine. Some important things like the covid, Iran, N. Korea, Afghanistan,Libya would need the help of China and Russia to successfully address!		Reply	cnni	NanaEnoba	Enoba Bretuo Nana		59	3736	false	12/17/2020 11:50:03	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
205	5/17/2022 03:36:12	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		jffryfnt	Jeff Fountain💖💖🌻		430	3998	false	10/27/2010 03:29:02	9739	0	English	Twitter Web App
206	5/17/2022 03:36:12	RT @FuturamaPolls: @JuliaDavisNews Mikhail Khodarenok predicted exactly how the war for Russia would go against Ukraine on February 3rd 202...		Retweet		KathyBereza	Kathy Bereza	AZ, Son. Mex, MI	94	1057	false	10/13/2020 22:15:12	201	0	English	Twitter Web App
207	5/17/2022 03:36:11	RT @PostOpinions: Russia is losing. That might make Putin more dangerous, the Editorial Board writes https://t.co/6ZgrKTPkkZ		Retweet		JacksonDiehl	Jackson Diehl	Washington, DC	22937	15084	true	7/14/2008 23:58:00	2	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
208	5/17/2022 03:36:11	RT @apmassaro3: Don't worry about Ukraine humiliating Putin. He needs humiliated! Worry about the Ukrainians fighting and dying because of...		Retweet		d_w4y	dway	Earth	96	10757	false	10/8/2011 05:18:06	702	0	English	Twitter for iPad
209	5/17/2022 03:36:11	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol Zaporizhzhia	Retweet		AGinNYC	AG	New York, NY	64	7619	false	9/20/2015 16:16:24	13	0	English	Twitter for iPad
210	5/17/2022 03:36:10	RT @CesarBI90732775: Rusia va a estar más saludable... McDonald's saldra de Russia por la guerra con Ukraine		Retweet		Hectordod	Héctor Ordóñez D	Cali, Colombia	841	49262	false	11/4/2012 18:27:18	2	0	Spanish	Twitter for Android
211	5/17/2022 03:36:10	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		mesammy	mesammy		31	885	false	3/19/2008 17:23:57	9739	0	English	Twitter for Android
212	5/17/2022 03:36:09	Posting this for all Republican, especially @RandPaul, who may not believe helping Ukraine is important. The following video from Eurovision Winner, Kalush Orchestra, uses no CGI. If you are against helping, then you are Russia's useful GOP puppets. https://t.co/2VI10faeZR https://t.co/3J2iWqO447		Tweet		DavidGayMTL	DavidMtl	Montreal	49	1807	false	10/4/2012 16:50:01	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
213	5/17/2022 03:36:08	Ukraine has won the battle for Kharkiv but what is next for Zelenskyy's army? https://t.co/l4mgrKdfzf via @ABCAustralia		Tweet		JagathKey	Jagath Kumara	Galle, Sri Lanka	490	8139	false	10/2/2010 14:39:49	0	1	English	Twitter Web App
214	5/17/2022 03:36:08	RT @RichardEngel: A NATO official tells @NBCNEWS Russia has lost about 1/3 of the combat power it had when it invaded Ukraine in Feb.		Retweet		SpyDoggie	Spy Doggie ua		5255	3E+05	false	5/25/2017 10:29:28	726	0	English	Twitter Web App

215	5/17/2022 03:36:07	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		rogerlorton	Roger Lorton 🇬🇧♂🇬🇧	Wherever my hat is	1265	1E+05	false	12/9/2013 05:24:33	9739	0	English	Twitter for Android
216	5/17/2022 03:36:07	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		AgedAndrew	UA- Tripple vax'd and wearing a mask...	Tharawal Country	3457	63400	false	8/10/2018 03:36:16	369	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
217	5/17/2022 03:36:07	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		Goddess98465465	Goddess	VT	1140	36791	false	10/19/2020 19:40:26	268	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

218	5/17/2022 03:36:06	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		emekamba01	Emmy		4673	1E+05	false	9/8/2019 02:12:44	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
219	5/17/2022 03:36:06	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		blufloergarden	~ ~ Lady	Wheat Ridge, CO	10773	16924	false	1/23/2015 00:45:37	16	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
220	5/17/2022 03:36:05	Чернобаевка. Реактивная артиллерия ВСУ уничтожила состав с горючим, технику и 29 россиян https://t.co/63o4iaHozb #Russia #Ukraine	Russia Ukraine	Tweet		rogue_corq	UA🐱❤️🇺🇸 VAXXED THO 🇬🇧🇷🇺❤️🇺🇸	Хай живе Україна	1760	6E+05	false	3/5/2017 12:32:38	0	0	Russian	dlvr.it
221	5/17/2022 03:36:04	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		tummler10	Tummler (means... Connector & Troublemaker)	iPhone: 40.730186,-73.987709	3081	3E+05	false	5/14/2007 06:26:44	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
222	5/17/2022 03:36:03	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		goilers	Greg Em	Canada	356	1353	false	6/28/2009 20:58:11	9739	0	English	Twitter Web App
223	5/17/2022 03:36:01	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		VanHoAdam	Adam VanHo	Munroe Falls, OH	909	28862	false	1/31/2021 05:34:03	1421	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
224	5/17/2022 03:36:01	Russia-Ukraine war: Moscow warns west of 'harsh response' to encouragement of Ukrainian strikes in Russian territories – live https://t.co/w05hybebAP		Tweet		JonathanKeiler	Jonathan Keiler	Newfoundland, NJ	126	3267	false	6/27/2015 05:33:25	0	0	English	Buffer
225	5/17/2022 03:36:00	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		kenteclart	Karl Mark X		47	872	false	8/16/2021 03:33:11	195	0	English	Twitter Web App

226	5/17/2022 03:36:00	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		jb_bellet	JB Petten	San Francisco	1089	51692	false	8/24/2015 17:25:12	1421	0	English	Twitter for iPad
227	5/17/2022 03:35:57	Russia invades Ukraine LIVE DW News livestream Headline news from ar... https://t.co/ptrqxxjQ65 via @YouTube		Tweet		runnhig	runnhig		0	15	false	8/27/2021 18:24:07	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
228	5/17/2022 03:35:57	RT @RALee85: Ukraine published documents reportedly from Russia's 1st Tank Army showing its losses through March 15. It lists: 61 KIA, 209...		Retweet		hiyos6	hiyosu6	Chiba, Japan	108	3051	false	3/1/2013 17:07:54	1347	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
229	5/17/2022 03:35:57	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		sosayu3	👉SoSayU	North Carolina, USA	3846	1E+05	false	9/22/2018 02:27:58	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
230	5/17/2022 03:35:57	RT @lesiavasylenko: Ukrainian military unit pushed #Russia back to the border and reinstalled #Ukraine border sign. #Kharkiv region. It's a...	Russia Ukraine Kharkiv	Retweet		cucojose	jose requena	Panamá	7290	5E+05	false	3/8/2011 04:07:59	1282	0	English	Twitter for Android
231	5/17/2022 03:35:56	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		thetmantrevor1	Trevor	Canada	13	4929	false	2/24/2022 14:56:55	369	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
232	5/17/2022 03:35:55	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Jkrump1969	JohnTheSchnauzerDad	Rockport, ME	475	11528	false	8/18/2016 04:10:44	9739	0	English	Twitter for Android
233	5/17/2022 03:35:55	Movie Production: The Making of 'Rosemary's Baby'#UPDATE CREDITS:>>> https://t.co/GNtQ4hdAvl&lt;&lt;&lt; ; #Russia #Ukraine #MovieProduction #ThumbsUp https://t.co/nuhaAB5pAr	UPDATE Russia Ukraine Movie Production Thumbs Up	Tweet		Qompu	Qompu™		1016	29	false	12/17/2012 05:23:18	0	0	English	Twitter Web App

234	5/17/2022 03:35:54	RT @visegrad24: Several countries said that the EC had taken an unacceptable position considering what is happening in Ukraine. The Dutch...		Retweet		slievelamagan	michael gray		654	56309	false	7/30/2013 17:13:46	181	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
235	5/17/2022 03:35:52	The US Senate overwhelmingly voted to move toward passage of \$40 billion in aid to Ukraine, underscoring the broad Republican and Democratic support for the country as it defends itself against Russia's invasion. https://t.co/p21AhMc51M		Tweet		WorldEvent5	World Events		0	12	false	5/13/2022 20:43:58	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
236	5/17/2022 03:35:52	RT @SecDef: Today, I had another phone call with my ua counterpart @oleksiireznikov. We discussed the situation in eastern Ukraine, and we...		Retweet		Americanist4u	Americanist (Racism and treason are not patriotic)	Find Me	28243	2E+05	false	3/19/2015 19:33:44	751	0	English	Twitter Web App

237	5/17/2022 03:35:52	RT @apmassaro3: This newfound European worry that Ukraine may whip Russia too badly is the most embarrassing yet. The more complete the Rus...		Retweet		WaniShacho	WaniShacho	Meguro-ku, Tokyo	8	1625	false	2/12/2022 10:12:31	1290	0	English	Twitter for Android
238	5/17/2022 03:35:51	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		ladyinlksd	Denise Michelle	Americas Finest City	6327	3E+05	false	8/23/2013 17:20:46	16	0	English	Twitter for Android
239	5/17/2022 03:35:51	RT @DarthPutinKGB: Day 81 of my 3 day war. I invaded Ukraine to keep NATO away from Russia but instead I've ended up convincing Finland to...		Retweet		pachekkkko	Pacheko MD		55	20796	false	1/14/2012 17:38:46	1524	0	English	Twitter for Android
240	5/17/2022 03:35:50	RT @Joyce_Karam: JUST IN: #Sweden ends 200 years of neutrality, announces bid to join NATO, as result Russia's invasion of #Ukraine. (AP)...	Sweden Ukraine	Retweet		alejand22527998	alejandro		53	7612	false	1/1/2021 21:37:37	163	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
241	5/17/2022 03:35:49	RT @LPNational: *Repeal the 2001 AUMF *End ALL the wars *Bring ALL the troops home *No war in Somalia *No war with Russia *No proxy war in...		Retweet		FemboyPinkCap	FemboyPinkCap RDO		46	975	false	4/20/2022 04:21:25	128	0	English	Twitter for Android
242	5/17/2022 03:35:47	RT @Youblacksoul: This week #Zelensky has accused #Russia of shelling schools and kindergartens, so I have made this TikTok style video in...	Zelensky Russia	Retweet		microbiology4	ScientistMom	EU	2255	2193	false	11/28/2012 02:06:43	61	0	English	Twitter Web App
243	5/17/2022 03:35:47	RT @nytimes: Russian forces in Ukraine have underperformed to a degree that has surprised most Western analysts, raising the prospect that...		Retweet		OneNationK	Karlene Nation	Toronto	3417	66920	false	2/27/2019 18:29:44	61	0	English	Twitter for Android
244	5/17/2022 03:35:47	RT @MrKovalenko: The micromanagement KGB style. Now you have a clue of why the Russian military experiences failures on the battlefield in...		Retweet		anabl18	Ana Ribeiro ❤️	London, England	1025	1E+05	false	7/15/2015 19:16:01	31	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
245	5/17/2022 03:35:47	RT @cnni: It's just 46 acres of rock and grass with no fresh water (and no snakes either), but Snake Island in the Black Sea has taken on a...		Retweet		mariaporfy	Maria Porfyratos	Kifisia, Greece	434	1E+05	false	9/23/2011 13:38:15	22	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
246	5/17/2022 03:35:46	@Logisticsexpert Is @TGIFridays still one of the only companies still operating in #Russia amidst the ongoing war in #Ukraine? I wonder what #Putin's favorite dish is?	Russia Ukraine Putin	Reply	Logisticsexpert	inletbeachbro	InletBeach		1	86	false	2/25/2022 00:51:43	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
247	5/17/2022 03:35:45	RT @DMokryk: Some Western leaders are reportedly afraid of what could happen if uaUkraine wins the war - because it would mean a big humili...		Retweet		yuliya_lutsenko	yuliya lutsenko		11	1756	false	2/27/2022 21:10:38	710	0	English	Twitter for Android
248	5/17/2022 03:35:45	RT @BSBonner: A Ukrainian unit had to retreat under Russian fire. Its captain stayed and died protecting his troops /via @globeandmail http...		Retweet		UkraineOnGround	UkraineOnTheGround		469	41410	false	2/27/2022 18:39:07	17	0	English	ukraine-onground

249	5/17/2022 03:35:44	RT @BSBonner: Opinion Russia is losing. That might make Putin more dangerous. https://t.co/Hb347Zwjpi		Retweet		UkraineOnGround	UkraineOnTheGround		469	41410	false	2/27/2022 18:39:07	8	0	English	ukraine-onground
250	5/17/2022 03:35:44	@Asinine_Archist @IraklisLianos @ideaopolis_ @GonzaloLira1968 At the moment, the military losses are about 5 thousand from Ukraine and 30 thousand from Russia. And I said everything correctly, sucker: RUSSIA LOST ITS ARMY. That is, she does not have an army for a new attack. And the remains will soon be finally disposed of.		Reply	Asinine_Archist	SoundmanUA	SoundMan	Kyiv IF Ukraine Europe	5304	11509	false	8/1/2009 22:28:01	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
251	5/17/2022 03:35:44	RT @BSBonner: Opinion Russia is losing. That might make Putin more dangerous. https://t.co/Hb347Zwjpi		Retweet		fallguyjames	James Arnold		496	46199	false	9/26/2021 11:04:39	8	0	English	TwitBoByJames
252	5/17/2022 03:35:43	RT @RALee85: Ukraine published documents reportedly from Russia's 1st Tank Army showing its losses through March 15. It lists: 61 KIA, 209...		Retweet		DownatthePound	The Dawg	World Wide	5313	5E+05	false	10/24/2011 17:37:42	1347	0	English	Twitter for iPad
253	5/17/2022 03:35:43	RT @BSBonner: Opinion Russia is losing. That might make Putin more dangerous. https://t.co/Hb347Zwjpi		Retweet		occono	occono	Cork, Ireland	738	85018	false	10/25/2008 20:58:11	8	0	English	Twitter for Android
254	5/17/2022 03:35:42	RT @NoFascistMN: мнуа #Mongolia #Ulaanbaatar protest against war in Ukraine. 👉 Russia embassy in Mongolia #NoWar #NoPipeLine #NoPutin #Sta...	Mongolia Ulaanbaatar NoWar NoPipeLine NoPutin	Retweet		edemberelsa	Энхээ		944	14707	false	8/2/2016 05:36:12	142	0	English	Twitter for iPad
255	5/17/2022 03:35:42	@ReginaldShoe42 @IAPonomarenko @Reuters You do realize those were the actual Nazis. When America complained about a small segment of Nazis in Ukraine army it was this Azov division now they are gone and the Nazi problem is gone with them so it's a Win win for Ukraine and Russia and the West		Reply	ReginaldShoe42	deepthroat1993	Bob Woodward III	Miami, Florida	15	1377	false	3/24/2022 07:13:19	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
256	5/17/2022 03:35:42	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		dietchinator	DIETCH	an FVEY vassal state of the US	188	5171	false	12/6/2011 05:36:15	195	0	English	Twitter Web App
257	5/17/2022 03:35:41	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		K_YEV_S	Yevgeniya Korniyenko		37	18241	false	11/7/2017 21:20:44	1421	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
258	5/17/2022 03:35:41	RT @irkeyshn: uaUkraine: wins #Eurovision ru helpless russia: bombs Lviv oblast fiFinland and seSweden: apply for NATO membership ru he...	Eurovision	Retweet		JustmeAnybody	Justme Anybody	Democrat in the USA	668	91026	false	9/15/2020 16:47:55	2	0	English	Twitter Web App
259	5/17/2022 03:35:41	RT @CK_Daniels: I'm filling in for @DamienVenuto on the @nzherald's The Front Page podcast this week! Today I speak to @Tomthescribe		Retweet		DamienVenuto	Damien Venuto	Auckland, New Zealand	403	231	false	9/27/2013 14:51:07	3	0	English	Twitter Web App

		who's...														
260	5/17/2022 03:35:40	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		HigginbothamA	Adam Higginbotham	New York City	1761	2512	false	6/21/2013 02:45:59	268	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
261	5/17/2022 03:35:39	ロシア人のある意味では命がけの良心 → 焦点：ロシア人地下ネットワーク、ウクライナ難民の脱出を支援 https://t.co/UKhcQ1WWpt		Tweet		KinositaKouta	木下黄太	日本	31277	91023	false	9/14/2010 09:10:06	0	1	Japanese	Twitter for Android
262	5/17/2022 03:35:37	RT @SocialistMMA: According to the west, Russia is struggling in Ukraine as their military is exposed as weak and ineffective But Sweden...		Retweet		TheRealElaschuk	Steve Elaschuk	Cowgary Alberduh Canaduh	810	40610	false	12/17/2012 11:16:11	346	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

263	5/17/2022 03:35:36	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		SrtaRitaL		Acá no más	727	82975	false	8/20/2012 08:23:54	1421	0	English	Twitter for iPad
264	5/17/2022 03:35:36	RT @lipschz: Путин стал настолько лично вовлечен в войну в Украине, что самолично руководит передвижением войск на Донбассе и принимает опе...		Retweet		Urfin_1648	Ирина Шадрина #СвободуНавальному #путинУБИЙЦА	Germany	2124	3E+05	false	8/13/2011 11:43:58	3	0	Russian	Twitter for Android
265	5/17/2022 03:35:36	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		HI90001	HAL9000	solar space	2371	7770	false	6/30/2021 23:46:56	16	0	English	Twitter for Android
266	5/17/2022 03:35:35	RT @HayelomJr: While all eyes are focused on Russia & Ukraine, the int'l community must also remember #Tigray, where 500,000 of the populat...	Tigray	Retweet		SenaitGirmay2	Hiwet G♡		1406	34055	false	2/14/2022 15:43:23	3	0	English	Twitter for Android
267	5/17/2022 03:35:35	RT @KyleWOrton: Thread: 16 May 2022: Day 82 of #Russia's invasion of #Ukraine	Russia Ukraine	Retweet		UROCKlive1	Khashoggi's Ghost UA🇺🇸	Beautiful Northern California	2E+05	5E+05	false	11/6/2009 20:02:02	4	0	English	Twitter Web App
268	5/17/2022 03:35:35	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Rcettolin	Rafael		297	83057	false	11/28/2008 03:46:12	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
269	5/17/2022 03:35:35	RT @Angry_Staffer: The same people who confidently said Ukraine would fall in a week are now predicting that Russia will succeed in taking...		Retweet		MalangoTri	I Shot Bambi's Mother	A Forest	281	4560	false	2/14/2022 02:26:43	1247	0	English	Twitter Web App
270	5/17/2022 03:35:34	RT @ejustin46: @lapatina_ This is what the 'Russification' of Ukraine's education system looks like in occupied areas https://t.co/AC2qD5qu...		Retweet		Nyhcrut	Peter		91	23334	false	8/20/2010 04:49:35	104	0	English	Twitter for Android

271	5/17/2022 03:35:32	RT @philrosenn: 9/ A @Kpler oil analyst previously told Insider that an oil embargo would crater Russia's economy and send the country spir...		Retweet		MillerResist	IT'S A MILLER THING		452	48103	false	8/2/2019 01:33:38	1	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
272	5/17/2022 03:35:32	Russia is losing. That might make Putin more dangerous, the Editorial Board writes https://t.co/6ZgrKTPkkZ		Tweet		PostOpinions	Washington Post Opinions		96922	2E+05	true	4/10/2008 00:29:51	2	0	English	SocialFlow
273	5/17/2022 03:35:31	RT @ajamubarak: Accept it or not, from Russia's view it is fighting in Ukraine to keep NATO from significant parts of its borders & the U....		Retweet		staxtopoutanos	staxtopoutanos	World Wide.	562	6724	false	4/22/2009 15:20:54	1339	0	English	Twitter Web App
274	5/17/2022 03:35:31	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		PawelJalocha	Pawel Jalocha		1612	1E+05	false	9/1/2011 14:44:11	268	0	English	Twitter Web App
275	5/17/2022 03:35:31	50 bio-weapon labs in Ukraine blown to bits and you think Russia will be destroyed when it's over		Tweet		kimbermiles0	Right hand man		36	66932	false	3/29/2016 02:58:26	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
276	5/17/2022 03:35:31	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine	Retweet		Pghrules1010	Pghrules	Pittsburgh	2728	2E+05	false	12/7/2011 07:00:32	13	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
277	5/17/2022 03:35:30	RT @Youblacksoul: This week #Zelensky has accused #Russia of shelling schools and kindergartens, so I have made this TikTok style video in...	Zelensky Russia	Retweet		TheLark1081	Kieran		1190	25748	false	9/24/2019 11:43:17	61	0	English	Twitter for Android
278	5/17/2022 03:35:30	Ok, I'm so sorry for Buffalo. Every day a shooting. But the world is on fire in Ukraine, Sweden and Finland have decided to join NATO, Russia threatens retaliation, and 35 mins. into @AC360 broadcast he's talking about what one of the guards loved to eat. DUDE, prioritize.		Tweet		AquisitionGuy	JonSimon	Los Angeles County	38	4125	false	6/13/2009 02:08:35	0	0	English	Twitter for iPad

279	5/17/2022 03:35:29	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		dsmithto	Derek Smith	Toronto	440	14862	false	3/13/2011 17:28:01	268	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
280	5/17/2022 03:35:29	Turkey says it will not approve Sweden and Finland joining Nato, but I think the important thing is to co-exist as successfully as possible. How can this not be a lesson the entire world has needed to learn since the dawn of mankind? https://t.co/SlpJq0Lb16		Tweet		ChelleAngelique	Michelle Angelique Stein	Duluth, MN	241	18854	false	5/5/2011 23:20:37	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
281	5/17/2022 03:35:28	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		52BLUE13	@52BLUE	80238	2806	21974	false	6/6/2021 17:45:50	268	0	English	Twitter Web App
282	5/17/2022 03:35:28	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda	Retweet		TheStephenRalph	Stephen #StandWit	Ayr, GB	26056	7E+05	false	6/18/2011 15:47:49	13	0	English	Twitter for Android

			Ukraine				hUkraine #SlavaUkraini									
283	5/17/2022 03:35:28	If the only reason to apply for NATO membership is to counter Russia, that is foolish. NATO has not come to the rescue of Ukraine in an effective manner. So, what purpose would it serve except the ego massage of leaders. https://t.co/e6zdu7iogh		Tweet		dharmo_rakshita	SatyaSarvopari	Somewhere In The Milky Way	564	4403	false	2/9/2022 10:22:06	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
284	5/17/2022 03:35:27	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Kiselov was a member of the SBU's Alpha Group and thus lived in the shadows (he met with me last month on the cond...		Retweet		Knight201701	Knight2017		3154	5E+05	false	1/25/2017 14:25:48	31	0	English	Twitter for Android
285	5/17/2022 03:35:26	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		ayirpelle	priya joseph	San Francisco Bay Area	3035	3E+05	false	2/21/2012 10:56:57	369	0	English	Twitter Web App
286	5/17/2022 03:35:26	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		Baldwin7166	Fagan 🇺🇦🇸🇨🇪🕒	Brown County, IN	2924	39621	false	9/26/2016 16:24:04	268	0	English	Twitter for Android
287	5/17/2022 03:35:24	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		blazzers781	Blazzers78		309	16871	false	1/10/2017 03:03:22	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPad
288	5/17/2022 03:35:24	RT @CatEyezGreen_: 🇷🇺🇺🇦🇸🇨🇪 NATO countries started a large-scale military exercise in Estonia Monday, a long-planned drill more significant b...		Retweet		NickThiwerspoon	Nick Thiwerspoon	Country Victoria	10505	1E+05	false	6/19/2012 07:00:01	45	0	English	Twitter Web App
289	5/17/2022 03:35:23	RT @Blue_Sauron: Drone footage showing a Russian ammunition depot destroyed by the Ukrainian 45th Artillery Brigade. #Russia #Ukraine https://t.co/bwj5HBWmmR	Russia Ukraine	Retweet		PNajemnik	Pavel Najemnik	Hlavní město Praha	141	21653	false	1/27/2017 19:25:12	274	0	English	Twitter Web App
290	5/17/2022 03:35:23	@nil_dicit @anek_arts Still Russia lol that's still 62% of Donbas and 90% of south Ukraine 🤔🤔 those areas around Kyiv you think putin gave a crap about Kyiv? https://t.co/bwj5HBWmmR		Reply	nil_dicit	Demiurge1165	Demiurge RU Z RU Z		403	2021	false	10/18/2020 03:53:21	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
291	5/17/2022 03:35:22	RT @DmytroKuleba: I began my visit to Brussels to push for the sixth EU sanctions package on Russia which must include an oil embargo. I wi...		Retweet		OrlandoAraujo	Orlando Araujo	Caracas. Venezuela	1172	4E+05	false	4/8/2010 21:45:08	1032	0	English	Twitter for Android
292	5/17/2022 03:35:22	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Dry_Observer	Ralph Cerchione		11822	3E+05	false	3/15/2015 06:42:41	9739	0	English	Twitter Web App
293	5/17/2022 03:35:21	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		AustinVTran	Austin UA 🇺🇦	Australia	467	15876	false	3/18/2013 14:41:46	9739	0	English	Twitter for Android

294	5/17/2022 03:35:21	RT @AaronParnas: Ukrainian troops have won the battle of Kharkiv, reaching the border with Russia. Ukraine is winning.		Retweet		switzd	David Switzer	Seattle, WA	15	879	false	1/15/2015 22:08:31	776	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
295	5/17/2022 03:35:21	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		JemisonJaclyn	Jaclyn Jemison	Philadelphia, PA	4442	2E+05	false	6/3/2017 08:37:17	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
296	5/17/2022 03:35:21	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol Zaporizhzhia	Retweet		klitzekleine	Klitzekleine_Banane		17	855	false	10/7/2020 00:20:13	13	0	English	Twitter for Android
297	5/17/2022 03:35:20	RT @afneil: Russia's unprovoked invasion of Ukraine has involved some of the worst barbarism in Europe since Nazi Germany. Yet Europe's str...		Retweet		DaveEDanna	Dave Danna	South Carolina, USA	4246	1135	false	1/27/2020 01:12:35	2006	0	English	Twitter for Android
298	5/17/2022 03:35:19	RT @lesiavasylenko: 53 wounded from #Azovstal and 210 Azov battalion soldiers evacuated. To territories occupied by #Russia. This is step 1...	Azovstal Russia	Retweet		srosnato	Sandy		1188	47349	false	1/9/2013 22:25:13	335	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
299	5/17/2022 03:35:19	RT @QUAESTRIS: https://t.co/cpNXk70m0r		Retweet		ridicularius	□ . out of	it / they / bug / rot / riddle	798	93989	false	12/3/2019 23:03:49	3	0	Unknown	Twitter Web App
300	5/17/2022 03:35:17	RT @apolyakova: @kajakallas speaks w vision and clarity on Russia's war in Ukraine on why "peace" can't be the goal at any cost: "a peace t...		Retweet		docdiaz	Mario Diaz-Gomez	Los Angeles, California.	1205	23741	false	4/16/2009 22:01:00	86	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
301	5/17/2022 03:35:16	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		dacosta_jani	Jani Dacosta ♡cu #DZT ♡	Cuba	20685	1E+05	false	4/8/2019 17:49:32	16	0	English	Twitter for Android
302	5/17/2022 03:35:15	RT @AlbertoABurgos1: https://t.co/mRpKAKi7Cx Mujer, primera ministra de Estonia, país , con solo 1'300000 habitantes, alza su voz e implora...		Retweet		jmanum3	约翰尼曼萨尼亚	Charallave	4568	2E+05	false	3/20/2010 04:47:22	7	0	Spanish	Twitter for Android
303	5/17/2022 03:35:14	RT @cnni: Two convoys of civilian cars in one northeastern Ukrainian village speak of Russia's retreat from the area and the brutality it l...		Retweet		mariaporfy	Maria Porfyratos	Kifisia, Greece	434	1E+05	false	9/23/2011 13:38:15	54	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
304	5/17/2022 03:35:13	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		dasguazz	republicans are the worst		2671	7993	false	7/14/2020 01:56:23	369	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
305	5/17/2022 03:35:12	@abdelbariatwan You're wrong to support Russia's invasion of Ukraine.		Tweet	abdelbariatwan	brennan_md	John Brennan MD		0	850	false	11/9/2011 23:37:44	0	0	English	Twitter Web App

306	5/17/2022 03:35:11	RT @MoscowTimes: More than a dozen military recruitment offices have been attacked across Russia since the invasion of Ukraine in late Febr...		Retweet		Eddie72J	EddieJ wants more science.	Brooklyn, NY	13843	1E+05	false	8/5/2011 17:31:50	64	0	English	Twitter for Android
307	5/17/2022 03:35:10	RT @philrosenn: 6/ EU economists expect inflation to outpace wage rises, resulting in a 2.8% decline in real household disposable income fo...		Retweet		MillerResist	IT'S A MILLER THING		452	48103	false	8/2/2019 01:33:38	1	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
308	5/17/2022 03:35:10	RT @DmytroKuleba: I began my visit to Brussels to push for the sixth EU sanctions package on Russia which must include an oil embargo. I wi...		Retweet		ShadrongT	SHADRONG TASHI བླ་མ་		20	1599	false	7/10/2021 06:54:00	1032	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
309	5/17/2022 03:35:09	RT @nytimes: Russian forces in Ukraine have underperformed to a degree that has surprised most Western analysts, raising the prospect that...		Retweet		hangtuah006	HANGTUAH006.5		27	3219	false	3/23/2022 16:09:19	61	0	English	Twitter for Android
310	5/17/2022 03:35:09	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		Place1931	Chompa	New York	798	89592	false	12/23/2020 04:35:31	369	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

311	5/17/2022 03:35:07	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine	Retweet		ladyinksd	Denise Michelle	Americas Finest City	6327	3E+05	false	8/23/2013 17:20:46	13	0	English	Twitter for Android
312	5/17/2022 03:35:07	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		LaLaFrance2	LaLaFrance	Hartford CT	1762	16797	false	5/19/2008 23:00:01	1421	0	English	Twitter for Android
313	5/17/2022 03:35:06	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		StrategosNoob	Strategos Noob EA UA 🇺🇦		1473	1804	false	11/10/2019 23:21:17	9739	0	English	Twitter for Android
314	5/17/2022 03:35:06	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		Knight201701	Knight2017		3154	5E+05	false	1/25/2017 14:25:48	268	0	English	Twitter for Android
315	5/17/2022 03:35:05	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Ukraine signs \$100 million loan agreement with Japan. On May 16, Finance Minister Serhiy Marchenko and the Preside...		Retweet		n_ymler	No Malarkey us		1478	2E+05	false	6/19/2012 23:02:08	758	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
316	5/17/2022 03:35:05	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		ReaderLeigh	readerleigh		307	74739	false	3/31/2009 03:50:56	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
317	5/17/2022 03:35:04	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		ssaxim	K's & N's Papa	England, United Kingdom GB&NI	1691	75628	false	2/16/2009 21:33:39	9739	0	English	Twitter for Android

318	5/17/2022 03:35:03	@nypost I fail to understand after 40billion is spent two years from now what's left for us when Ukraine is totally destroyed? No one expects Russia to disappear or surrender. It has nukes. Why doesn't z rest z world push for dialogue& get out of this mess. Feel sorry 4 Ukraine civilians		Reply	nypost	zebaro2	zebaro		40	2388	false	11/4/2019 23:56:54	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
319	5/17/2022 03:35:02	RT @FiorellalsabelM: If the U.S & NATO spent all this time highlighting how a country like Russia had zero excuses for "invading" Ukraine a...		Retweet		Red_factos	`		991	9977	false	7/25/2021 13:39:49	865	0	English	Twitter for Android
320	5/17/2022 03:35:01	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		valquiriafarias	Valquiria Z	🔴🔴	622	22060	false	4/11/2009 02:01:30	195	0	English	Twitter Web App
321	5/17/2022 03:35:01	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		ActualResearch4	Doing My Own Research, For You	Still Free, Earth	111	9326	false	3/5/2022 17:06:56	16	0	English	Twitter Web App
322	5/17/2022 03:35:01	RT @RT_com: Buffalo shooter used same symbol as Ukraine's Azov – Russian diplomat The West will try to distract the public from this 'awkw...		Retweet		4thepeople15	Conan4thepeople	Malaysia	639	34958	false	9/21/2018 18:07:49	139	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
323	5/17/2022 03:35:01	RT @Hagosweldehans: Both Abiy Ahmed & Isaias Afwerki have shown the world their true colors by defending Russia's invasion of #Ukraine. It'...	Ukraine	Retweet		gueshy_t	Titi Adwa		415	18682	false	10/19/2021 00:19:11	16	0	English	Twitter for Android
324	5/17/2022 03:35:01	@dajiyuan India bans wheat exports to US and Europe, talks to improve food supply chain The EU and the United States are studying how to improve food supply chains to deal with the fallout from the Russia-Ukraine war, especially as export restrictions imposed by India and other		Reply	dajiyuan	jefflee81258649	jeff lee		1870	43792	false	2/14/2021 06:50:17	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
325	5/17/2022 03:35:01	RT @Reuters: Switzerland's defense ministry is tilting closer to NATO in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, putting its fabled neutr...		Retweet		Lugovalos	David PHUA	Arellano Law	139	62925	false	5/15/2010 07:34:55	717	0	English	Twitter for Android

326	5/17/2022 03:35:00	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		KeithMoum	Keith Moum	Missouri	56	2921	false	1/16/2020 02:34:07	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
327	5/17/2022 03:35:00	RT @HAGnews2: Ukraine pushes Russian forces back. restricts gas flow to Europe. Russia said it had imposed sanctions on the Polish part-ow...		Retweet		G63Momo	G63MOMO(澳喜特战旅)🇺🇸		565	22901	false	2/14/2022 09:08:43	120	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
328	5/17/2022 03:34:59	RT @kajakallas: Very good conversation with @nytimes's @StevenErlanger. Spoke about Russia's aggression and why I see Ukraine's military...		Retweet		GoodyPunch	🍷🍷 🍷Goody Love Punch	Yuin country	2590	2E+05	false	3/26/2014 08:35:17	401	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

329	5/17/2022 03:34:59	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		MightyGHog	First Church of Jeepers Creepers us tw ua	Absolute Elsewhere	258	13149	false	11/1/2020 15:53:55	9739	0	English	Twitter Web App
330	5/17/2022 03:34:59	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		lbenson1	l benson	Canada	21	6660	false	1/29/2012 19:54:09	9739	0	English	Twitter for Android
331	5/17/2022 03:34:59	RT @A_SHEKH0VTS0V: Russia having no objection to Sweden and Finland joining NATO yet again proves that NATO was never a problem. The entire...		Retweet		004_dima	fort004		19	8343	false	1/17/2016 00:05:18	559	0	English	Twitter Web App
332	5/17/2022 03:34:56	RT @AP: Finland and Sweden say they want to join NATO in response to Russia's war on Ukraine. @AP explains what needs to happen next. https...		Retweet		kroltanz	The Boofing Douchebag	👉📺 Far Away From You 👉📺	1374	2E+05	false	2/17/2011 07:33:11	124	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
333	5/17/2022 03:34:56	RT @CaminoTexas: 普京总统对入侵乌克兰的军队亲自部署、亲自指挥，经常替前线校级军官做战术决策。这是导致俄军惨败的主要原因之一。美国研究俄军的专家认为，这是俄军和采用苏俄指挥系统的军队固有毛病——中层指挥系统形同虚设，遇到强劲敌军，前线部队经常因最高层瞎指挥而被...		Retweet		Billfvckoff	Bill	Bonneuil-sur- Marne, France	4	4533	false	1/2/2016 14:13:52	6	0	Chinese	Twitter for Android
334	5/17/2022 03:34:55	@RT_com Ukraine warns of draconian measures to support crashing economyAn extended conflict with Russia may lead to huge tax hikes and nationalization But the same things have already happened in Russia.		Reply	RT_com	films4one1	films4one1	California	37	18187	false	3/27/2020 10:49:50	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
335	5/17/2022 03:34:54	RT @BaddCompani: Yes Virginia, 2+2 still equals 4, not 5Glory to Ukraine!!uaus🤔 Putin: Finland, Sweden joining NATO does not pose a dir...		Retweet		ponette55	ponette🇸🇪🇸🇪🇸🇪 🇺🇦👉	Seattle, WA	3162	68352	false	1/8/2015 02:57:13	45	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
336	5/17/2022 03:34:53	Russia-Ukraine War and Mariupol News: Live Updates - The New York Times https://t.co/2WhZUBUFGj		Tweet		VeritasPrimeTK	TimothyK editor of theCOG.co ca	Victoria, Canada	237	32514	false	5/19/2010 20:47:26	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
337	5/17/2022 03:34:53	RT @nytimes: Breaking News: Ukraine ended its “combat mission” in Mariupol and said fighters were being evacuated, signaling that the battl...		Retweet		acaldwellwsj	Alicia A. Caldwell	Los Angeles, CA	5117	47880	true	9/30/2009 22:56:45	99	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
338	5/17/2022 03:34:53	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		TestUser1138	годфазерёнок путичок хуйло		149	1779	false	3/18/2009 19:18:55	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

339	5/17/2022 03:34:51	RT @LPNational: *Repeal the 2001 AUMF *End ALL the wars *Bring ALL the troops home *No war in Somalia *No war with Russia *No proxy war in...		Retweet		manicminded99	MNICMINDED 🚩🚩		0	78	false	1/18/2022 18:54:58	128	0	English	Twitter for Android
340	5/17/2022 03:34:50	RT @nytimes: Russian forces in Ukraine have underperformed to a degree that has surprised most Western analysts, raising the prospect that...		Retweet		MichaelWatman	Michael Watman		108	3645	false	3/2/2022 14:12:50	61	0	English	Twitter Web App
341	5/17/2022 03:34:50	RT @DarthPutinKGB: Russia will have to join NATO for protection against Ukraine.		Retweet		howiefoxjokes	Howie Fox	Location: Pepperland	483	36270	false	11/22/2009 06:46:28	3572	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
342	5/17/2022 03:34:48	RT @washingtonpost: Russians using smart TVs reported seeing something atypical: A message appeared instead of the usual channels. "The blo...		Retweet		bukkakeolympian	mojogogo	White House LIBERATED!	18764	71136	false	9/20/2017 03:44:29	241	0	English	Twitter Web App
343	5/17/2022 03:34:48	RT @OccupyDemocrats: BREAKING NEWS: In a huge loss for Putin and the Russian economy, McDonald's announces that it is pulling out of Russia...		Retweet		realCJMitchell	CJ Mitchell	Los Angeles, CA	238	39643	false	7/5/2012 03:05:31	1534	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
344	5/17/2022 03:34:47	RT @jsolomonReports: Trial opens for Clinton campaign lawyer accused of lying to FBI while planting Trump-Russia tale #JustTheNews https://...	JustTheNews	Retweet		therealtony25	Tony	earth	2634	39019	false	9/5/2017 02:39:55	213	0	English	Twitter for Android
345	5/17/2022 03:34:47	@griph @forensicgarlic counter imperialist like people uprising but with military weapons? (so sorry if this is a haha powder keg which of course it is) ukraine against russia, but complicated bc of nato/us involvement?		Reply	griph	collectdust	endora bullshit		2880	2E+05	false	2/11/2010 03:00:56	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
346	5/17/2022 03:34:46	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		SusanJo61931714	Susan Jones		174	14573	false	1/12/2018 07:01:01	268	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
347	5/17/2022 03:34:46	RT @Youblacksoul: This week #Zelensky has accused #Russia of shelling schools and kindergartens, so I have made this TikTok style video in...	Zelensky Russia	Retweet		WilsonO36040576	WILSON LULA 2022	Salvador, Brasil	26037	2E+05	false	1/16/2020 13:42:48	61	0	English	Twitter for Android
348	5/17/2022 03:34:46	The #Russian invasion of #Ukraine has backfired big time. Not only is it not going to #Russia's plan, the War has caused the expansion of #NATO, what Putin didn't want. #Finland #Sweden #RussianUkrainianWar https://t.co/l2RAR0mvJT	Russian Ukraine Russia NATO Finland	Tweet		Slimz09	SLIMZ		88	6530	false	3/24/2009 14:40:38	0	0	English	Twitter Web App

349	5/17/2022 03:34:45	RT @nytimes: Russian forces in Ukraine have underperformed to a degree that has surprised most Western analysts, raising the prospect that...		Retweet		LUISALBERTOR EA8	LUIS ALBERTO REARTE		3382	2E+05	false	12/9/2012 07:23:29	61	0	English	Twitter Web App
350	5/17/2022 03:34:45	RT @FiorellalsabelM: If the U.S & NATO spent all this time highlighting how a country like Russia had zero excuses for "invading" Ukraine a...		Retweet		Katleho20620328	Zelo	Bloemfontein,F ree State	100	879	false	5/26/2020 15:40:39	865	0	English	Twitter for Android
351	5/17/2022 03:34:44	RT @ajamubaraka: Accept it or not, from Russia's view it is fighting in Ukraine to keep NATO from significant parts of its borders & the U....		Retweet		math1751	Hamath Smael		81	8340	false	2/4/2011 08:05:42	1339	0	English	Twitter for Android
352	5/17/2022 03:34:44	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		occono	occono🌐	Cork, Ireland	738	85018	false	10/25/2008 20:58:11	268	0	English	Twitter for Android
353	5/17/2022 03:34:44	RT @CNBC: Ukraine can win this war, NATO chief says; Finland and Sweden move to join military alliance https://t.co/5kuCVVUyly		Retweet		prv87	Paul R.Vickers#CREW	Toronto,Ont,Ca nada	2032	3E+05	false	8/31/2010 23:41:25	134	0	English	Twitter Web App
354	5/17/2022 03:34:41	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol Zaporizhzhia	Retweet		UA_Live_Bot	UA-Live Bot		109	22552	false	1/12/2018 18:39:52	13	0	English	CobeDot

355	5/17/2022 03:34:41	RT @Reuters: Switzerland's defense ministry is tilting closer to NATO in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, putting its fabled neutr...		Retweet		242Alano	sfs lano		14	6693	false	3/22/2021 16:31:39	717	0	English	Twitter for Android
356	5/17/2022 03:34:40	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		kevin22262	Kevin ua		463	37760	false	2/10/2009 02:59:13	9739	0	English	Twitter Web App
357	5/17/2022 03:34:39	#Russia :It became clear to everyone that Russia is losing, and Putin has already begun to realize that he is losing the war he launched against Ukraine...!! Servant of humanity	Russia	Tweet		DMbydyn	د.رعد مبيضين	محافظة عمان, المملكة الأردنية	32	283	false	12/18/2021 01:28:09	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
358	5/17/2022 03:34:39	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		LeeSuoma	Leena Suomalainen FI ESEU🇪🇺	Spain, Andalucía	88	2825	false	9/22/2016 21:16:24	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPad
359	5/17/2022 03:34:38	RT @OccupyDemocrats: BREAKING NEWS: In a huge loss for Putin and the Russian economy, McDonald's announces that it is pulling out of Russia...		Retweet		c1d634617a4241 6	Gary Dray	Penticton, British Columbia	69	4429	false	12/9/2014 06:44:42	1534	0	English	Twitter for Android
360	5/17/2022 03:34:38	RT @visegrad24: Street violence and protests are breaking out in Tajikistan over rising food prices and general inflation. This follows si...		Retweet		RitaMMiller24	Rita Miller	Florida	1924	32711	false	7/25/2013 22:38:06	248	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
361	5/17/2022 03:34:36	RT @isonmayu: ¡UNA ESTRATEGIA MILITAR PERFECTA! Durante la reciente operación en el puente del río Siverskiy, Rusia sufrió 485 bajas (de un...		Retweet		GEOMGAL	Geom		641	2E+05	false	11/24/2011 15:30:13	9	0	Spanish	Twitter for Android

362	5/17/2022 03:34:36	RT @LadyVelvet_HFQ: Minimum paramedic volunteers wanted to work on ambulances in Ukraine. If interested please email on: info@GlobalOutreac...		Retweet		ilovemyindia21	Neeraj	Guwahati, Assam	1596	3E+05	false	4/3/2014 05:32:03	10	0	English	Twitter Web App
363	5/17/2022 03:34:35	RT @SwedishPM: Important meeting in Stockholm with US Senate Republican Leader McConnell and Senators Collins, Cornyn and Barrasso. Discuss...		Retweet		Rodrigo_GtzJ	Rodrigo Gtz	Zapopan, Jalisco	8	112	false	4/11/2022 17:50:21	159	0	English	Twitter for Android
364	5/17/2022 03:34:34	@argentcorvus Isolating China further doesn't look like as good an option as engaging, but with rigourous and tough negotiation. Negotiation with China has always been too soft, a lot of the implied leverage China had has evaporated after what happened to Russia over Ukraine.		Reply	BartlettChrisJ	BartlettChrisJ	Chris Bartlett (クリス・バートレット)	Japan	2241	29404	false	11/9/2013 09:33:42	0	1	English	Twitter for Android
365	5/17/2022 03:34:34	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		BrickTrailRider	Michael Tyre	Ohio, USA	103	1873	false	10/6/2016 10:36:25	9739	0	English	Twitter for Android
366	5/17/2022 03:34:31	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		urban_aid	urbanaid		507	65483	false	7/13/2011 16:11:17	369	0	English	Tweetbot for iOS
367	5/17/2022 03:34:31	RT @operadame: McDonald's said Monday that it has started the process of selling its Russian business, which includes 850 restaurants that...		Retweet		Quintus74689745	Quintus		1527	80159	false	9/27/2018 06:24:30	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
368	5/17/2022 03:34:30	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol Zaporizhzhia	Retweet		wadakashiho	絆 ALL JAPAN 🌐 Global	JAPAN	6029	1E+06	false	10/13/2011 10:21:37	13	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
369	5/17/2022 03:34:29	RT @Feedo1901: @TulsiGabbard #Tulsi Why #Finland and #Sweden are rushing?? Some fuck head is attacking a country like them! #Ukraine #Russi...	Tulsi Finland Sweden Ukraine	Retweet		TheSwedishBot	The Swedish Twitter Bot	Sweden	121	7311	false	6/30/2021 20:41:41	1	0	English	TheSwedish Bot
370	5/17/2022 03:34:29	RT @Jacksontronton3: Hey @wolfblitzer, I saw your headline that #Russia was on "its heels" and #Ukraine was making "big gains?" Do you re...	Russia Ukraine	Retweet		jld1403	jld1403	san juan	102	1367	false	1/19/2010 21:01:38	11	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

371	5/17/2022 03:34:29	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol Zaporizhzhia	Retweet		jeffreybacic	Jeffrey Bačić	Zagreb • Zadar	1452	18189	false	1/15/2014 04:56:16	13	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
372	5/17/2022 03:34:27	we have sent 5500 #missiles, #Ukraine has destroyed "230 tanks and armored vehicles", read Russians have a total of ~2800 tanks 'active'. It seems to me like Ukraine is pretty good where are the new ones really going? act shocked when they get used on us. https://t.co/GpovPRaDYB	missiles Ukraine	Tweet		eomar2828	Eddie	NY	216	4206	false	11/14/2016 07:23:56	0	0	English	Twitter Web App

373	5/17/2022 03:34:26	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol Zaporizhzhia	Retweet		jsfellie	Jsfellie		67	4403	false	5/31/2020 05:25:58	13	0	English	Twitter Web App
374	5/17/2022 03:34:24	RT @SocialistMMA: U.S. claims they are fighting "terrorism" in the region How is this any different than Russia's justification of "denazi...		Retweet		odemayn007	JPEG		193	176	false	2/23/2020 23:02:39	422	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
375	5/17/2022 03:34:23	RT @NPR: As Monday draws to a close in Kyiv and in Moscow, here are the key developments of the day: https://t.co/Q1eJvoUq5C https://t.co/i...		Retweet		terriwehrman	Terri "Little Terri" Wehrman	Piqua, OH	236	2249	false	5/16/2015 05:13:09	62	0	English	Twitter Web App
376	5/17/2022 03:34:22	RT @Reuters: McDonald's said it has started a process to sell all its restaurants in Russia, exiting the country after more than 30 years f...		Retweet		celxstudio	celina 🌙	□ she/her □	870	12971	false	7/14/2019 02:13:33	730	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
377	5/17/2022 03:34:21	RT @Hagosweldehans: Both Abiy Ahmed & Isaias Afwerki have shown the world their true colors by defending Russia's invasion of #Ukraine. It'...	Ukraine	Retweet		Hermila14171798	Hermila		1159	1E+05	false	2/24/2022 04:39:53	16	0	English	Twitter for Android
378	5/17/2022 03:34:21	@Markjaubrey @SenJackReed @POTUS By invading Ukraine, Putin has "demonized" Russia. Someone needs to tell Russia that literally no one wants to take over Russia. Who would even want that broken mess to deal with? It's like a toilet in a dive bar where nothing has been maintained for 20 years.		Reply	Markjaubrey	SteveRa11398981	Steve Rayner		81	7758	false	2/10/2022 20:57:26	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
379	5/17/2022 03:34:20	RT @ToscaAusten: Hunter Biden's business partner visited the White House *27* times while Joe was Vice President. Emails: Hunter introduce...		Retweet		WilsonJamIII	James Wilson III	Roswell, GA	1783	982	false	4/25/2022 20:37:21	196	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
380	5/17/2022 03:34:20	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		JDWilkinsonII	I Can't Drive 4.5		1952	73724	false	1/30/2014 08:17:47	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPad
381	5/17/2022 03:34:19	RT @LPNational: *Repeal the 2001 AUMF *End ALL the wars *Bring ALL the troops home *No war in Somalia *No war with Russia *No proxy war in...		Retweet		216thinker	Minarchy Thinker	Texas, USA	1891	43081	false	6/19/2018 05:17:45	128	0	English	Twitter for iPad
382	5/17/2022 03:34:19	RT @dancohen3000: .@Kyivpost says Skald's murder/rape screeds "were not the fantasies of an artist who was detached from life, but a reflec...		Retweet		SandraHelena39	Sandra N.	Southeastern Massachusetts	4292	3E+05	false	6/16/2009 21:06:19	24	0	English	Twitter Web App
383	5/17/2022 03:34:19	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		SkyNetPlatform	SkyNet Platforms: #TheBrain	Washington	272	2E+05	false	6/6/2021 21:42:15	9739	0	English	Twitter Web App

384	5/17/2022 03:34:18	RT @Antiwarcom: Putin Says Finland, Sweden Joining NATO Not a 'Direct Threat' to Russia The Russian leader says Moscow will have to respond...		Retweet		ONYOURLEFTRadio	ONYOURLEFT Radio		5	101	false	11/10/2021 10:09:20	5	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
385	5/17/2022 03:34:18	RT @_fabandy: I'm not a conspiracy theorist, but this Ukraine war looks more like political posturing than an actual war. Russia could have...		Retweet		over_711	over711	Montreal	1814	51160	false	1/21/2014 20:19:40	491	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
386	5/17/2022 03:34:17	RT @BaddCompani: Yes Virginia, 2+2 still equals 4, not 5Glory to Ukraine!!uaus☺ Putin: Finland, Sweden joining NATO does not pose a dir...		Retweet		dkamac1	KAshburn	Massachusetts, USA	3987	2E+05	false	3/8/2014 14:57:04	45	0	English	Twitter for iPad
387	5/17/2022 03:34:17	RT @KanwalSibal: IE edit t'day parrots West's arguments on ongoing Ukraine conflict. Endorses Finland & Sweden entry into Nato, blaming Rus...		Retweet		vsiddh1968	Venkatramana Siddheshwar		23	2849	false	12/13/2021 18:17:20	33	0	English	Twitter for Android
388	5/17/2022 03:34:17	#Ukraine #UkraineRussiaWar #Russia 俄國防部：烏特種部隊引爆了一枚伴有1噸硝酸銨的炸彈 https://t.co/LDfLc8sQFM	Ukraine UkraineRussiaWar Russia	Tweet		xiaohu35892404	肖虎		98	3076	false	1/24/2022 08:26:16	0	1	Chinese	Twitter Web App
389	5/17/2022 03:34:16	RT @MoscowTimes: More than a dozen military recruitment offices have been attacked across Russia since the invasion of Ukraine in late Febr...		Retweet		JustmeAnybody	Justme Anybody	Democrat in the USA	668	91026	false	9/15/2020 16:47:55	64	0	English	Twitter Web App
390	5/17/2022 03:34:14	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		BradleyQ271	UFO Pilot Bradley 🌞🚩📶	Somewhere in North Carolina	165	23628	false	5/4/2020 22:24:01	9739	0	English	Twitter Web App
391	5/17/2022 03:34:14	RT @apmassaro3: This newfound European worry that Ukraine may whip Russia too badly is the most embarrassing yet. The more complete the Rus...		Retweet		GeorgeVSilva	George Silva		62	23791	false	3/25/2014 01:53:02	1290	0	English	Twitter Web App
392	5/17/2022 03:34:14	RT @ana10g: I'm lovin' it!mcdonald's to leave #russia for good after 30 years.so... how's uncle vanya doing? LOL. #standwithukraine #u...	russia standwithukraine	Retweet		HiqmaQuran	Mahdi - Caliph of Allah		444	32593	false	1/19/2022 20:15:02	1	0	English	Microsoft Power Platform
393	5/17/2022 03:34:13	RT @RT_com: Ukraine warns of draconian measures to support crashing economy An extended conflict with Russia may lead to huge tax hikes an...		Retweet		Thimarafushi	Mohamed Musthafa	Malé , Maldives	41985	22294	false	6/11/2012 14:13:25	21	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
394	5/17/2022 03:34:13	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		AFreytesPalau	Abo - Abuelo - Grandpa	San Juan, Puerto Rico	271	87383	false	3/19/2012 04:54:49	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
395	5/17/2022 03:34:13	RT @FadeykaRU: Russia's President Putin says that the intervention in Ukraine had been necessary because the West was "preparing for the in...		Retweet		ArifShoaib8	Arif Shoaib		433	3250	false	3/28/2022 03:14:43	9	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

396	5/17/2022 03:34:12	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol	Retweet		SammySettanni	Sammy Settanni UA 🇺🇦 UA	midwest U.S.	4921	4E+05	false	1/24/2011 04:22:58	13	0	English	Twitter for iPad
397	5/17/2022 03:34:11	RT @MateuszSobiera3: video of the consequences of the defeat of the Russian offensive near the villages of Belogorivka, Serebryanka in the...		Retweet		MagicMykolenko	Boggie UA AU		841	18691	false	1/5/2012 14:07:48	16	0	English	Twitter Web App
398	5/17/2022 03:34:11	RT @kajakallas: Very good conversation with @nytimes's @StevenErlanger. Spoke about Russia's aggression and why I see Ukraine's military...		Retweet		coolcatrr1	coolcatrr	Vancouver, British Columbia	32	12719	false	2/10/2016 02:23:28	401	0	English	Twitter Web App
399	5/17/2022 03:34:10	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Ld4evre	sloppy sandwiches	MKE	254	8124	false	5/14/2021 21:35:26	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
400	5/17/2022 03:34:10	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		kataievska	Ola Kataievska		120	7357	false	2/27/2022 02:09:11	9739	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

401	5/17/2022 03:34:10	@MartierAnthony @voldek6 @Militarylandnet Maybe Russia shouldn't have invaded a sovereign nation and started a genocide campaign in Ukraine.		Reply	MartierAnthony	amdugg	Ada Maimer		372	10942	false	1/18/2009 02:25:50	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
402	5/17/2022 03:34:10	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		TJosephRogers1	TJosephRogers		57	1127	false	3/4/2021 20:00:00	9741	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
403	5/17/2022 03:34:09	RT @CITeam_en: Last week, all eyes were on Russia's big parade in Moscow, which featured much fewer vehicles than last year, those missing...		Retweet		jmedeiros71	Jorge Medeiros	Lisboa, Portugal	1576	3E+05	false	5/11/2012 18:10:29	79	0	English	Twitter for Android
404	5/17/2022 03:34:08	RT @A_SHEKH0VTS0V: Russia having no objection to Sweden and Finland joining NATO yet again proves that NATO was never a problem. The entire...		Retweet		Franaszek	Kalosh		513	1E+05	false	7/20/2011 16:20:54	559	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
405	5/17/2022 03:34:08	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		squirrel_no	MooseNoSquirrel	Here still here	30162	27364	false	10/1/2019 23:51:58	9741	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
406	5/17/2022 03:34:08	RT @KyleWOrton: Thread: 16 May 2022: Day 82 of #Russia's invasion of #Ukraine	Russia Ukraine	Retweet		BSBonner	Brian Bonner	Kyiv, Ukraine	25088	1E+05	false	6/21/2009 11:11:00	4	0	English	Twitter Web App

407	5/17/2022 03:34:07	Mobilization in #Russia not going too well. Why would #Russians WANT to get killed in #Ukraine - washing machines? For Putin to save face? https://t.co/6XXfzo7SZy	Russia Russians Ukraine	Tweet		JustmeAnybody	Justme Anybody	Democrat in the USA	668	91026	false	9/15/2020 16:47:55	2	1	English	Twitter Web App
408	5/17/2022 03:34:06	Ukraine ends 'combat mission' in Mariupol; hundreds evacuated from Azovstal steel plant https://t.co/UXIDrEUvRK https://t.co/fhDHh9b6U		Tweet		papauechan1	焼肉ライク大 好き		26	3389	false	5/31/2014 11:06:23	1	1	English	SocialDog for Twitter
409	5/17/2022 03:34:04	McDonald's to sell its business in Russia after 30 years. Yar https://t.co/SqtJeSjfr		Tweet		iamthelemongirl	x	United States	984	1E+05	false	6/30/2017 06:30:02	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
410	5/17/2022 03:34:04	RT @ToscaAusten: Hunter Biden's business partner visited the White House *27* times while Joe was Vice President. Emails: Hunter introduce...		Retweet		Sparksjay483AD	Jay Sparks	Myrtle Beach, SC	1171	10789	false	10/4/2021 23:49:30	196	0	English	Twitter for Android
411	5/17/2022 03:34:04	RT @lesiasvasylenko: 66 filtration camps have been identified across #Russia. 95000 Ukrainians have been deported and are kept in these inhu...	Russia	Retweet		OleksandraDeriy	Oleksandra Deriy		9	1084	false	2/24/2022 17:06:28	460	0	English	Twitter for Android
412	5/17/2022 03:34:04	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		DCTrojan	DCTrojan	Sodom- onPotomac	698	1E+05	false	2/2/2008 08:37:24	9741	0	English	Twitterrific for iOS
413	5/17/2022 03:34:02	@__SBrooks Russia have a hard time , cities in Ukraine are rubble. surrounding countries joining NATO		Reply	__SBrooks	Dell_Tez	Dell	East Lansing/Detroit	2840	5E+05	false	8/6/2010 19:17:33	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
414	5/17/2022 03:34:02	@guardian @mod_russia now its time to liberate the country from this useless guy, and make Ukraine one of the richest parts of Europe, as it was during most of the twentieth century!		Reply	guardian	jonathanbharker	Jonathan B Harker		127	4203	false	10/4/2015 06:37:05	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
415	5/17/2022 03:34:02	RT @kmartynov: Guardian пишет, что Путин очень увлекся войной и принимает тактические решения на уровне бригадного генерала. Возможно, его...		Retweet		AgaBeck_1	❤️ 🇷🇺 ❤️❤️ Болгарин Арабек	Enschede	252	47150	false	2/19/2019 18:45:48	21	0	Russian	Twitter for Android
416	5/17/2022 03:34:01	RT @MichelobMarxist: "If you cannot sleep because of Russia - Ukrainian conflict, there are some advices to calm you down. First imagine th...		Retweet		rairararara	raira		2513	2E+05	false	5/15/2010 07:28:45	2343	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
417	5/17/2022 03:34:01	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		sadiqshah2112	Saddiq shah	Pakistan	248	49273	false	12/25/2016 16:57:27	1421	0	English	Twitter for Android
418	5/17/2022 03:34:01	In his latest for @nytopinion, @DouthatNYT revisits his recent panel discussion w/ @RLHeinrichs, @elbridgecolby & @j_grygiel on America's objectives in the #RussiaUkraineWar.	RussiaUkraineWar	Tweet		HudsonInstitute	Hudson Institute	Washington, DC	75153	10391	true	10/14/2008 20:19:22	0	0	English	Sprout Social

419	5/17/2022 03:34:01	@TomFitton No, Russia in Ukraine is an invasion. This is people exercising a human right to travel.		Reply	TomFitton	NaysayerRon	TweetingForDummies		3	1595	false	1/8/2017 22:47:30	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
420	5/17/2022 03:34:00	President Vladimir Putin said on Monday Sweden and Finland joining NATO would be no threat to Russia but warned the Western alliance that moving troops or weapons into the Nordic neighbours would provoke a "response."		Tweet		PhilstarNews	Philstar.com	Manila, Philippines	9E+05	3E+05	true	7/9/2009 05:48:17	1	0	English	TweetDeck
421	5/17/2022 03:34:00	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		Const_Overhaul	Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien 👤		11806	95197	false	3/4/2009 23:22:54	16	0	English	Twitter Web App
422	5/17/2022 03:34:00	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		ProgressWeekly	Brother Marek 👤	Chicago, IL USA	11551	1E+05	false	11/10/2011 04:36:34	9741	0	English	Twitter for Android
423	5/17/2022 03:34:00	RT @guardian: Sweden follows Finland in confirming it will apply to join Nato https://t.co/kvRzBrj1wc		Retweet		dante4_real	Dante4Real	Bunker, Upper Midwest, USA	647	18978	false	7/21/2021 16:18:45	51	0	English	Twitter Web App
424	5/17/2022 03:34:00	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		dirtbag_atx	democratically elected unions 4all	Austin, TX	198	12816	false	8/2/2016 04:31:06	196	0	English	Twitter for Android
425	5/17/2022 03:33:59	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		SandraHelena39	Sandra N.	Southeastern Massachusetts	4292	3E+05	false	6/16/2009 21:06:19	196	0	English	Twitter Web App
426	5/17/2022 03:33:58	RT @McFaul: So many call for Biden to end Russia's invasion of Ukraine war through diplomacy. Why do they never call for PUTIN to end the w...		Retweet		freedom1970a	p.a.f.1970	Poland	7124	4E+05	false	5/3/2017 16:52:22	5154	0	English	Twitter for Android
427	5/17/2022 03:33:57	RT @Antiwarcom: Putin Says Finland, Sweden Joining NATO Not a 'Direct Threat' to Russia The Russian leader says Moscow will have to respond...		Retweet		BluzMonk	Bluezmonk 🐼		85	12331	false	3/13/2021 02:57:50	5	0	English	Twitter Web App
428	5/17/2022 03:33:57	RT @francis_scurr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		Nonsumdignus_5	Spartan Intelligence	Classified	41	839	false	2/5/2022 01:35:57	9741	0	English	Twitter Web App
429	5/17/2022 03:33:54	@louisadon2 @Katmac05330508 @TheJerryPorter @clevelanddotcom Maybe the corporations should use their existing gas permits and Russia shouldn't have invaded Ukraine 🙄		Reply	louisadon2	servineatwork	SerperiorBlockOC hees	Cleveland, OH	21	1314	false	1/19/2016 14:42:36	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
430	5/17/2022 03:33:54	RT @ToscaAusten: Hunter Biden's business partner visited the White House *27* times while Joe was Vice President. Emails: Hunter introduce...		Retweet		Godhasgotthis	Justatw!tter	East Tn.	503	22221	false	6/6/2020 05:16:41	196	0	English	Twitter for Android
431	5/17/2022 03:33:53	RT @AlbertoABurgos1: https://t.co/mRpKAKi7Cx Mujer, primera ministra de Estonia, país , con solo 1'300000 habitantes, alza su voz e implora...		Retweet		garcia_joseplan	jose antonio garcia	Maracay-Edo Aragua.	1372	72481	false	8/24/2012 04:25:52	7	0	Spanish	Twitter Web App

432	5/17/2022 03:33:53	RT @DMokryk: Some Western leaders are reportedly afraid of what could happen if uaUkraine wins the war - because it would mean a big humili...		Retweet		AlexV_Ver	AlexV_Ver (25%) UA	Ukraine, Kiev	1933	10375	false	10/27/2009 20:53:13	710	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
433	5/17/2022 03:33:52	RT @LukasNavar: ru🇺🇵 Parece que alguns ucranianos estão a favor da queda de Kiev! #Russian #Russia Azovstal #Ucrania #Ukraine https://t.co/...	Russian Russia Ucrania Ukraine	Retweet		Osmarps	Osmar ps	Alguma Cidade do RS, Brasil	398	11848	false	3/27/2010 02:53:01	2	0	Portugues e	Twitter for Android

434	5/17/2022 03:33:52	RT @nytimes: Russian forces in Ukraine have underperformed to a degree that has surprised most Western analysts, raising the prospect that...		Retweet		fx_glzgasp_76	Dr. Francisco X. González Garza, MDO, PhD.	SanPedro, Garza García, N.L.	5	745	false	5/3/2022 21:42:47	61	0	English	Twitter Web App
435	5/17/2022 03:33:52	RT @LouiseMensch: Putin involved in war 'at level of colonel or brigadier', say western sources Intriguing story, designed mostly to insu...		Retweet		jb_bellet	JB Petten	San Francisco	1089	51692	false	8/24/2015 17:25:12	13	0	English	Twitter for iPad
436	5/17/2022 03:33:52	RT @ua_parliament: 229 children were murdered by ru nazis as a result of Russia's full-scale ageession against #Ukraine. We'll never forgi...	Ukraine	Retweet		ViterVolodymyr	Volodymyr Viter	Crow Able Orchid	1328	70006	false	1/3/2014 12:33:28	19	0	English	Twitter for Android
437	5/17/2022 03:33:51	RT @OccupyDemocrats: BREAKING NEWS: In a huge loss for Putin and the Russian economy, McDonald's announces that it is pulling out of Russia...		Retweet		DianeDeluca10	Digio10	Illinois	73	1566	false	7/20/2020 21:56:31	1534	0	English	Twitter for Android
438	5/17/2022 03:33:51	Unshockingly Turkey says it will not approve Sweden and Finland joining Nato https://t.co/EWmYHN636G		Tweet		iamthelemongirl	x	United States	984	1E+05	false	6/30/2017 06:30:02	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
439	5/17/2022 03:33:51	RT @BSBonner: A Ukrainian unit had to retreat under Russian fire. Its captain stayed and died protecting his troops /via @globeandmail http...		Retweet		AM27568	Angie Angel		95	8594	false	3/2/2022 03:12:16	17	0	English	Twitter for Android
440	5/17/2022 03:33:50	RT @kmartynov: Guardian пишет, что Путин очень увлекся войной и принимает тактические решения на уровне бригадного генерала. Возможно, его...		Retweet		tvinhyilo	Tvin (Хуевый Док)		65	5607	false	4/23/2022 01:43:52	21	0	Russian	Twitter for Android
441	5/17/2022 03:33:50	RT @OccupyDemocrats: BREAKING NEWS: In a huge loss for Putin and the Russian economy, McDonald's announces that it is pulling out of Russia...		Retweet		JAnn0308	JoyceAnn0308		30	18293	false	5/14/2021 17:37:05	1534	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
442	5/17/2022 03:33:49	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		jameshynes	James Hynes	Austin, TX	1093	281	false	2/12/2009 21:47:46	9741	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
443	5/17/2022 03:33:48	RT @visegrad24: Several countries said that the EC had taken an unacceptable position considering what is happening in Ukraine. The Dutch...		Retweet		askgro	Anne P. Grodin		186	90048	false	1/6/2011 00:06:37	181	0	English	Twitter Web App

444	5/17/2022 03:33:47	RT @raging545: IMAGES of Ukrainian SBU (Security Forces) "Alpha" units preparing to make a night "visit" to Russian troops in E.Ukraine. #P...		Retweet		ZKorwes	zachary korwes		17	1457	false	2/21/2013 03:03:28	7	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
445	5/17/2022 03:33:46	RT @SocialistMMA: U.S. claims they are fighting "terrorism" in the region How is this any different than Russia's justification of "denazi...		Retweet		nac71700	Dawn of A New Apocalypse +		30	3000	false	6/9/2009 06:13:56	422	0	English	Twitter for Android
446	5/17/2022 03:33:45	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		ElyWBlack	Elizabeth ua		594	1E+05	false	7/29/2017 23:43:58	9741	0	English	Twitter for Android
447	5/17/2022 03:33:45	RT @halyapuff: #Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #S...	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol Zaporizhzhia	Retweet		EuromaidanPress	Euromaidan Press		2E+05	75828	true	6/29/2014 20:47:52	13	0	English	TweetDeck
448	5/17/2022 03:33:44	RT @Reuters: Switzerland's defense ministry is tilting closer to NATO in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, putting its fabled neutr...		Retweet		JDavidCarrascoM	gatoDe PatasBlancas #CallMeFifi #Aspiracionista	La Cueva de los Osos	1031	87298	false	8/2/2011 20:40:27	717	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
449	5/17/2022 03:33:44	RT @ActionTime: #SanctionRussiaNOW: #Russia CANNOT Make More tanks because of #Sanctions That Ban Exports #RussianLosses #PutinHitler #Stop...	SanctionRussiaNOW Russia Sanctions Russian Losses Putin Hitler	Retweet		NickThiwerspoon	Nick Thiwerspoon	Country Victoria	10505	1E+05	false	6/19/2012 07:00:01	3	0	English	Twitter Web App

450	5/17/2022 03:33:44	RT @Youblacksoul: This week #Zelensky has accused #Russia of shelling schools and kindergartens, so I have made this TikTok style video in...	Zelensky Russia	Retweet		MaurizioGabell1	Maurizio Gabellini		243	13769	false	6/19/2019 18:32:46	61	0	English	Twitter Web App
451	5/17/2022 03:33:44	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		LinksideArmell	Vitalis, MD	Россия	321	30739	false	1/13/2015 09:52:53	9741	0	English	Twitter for Android
452	5/17/2022 03:33:43	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		TomasGreene	Tomas Greene cl		685	2929	false	10/4/2021 14:10:56	1421	0	English	Twitter for Android
453	5/17/2022 03:33:43	That infamous "phone call" also got us in the damn mess right now with #Ukraine vs #Russia and #Georgia and #Insurrection! Don't take phone calls from #Trump	Ukraine Russia Georgia Insurrection Trump	Reply	RuthRitter2	RuthRitter2	Ruth Ritter ua		163	10168	false	12/13/2020 20:05:37	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
454	5/17/2022 03:33:42	RT @caitoz: This doesn't end with Russia leaving Ukraine, it ends with Putin being replaced with a Yeltsin-like US vassal. Really it doesn'...		Retweet		1foolon1hill	jack o'malley		1872	2E+05	false	5/21/2014 10:09:02	171	0	English	Twitter Web App

455	5/17/2022 03:33:41	RT @CNN: After temporarily shutting down more than 800 restaurants following the invasion of Ukraine, McDonald's has decided to leave Russi...		Retweet		myanmar_gen	Gen-Z Myanmar News	Myanmar	32	733	false	2/26/2021 09:52:04	762	0	English	Twitter for Mac
456	5/17/2022 03:33:40	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		Spartac06445550	Spartacus		47	3059	false	12/14/2021 04:01:53	268	0	English	Twitter for Android
457	5/17/2022 03:33:40	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		JagathKey	Jagath Kumara	Galle, Sri Lanka	490	8139	false	10/2/2010 14:39:49	16	0	English	Twitter Web App
458	5/17/2022 03:33:40	Russia makes new threats over use of Satan-2 hypersonic nuclear missile on Britain https://t.co/IUhCn6vgpS		Tweet		ShakirBaacha	Shakir Baacha		598	2074	false	2/11/2010 20:41:04	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
459	5/17/2022 03:33:40	RT @JosephJFlynn1: Boom 🇺🇸🇺🇸🇺🇸🇺🇸🇺🇸!!!! #FightLikeAFlynn. Michael Flynn files \$50 million claim against feds in prelude to lawsuit over Russia...	FightLikeAFlynn	Retweet		oldyfab	Debbie Mahoney		80	3478	false	9/21/2010 20:47:57	578	0	English	Twitter for iPad
460	5/17/2022 03:33:39	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		MikeTheResister	Mike @ team USA #FBR #BlueWave #TheResistance	AZ	13049	2E+05	false	7/14/2018 03:02:22	369	0	English	Twitter Web App
461	5/17/2022 03:33:39	RT @andrewmichta: European leaders who continue to reach out to Putin need to understand that they prolong the war. Every call encourages P...		Retweet		the_avian_flew	♡♡ avian flew ♡♡	Idaho River	502	6878	false	2/2/2020 20:23:58	104	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
462	5/17/2022 03:33:39	@neoclassic911 @Jenben66 @Philfandan @peter_gunther @Craftmastah We don't. We want to end the war in Ukraine by forcing Russia to withdraw.		Reply	neoclassic 911	BruceHalperin	Bruce Halperin	San Francisco, California	2489	34578	false	5/26/2011 05:11:53	0	0	English	Twitter for iPad
463	5/17/2022 03:33:38	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		reburbujo	jordiL	Barcelona, Cataluña	194	12226	false	3/23/2013 04:48:11	9741	0	English	Twitter Web App
464	5/17/2022 03:33:38	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		christyontheweb	Christy	Remote	2184	4233	false	9/28/2008 13:05:45	16	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
465	5/17/2022 03:33:38	RT @DiegoLo29234998: Aidar battalionAzov battalion Svoboda Party Pravi Sector! all fascists and racists! They hate Russia and that is w...		Retweet		DiegoLo29234998	Diego Lopez Victor Dejan	London. Rio. 🌐	680	1E+05	false	1/9/2018 21:41:07	1	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

466	5/17/2022 03:33:38	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		SpookySigns	👁 Spooky Signs	In the trenches with you.	3194	32574	false	11/29/2016 11:30:51	9741	0	English	Twitter Web App
467	5/17/2022 03:33:37	RT @TheAtlantic: "You've never experienced such a catastrophe, and a dose of fatalism is inevitable, even necessary." The Russian writer Ma...		Retweet		alindguzik	Anna Lind-Guzik	New York, NY	5421	19465	false	4/21/2009 04:17:38	25	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
468	5/17/2022 03:33:36	Michael Flynn files \$50 million claim against feds in prelude to lawsuit over Russia probe https://t.co/d78eWp4pPY via @JustTheNews		Tweet		Musex58475389	MuseX		133	51733	false	9/24/2019 05:41:37	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
469	5/17/2022 03:33:36	RT @FiorellalsabelM: If the U.S & NATO spent all this time highlighting how a country like Russia had zero excuses for "invading" Ukraine a...		Retweet		hendragnw	Axiomatic Empire's Implosion		340	57653	false	5/17/2009 05:28:40	867	0	English	Twitter for Android
470	5/17/2022 03:33:36	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		cardboardjonny	Dee	Republic of Glasgow	262	42711	false	8/10/2009 23:44:06	9741	0	English	Twitter Web App
471	5/17/2022 03:33:36	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		OphirGottlieb	Ophir Gottlieb	Los Angeles, CA	2E+05	2E+05	true	12/28/2009 22:13:21	9741	0	English	Twitter for Android
472	5/17/2022 03:33:36	Results of getting carried away by social media hype no longer bear fruits. Ukraine orders Azovstal fighters to surrender. #Azovstal https://t.co/f0xsRJvycN	Azovstal	Tweet		Debear97	DEBEAR		845	4271	false	6/4/2009 04:42:35	0	0	English	Twitter for Android
473	5/17/2022 03:33:35	@AlexHazanov It's a question that should be answered when arrived at. By assuming the position that helps Russia put before the situation has even crystallized, you're not on the side of Ukraine anymore.		Reply	AlexHazanov	redviburnum	Adam Edwards (23-13)UN 🇺🇸	Queens, NY	29	1665	false	3/21/2022 15:08:38	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
474	5/17/2022 03:33:34	Russia is losing. That might make Putin more dangerous. https://t.co/h0JSnzO7tB		Tweet		DavidVickrey1	David VickreyUA#невойна #украина #keinkrieg	Maine USA	382	34541	false	9/10/2012 22:44:03	0	0	English	Twitter Web App
475	5/17/2022 03:33:34	RT @AngellUnique73: Hi my name is Patron' & I'm a little 9lb guy who sniffs out bombs with my owner in Ukraine to help save lives in Russia...		Retweet		DMarguriet	dennis marguriet	way down south	163	10330	false	5/23/2014 19:36:10	2	0	English	Twitter Web App
476	5/17/2022 03:33:32	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		FourSeasonSigns	FourSeasonSigns 🇺🇸	BC	250	16993	false	12/10/2021 03:07:37	9741	0	English	Twitter Web App

477	5/17/2022 03:33:31	I think Russia is in for a very humiliating defeat across a broad range of objectives - these include revanchism, containment of NATO, and cutting off Ukraine's access to the Black sea. https://t.co/RcK0E96ToW		Tweet		kachelme1	For the enlightenment		4568	96423	false	6/2/2016 06:08:33	0	1	English	Twitter Web App
478	5/17/2022 03:33:30	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		Andrea_51544005	Andrea	Ohio, USA	2676	5E+05	false	5/13/2017 06:34:03	268	0	English	Twitter for Android

479	5/17/2022 03:33:29	RT @raging545: MORE IMAGES of wounded Ukrainian soldiers from Azovstal being taken away in buses & ambulances to supposedly Russian control...		Retweet		cucojose	jose requena	Panamá	7290	5E+05	false	3/8/2011 04:07:59	24	0	English	Twitter for Android
480	5/17/2022 03:33:29	#Russia uses abducted #Ukrainians for #propaganda video claiming #Ukraine is bombing 'liberated' #Melitopol #Zaporizhzhia #StandWithUkraine #RussiaWarCrimes #StopRussia https://t.co/PvkuA0nkP1 https://t.co/nMYfCUopIH	Russia Ukrainians propaganda Ukraine Melitopol Zaporizhzhia Stand With Ukraine Russia War Crimes StopRussia	Tweet		halyapuff	Halya Coynash		4762	7778	false	12/15/2013 15:18:55	13	14	English	TweetDeck
481	5/17/2022 03:33:29	#Ukraine #UkraineRussiaWar #Russia 麥當勞宣布退出俄羅斯並出售在俄業務 https://t.co/t3oaY6aF7O	Ukraine UkraineRussiaWar Russia	Tweet		xiaohu35892404	肖虎		98	3076	false	1/24/2022 08:26:16	0	1	Chinese	Twitter Web App
482	5/17/2022 03:33:29	@UndgnfiedWrshpr @SupremeTruther @Timcast That's the BS passing off as enlightened thought in MAGANation? Go read the transcript of Putin's speech he gave right before invading Ukraine. He considers Ukraine part of Russia. Ukrainians want sovereignty. This "proxy war" only exists because of Putin's ego.		Reply	Undgnfied Wrshpr	deymann72	Denis Eymann		44	1255	false	10/4/2010 04:48:23	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
483	5/17/2022 03:33:28	RT @vmsalama: Kharkiv Governor Oleh Sinegubov posted this video and said, via telegram, that Ukrainian forces have made it to the Kharkiv r...		Retweet		apache448	Miguel Angel	ZARAGOZA ARAGON	1364	26663	false	4/17/2014 15:54:10	54	0	English	Twitter Web App
484	5/17/2022 03:33:28	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		HerrenPhillis	Phillis Herren	Where the peaches grow	2474	16545	false	8/14/2021 07:21:06	196	0	English	Twitter Web App
485	5/17/2022 03:33:27	RT @nytimes: Breaking News: Ukraine ended its "combat mission" in Mariupol and said fighters were being evacuated, signaling that the battl...		Retweet		raspmartytea	queen mary fan (she/her)	Hogwarts or Middle Earth	2408	3E+05	false	4/10/2012 00:44:57	99	0	English	Twitter for Android
486	5/17/2022 03:33:26	RT @francis_scarr: In an extremely rare moment of candour on Russian state TV today, defence columnist Mikhail Khodaryonok gave a damning a...		Retweet		NickRiceTweets	Nick Rice	New York	31	194	false	3/6/2022 01:56:25	9741	0	English	Twitter Web App

487	5/17/2022 03:33:26	RT @Reuters: Switzerland's defense ministry is tilting closer to NATO in response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, putting its fabled neutr...		Retweet		RobertLPerry1	Robert L. Perry	Northern Virginia	143	3649	false	1/7/2022 18:31:26	717	0	English	Twitter Web App
488	5/17/2022 03:33:25	RT @BSBonner: A Ukrainian unit had to retreat under Russian fire. Its captain stayed and died protecting his troops /via @globeandmail http...		Retweet		sorokows1	Oksana S.	San Francisco/Honolulu	21	3599	false	3/7/2022 20:39:00	17	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
489	5/17/2022 03:33:25	RT @jilevin: LIVE BLOG: LIVE BLOG via NBCNews https://t.co/EpIC5J6yKS		Retweet		Phoozba1	Phoozba		442	25878	false	7/31/2020 00:19:32	5	0	English	Twitter for Android
490	5/17/2022 03:33:21	RT @dancohen3000: .@Kyivpost says Skald's murder/rape screeds "were not the fantasies of an artist who was detached from life, but a reflec...		Retweet		SR_AntiFascism	sr_antifascism		74	4363	false	3/4/2022 20:58:16	24	0	English	Twitter Web App
491	5/17/2022 03:33:21	@JohnCornyn why are you in Ukraine. Stop wasting our tax money. Russia is not a threat to the US. We have enough problems here at home.		Tweet	JohnCornyn	Timmaay131	Timmaay131	Texas	387	1216	false	10/26/2021 16:51:07	0	0	English	Twitter for iPhone
492	5/17/2022 03:33:21	RT @Navsteva: For whatever reason, Russia didn't want to take out Ukraine's infrastructure at the start of the special military operation....		Retweet		Mott_Mason	Mott Mason		3342	2E+05	false	10/13/2017 15:20:47	38	0	English	Twitter Web App
493	5/17/2022 03:33:21	RT @KyivIndependent: ⚡ Russia carries out 8 attacks in eastern Ukraine. Ukraine's Operational Tactical Group "East" reported on May 16 t...		Retweet		kdmms007	GDS	Ont. Canada	923	28081	false	2/7/2011 17:35:52	369	0	English	Twitter for iPhone

494	5/17/2022 03:33:19	RT @MichelobMarxist: "If you cannot sleep because of Russia - Ukrainian conflict, there are some advices to calm you down. First imagine th...		Retweet		da_ufrj	mundinho Ariel Perez		68	7411	false	2/13/2020 05:19:01	2343	0	English	Twitter for Android
495	5/17/2022 03:33:18	RT @markmackinnon: Capt. Volodymyr Kiselov fought in the biggest battles of the war for Ukraine. He met with The Globe last month to plead...		Retweet		mykpy	MykhailoNORTHc AUA 🇺🇸 🇵🇸	Coast to Coast to Coast, CA	2099	2E+05	false	3/15/2014 16:24:04	268	0	English	Twitter for Android
496	5/17/2022 03:33:18	RT @IsabelColes: Russian soldiers forced the 3 brothers to their knees on the edge of a freshly dug pit in northern #Ukraine. The first bul...	Ukraine	Retweet		JuanitaMcDowe20	Juanita McDowell		116	59856	false	8/17/2017 02:00:20	1421	0	English	Twitter for iPad
497	5/17/2022 03:33:18	RT @hailewdihaweza: Ethiopia & Eritrea are planning for another round of full scale war on Tigray while the intl community focuses on Russi...		Retweet		gueshy_t	Titi Adwa		415	18682	false	10/19/2021 00:19:11	134	0	English	Twitter for Android
498	5/17/2022 03:33:18	RT @AP: Ukrainian President Zelenskyy says the evacuation of hundreds of fighters from a steel plant in Mariupol to separatist-controlled t...		Retweet		KayBlazes	🇺🇸 Kay 🇺🇸	Snafu, CA	283	34547	false	2/8/2016 07:52:54	16	0	English	Twitter for iPad

499	5/17/2022 03:33:18	RT @dancohen3000: The NED-funded @KyivPost published and deleted an article memorializing Ukrainian Azov fighter Serhiy Skald, who wrote "p...		Retweet		SR_AntiFascism	sr_antifascism		74	4363	false	3/4/2022 20:58:16	196	0	English	Twitter Web App
500	5/17/2022 03:33:18	https://t.co/O59EoFBGMe		Tweet		maya0818	MayaDaDDyBear	Where I Am; Is where I Am	534	47644	false	8/3/2009 11:29:30	0	0	Unknown	Twitter for Android



APPENDIX B: Documents and Codes Table

Documents / Countries	Coded Section	Security	Denazification	Threat	Stability	Conflict	Weapon	Nuclear weapon	Defence	Aggression	National Security	Border Security	Nuclear ambitions	Territorial integrity	Wartfighting	Military Operation	Democracy	Liberty	Autocracy	Human Rights humanitarian	Sovereignty	Sanctions	Freedom	International Law
Germany	1																					1		
Germany	1					1																		
Germany	1	1																						
Germany	2									1												1		
Germany	4									1												3		
Germany	4			2								1			1									
Germany	4														2					1	1			
Germany	5								1			3					1							
Germany	5	1					3								1									
Germany	5						2								2							1		
Germany	5	1				1	1	1							1									
Germany	5					1	2								2									
Germany	6					1									1							4		
Germany	6	1				1				1					2		1							
Germany	6					1	3															2		
Germany	7						5								2									
Germany	8														4		1					2	1	
Germany	9	2					4			1					2									
Germany	9					1	7								1									
Germany	9	1				1				1					2						1	3		
Germany	12	2		2		1	2			1					3							1		
Germany	27	17		2	1			1			4				2									
Germany																								
NATO	5	1		1						1				1								1		
NATO	6	1										1		2							2			
NATO	7	3		1					1	1					1									
NATO	13	3		1						2		1		2						2	2			
Russia	1	1																						
Russia	1		1																					
Russia	1																							
Russia	1															1								
Russia	1															1								
Russia	2															2								
Russia	2			2																				
Russia	2		1													1								
Russia	2			1												1								
Russia	2						1									1								
Russia	2															1								
Russia	2						1									1								
Russia	3	1	1													2						1		
Russia	3			1		1										1								
Russia	3							2													1			
Russia	3															1						2		
Russia	3		1			1										1								
Russia	3						1	1					1											
Russia	3		1																	1				1
Russia	3		1			1										1								
Russia	4		3													1								
Russia	4						3									1								
Russia	5									2		3												
Russia	5						1															4		
Russia	5		1													3					1			
Russia	5		1							1					1	1					1			
Russia	5			1			3									1								
Russia	6		1			4										1								
Russia	6						2	2							2									
Russia	6			1		1															2	2		
Russia	6																				3	3		
Russia	7		1	1	1		1									3								
Russia	8			2	2	2	2																	
Russia	9	1	1	2		1	2									1					1			
Russia	10			2			6	2																

APPENDIX C: Instrumental Variables based on Country Related Codes

#	Security	Denazification	Threat	stability	Conflict	nuclear ambitions.	Nuclear weapon	Weapon	Territorial integrity	Defence	Aggression	National Security	Border Security	War/fighting	Military Operation	Democracy	Liberty	Autocracy	Human Rights/humanitarian	Sovereignty	Sanctions	Freedom	International Law	TOTAL	N= Documents / Speakers
NATO Allies 07 04	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1
NATO Secretary General statement on Russia 24 02	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	1
Statement by the NATO Secretary General 21 02	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	1
Statement by the North Atlantic Council on Russia 24 02	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	13	1
UK - Defence secretary 07 04	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	1
UK - defence secretary 24 02	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	12	1
UK - foreign secretary 03 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	1
UK - foreign secretary 04 03	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	22	1
UK - Foreign Secretary 04 04 2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	10	1
UK - foreign secretary 04 04	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	14	1
UK - foreign secretary 04 05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	7	1
UK - foreign secretary 05 05	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	23	1
UK - foreign secretary 06 04	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	1	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	21	1
UK - foreign secretary 09 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	1
UK - foreign secretary 13 04	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	0	0	19	1
UK - Foreign Secretary 15 03	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	13	1
UK - foreign secretary 22 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
UK - foreign secretary 23 02	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	9	1
UK - foreign secretary 25 02	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	12	1
UK - foreign secretary 25 03	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	5	0	0	23	1
UK - foreign secretary 26 04	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	18	1
UK - foreign secretary 28 02	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	3	1	6	0	0	22	1
UK - foreign secretary 28 03	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	2	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	2	0	6	0	0	21	1
UK - foreign secretary 29 04	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	10	1
UK - Foreign Secretary 31 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	1	1	8	0	0	18	1
UK - PM call 26 02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
UK - PM call with president zelensky 23 04	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	1
UK - PM call with President Zelenskyy 02 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
UK - PM call with President Zelenskyy 06 03	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	1
UK - PM call with President Zelenskyy 18 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
UK - PM call with President Zelenskyy 23 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
UK - PM call with President Zelenskyy 28 02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
UK - PM call with President Zelenskyy 28 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	5	1
UK - PM meeting with President Erdoğan of Turkey 24 03	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	1
UK - PM meeting with Ukrainian President 19 02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1
UK - PM statement 01 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	6	1
UK - PM statement 03 05	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	14	1

UK - PM statement 05 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
UK - PM statement 07 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
UK - PM statement 16 04	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1
UK - PM statement 24 02	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1
erdoğan 22 02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
erdoğan 19 04	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
çavuşoğlu 21 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
01 05 kalın	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	15	1
05 03 Akar	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
06 04 Çavusoğlu	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	1
07 04 Kalın	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	12	1
08 03 Akar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
13 04 Kalın	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1
14 04 Çavusoğlu	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	1
15 04 Akar	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1
15 04 Çavusoğlu	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	1
18 02 Akar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	1
19 03 Kalın	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	15	1
19 04 Çavusoğlu	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	1
19 02 Kalın	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
20 03 Çavusoğlu	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
20 04 Çavuşoğlu	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1
20 02 Akar	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
24 03 NATO President Erdoğan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	11	1
24 02 2022 President Erdoğan	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	1
24 02 Çavuşoğlu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	8	1
27 03 Akar	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
27 04 Akar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
27 02 Çavusoğlu	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1

28 02 President Erdoğan	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	1	
29 03 Çavusoğlu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
29 03 President Erdoğan Dolmabahçe speech	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	
31 03 Çavusoğlu	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	
06 03 President Erdoğan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
23 02 President Erdoğan	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	1	
USA 01 03	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	
USA 02 03 2	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	8	1	
USA 02 03 3	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	14	1	
USA 02 03	5	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	24	1	
USA 06 04 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	10	1	
USA 06 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
USA 08 03	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	1	
USA 08 04	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	
USA 10 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
USA 11 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
USA 16 03	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	17	1
USA 21 04	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	12	1

0.03.2022
4.03.2022
9.04.2022
3.03.2022
7.02.2022
3.4.2022

lavrov 30 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	6	1
lavrov 30 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
peskov 02 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
peskov 04 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
peskov 04 05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	5	1
peskov 05 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	1
peskov 05 04	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
peskov 08 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
peskov 10 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1

peskov 21 04	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	1
peskov 22 02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
peskov 28 02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	
putin 01 04	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
putin 03 05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
putin 14 04	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
putin 15 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
putin 16 03	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	1
putin 21 02 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
putin 21 02	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	1
putin 21 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
putin 22 02	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
putin 26 02	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
putin 26 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
putin 27 04	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	1
putin 28 02	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9	1
shoigu 24 02	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
shoigu 29 03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
putin 28 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
putin 29 03	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
shoigu 01 03 2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
shoigu 01 03	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
shoigu 02 05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
shoigu 04 05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1
shoigu 19 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
shoigu 21 02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
shoigu 08 04	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	117	25	67	26	59	1	11	102	26	43	85	10	36	212	36	22	9	5	50	48	159	11	4	1164	170

APPENDIX D: Related Themes of Speeches

Related Codes and Themes

- Security
- Security > Denazification
- Security > Threat
- Security > stability
- Security > Conflict
- Security > Weapon
- Security > Territorial integrity
- Security > Defence
- Security > Aggression
- Security > National Security
- Security > Border Security
- Nuclear weapon
- Nuclear weapon > nuclear ambitions.
- Democracy
- War/fighting
- War/fighting > Military Operation
- Democracy > Liberty
- Democracy > Autocracy
- Democracy > Human Rights/humanitarian
- Democracy > Sovereignty
- Democracy > Sanctions
- Democracy > International Law



Related Memos

kuleba 23 02 2 

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:14 PM

Today, Ukraine defends not only global security, but also freedom, democracy and fundamental principles of international law. Peaceful life and the future of millions of people in Europe and around the globe rely on the rules that Russia tries to destroy. Diplomacy and international fora must prevail and stop Russian aggression. (kuleba 23 02 2, Konum 34)

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3410752-foreign-minister-dmytro-kulebas-statement-at-unga-debate-on-situation-in-temporarily-occupied-territories-of-ukraine.html> (kuleba 23 02 2, Konum 59)

lavrov 07 04 

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:34 PM

Lavrov also said that Russian troops had de-escalated the situation in the Kiev and Chernigov area after the Istanbul meeting as a gesture of goodwill in order to facilitate efforts to make an agreement. "In response, a provocation was staged in Bucha, which the West immediately used in order to introduce another package of sanctions, and Ukrainian neo-Nazis carried out atrocities against Russian prisoners of war," the top diplomat stressed. (lavrov 07 04, Konum 7)

<https://tass.com/world/1434121> (lavrov 07 04, Konum 9)

lavrov 01 03 

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:44 PM

to be stated by Lavrov, the increase in the armament of some countries and to be the use of space as a weapon is a new threat.

zelensky 28 03 

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:45 PM

Ukraine wants to be security guaranteed by the diplomatic issue also president Zelensky said Ukraine's sovereignty is the most important to whole world states'.

USA 24 02 

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:52 PM

"We are united in our abhorrence of Putin's depraved onslaught, and we're going to continue to have their back as they fight for their freedom, their democracy, their very survival. And we're going to give Ukraine the arms to fight and defend themselves through all the difficult days ahead. (USA 16 03, Konum 20)

Liberty, democracy, human dignity — these are the forces far more powerful than fear and oppression. They cannot be extinguished by tyrants like Putin and his armies. They cannot be erased by people — from people's hearts and hopes by any amount of violence and intimidation. They endure.

And in the contest between democracy and autocracy, between sovereignty and subjugation, make no mistake: Freedom will prevail."

Bidon 24.02.2022 2:05 P.M. EST

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/02/24/remarks-by-president-biden-on-russias-unprovoked-and-unjustified-attack-on-ukraine/> (USA 24 02, Konum 147-148)

But we emerged anew in the great battle for freedom: a battle between democracy and autocracy, between liberty and repression, between a rules-based order and one governed by brute force. (USA 26 03 3, Konum 4)

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/26/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-united-efforts-of-the-free-world-to-support-the-people-of-ukraine/>

Olaf Scholz 23.03.2022 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:29 AM

Scholz said that to cope with these challenges, social solidarity was necessary at an international level, including in NATO and the EU.

"We will show the world that we stand together," he said.

"Freedom and democracy are suddenly not abstract concepts anymore, but things that must be defended." (Olaf Scholz 23.03.2022, Konum 19-21)

<https://www.dw.com/en/germany-chancellor-scholz-vows-to-help-ukraine-in-speech-to-parliament/a-61227132>

zelensky 22 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:36 AM

"Why did Russia start the war? The capture of Ukraine is its first step to establishing control over Eastern Europe, to destroying democracy in our region. Ukraine was and remains the mainstay of democratic processes in our region," said the head of state. He added that Russia is bringing death and dictatorship to Ukraine, and after Ukraine, they will try to bring it all to Moldova, Poland, Georgia, the Baltic states, Kazakhstan, and other countries that they can 'reach.'"

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3464012-zelensky-asks-portugal-for-tanks-apcs-antiship-missiles.html> (zelensky 22 04, Konum 8-9)

UK- PM statement 03 05 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:58 AM

When an autocrat deliberately destroys these institutions, he might look as though he is strong and some people might even believe it, but he is sowing the seeds of catastrophe, for himself and for his country,

because there will be nothing to prevent him committing another terrible mistake Putin's mistake was to invade Ukraine, and the carcasses of Russian armour littering your fields and streets are monuments not only to his folly, but to the dangers of autocracy itself. (UK - PM statement 03 05, Konum 55-57)

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-minister-boris-johnsons-address-to-the-ukrainian-parliament-3-may-2022> (UK - PM statement 03 05, Konum 96)

putin 28 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:10 AM

On Tuesday, Guterres held negotiations with Putin in Moscow. During the open part of the meeting, the Russian president state that all civilians, if they are really present at Azovstal, are free to exit the plan, and Ukrainian servicemen must let them go. The President noted that Russian humanitarian corridors from Mariupol are active, and about 130,000-140,000 people have already used them, and are free to go wherever they please - either to Russia or to Ukraine. According to Putin, if civilians are indeed present at Azovstal, then holding them as human shields is a war crime by Ukrainian nationalist battalions. (putin 28 04, Konum 9)

<https://tass.com/politics/1445095> (putin 28 04, Konum 11)

putin 27 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:14 AM

On Monday, addressing an expanded meeting of the Board of the Prosecutor General's Office, President Vladimir Putin focused on numerous breaches of international law by Ukrainian nationalists and foreign mercenaries. Among them are killings of civilians and the use of civilians, including children, as human shields, the president said. (putin 27 04, Konum 7)

<https://tass.com/world/1444349> (putin 27 04, Konum 8)

peskov 28 02 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:16 AM

"At the same time, we see multiple attempts by Ukrainian nationalist groups <...> to use the civilian population, civilian objects, residential buildings as a shield, a human shield," the Kremlin spokesman noted. "This is unacceptable," he said. "Our soldiers are making every effort to avoid [civilian casualties]," Peskov emphasized. (peskov 28 02, Konum 5)

Shmyhal 14 03 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:20 AM

We all are well aware that punishment for genocide and terrorism is impossible to avoid. And we must be even tougher in our response. We demand a decision on the immediate exclusion of Russia from the Council of Europe! Those who unequivocally support unprovoked and unjustified aggression have no place in a single European family where human life is of the highest value", Denys Shmyhal said in his video address to the parliamentarians of 46 European democracies, the [Government portal](https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3429651-shmyhal-calls-for-immediate-expulsion-of-russia-from-council-of-europe.html) informs. (Shmyhal 14 03, Konum 2)

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3429651-shmyhal-calls-for-immediate-expulsion-of-russia-from-council-of-europe.html>
(Shmyhal 14 03, Konum 8)

lavrov 22 02 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 12:48 PM

"We understand that now our colleagues are seeking to put all the blame for the breakdown of the Minsk agreements on Russia. Our European, American, and British colleagues will never stop and rest content until they use all their possibilities for the so-called punishment of Russia. They are already threatening with possible hellish sanctions, or, as they say, 'mother of all sanctions.' We are already used to it," he said in an interview with the Rossiya-24 television channel. (lavrov 22 02, Konum 4)

According to Lavrov, sanctions will be imposed on Russia in any case. "In this connection, I would like to point, to my deepest regret, to the negative and provocative role of the European Union, which cannot be responsible for its words and actions," he said. (lavrov 22 02, Konum 5)

[Colleagues from US, Europe expected to use all possibilities to "punish" Russia — Lavrov - Russian Politics & Diplomacy - TASS](#)

putin-24-02 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 12:29 PM

I would now like to say something very important for those who may be tempted to interfere in these developments from the outside. No matter who tries to stand in our way or all the more so create threats for our country and our people, they must know that Russia will respond immediately, and the consequences will be such as you have never seen in your entire history. (putin-24-02, Konum 53)

I will begin with what I said in my address on February 21, 2022. I spoke about our biggest concerns and worries, and about the fundamental threats which irresponsible Western politicians created for Russia consistently, rudely and unceremoniously from year to year. I am referring to the eastward expansion of NATO, which is moving its military infrastructure ever closer to the Russian border. It is a fact that over the p (putin-24-02, Konum 7-8)Moreover, these past days NATO leadership has been blunt in its statements that they need to accelerate and step up efforts to bring the alliance's infrastructure closer to Russia's border (putin-24-02, Konum 29)

<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843> (putin-24-02, Konum 62)

Putin-9-5 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:00 PM

Another punitive operation in Donbass, an invasion of our historic lands, including Crimea, was openly in the making. Kiev declared that it could attain nuclear weapons. The NATO bloc launched an active military build-up on the territories adjacent to us.

Thus, an absolutely unacceptable threat to us was steadily being created right on our borders. There was every indication that a clash with neo-Nazis and Banderites backed by the United States and their minions was unavoidable. (Putin-9-5, Konum 13-14)

"Russia launched a pre-emptive strike at the aggression. It was a forced, timely and the only correct decision. A decision by a sovereign, strong and independent country". (Putin-9-5, Konum 16)

<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/68366> erişim tarihi 11.05.2022

Memo 32

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:02 PM

Russia launched a pre-emptive strike at the aggression. It was a forced, timely and the only correct decision. A decision by a sovereign, strong and independent country. (Putin-9-5, Konum 16)

Memo 33

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:06 PM

Let me repeat, we saw the military infrastructure being built up, hundreds of foreign advisors starting work, and regular supplies of cutting-edge weaponry being delivered from NATO countries. The threat grew every day. (Putin-9-5, Konum 15)

Memo 34

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:13 PM

Thus, an absolutely unacceptable threat to us was steadily being created right on our borders. There was every indication that a clash with neo-Nazis and Banderites backed by the United States and their minions was unavoidable. (Putin-9-5, Konum 14)

kuleba 23 02 2

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:14 PM

Today, Ukraine defends not only global security, but also freedom, democracy and fundamental principles of international law. Peaceful life and the future of millions of people in Europe and around the globe rely on the rules that Russia tries to destroy. Diplomacy and international fora must prevail and stop Russian aggression. (kuleba 23 02 2, Konum 34)

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3410752-foreign-minister-dmytro-kulebas-statement-at-unga-debate-on-situation-in-temporarily-occupied-territories-of-ukraine.html> (kuleba 23 02 2, Konum 59)

lavrov 07 04

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:34 PM

Lavrov also said that Russian troops had de-escalated the situation in the Kiev and Chernigov area after the Istanbul meeting as a gesture of goodwill in order to facilitate efforts to make an agreement. "In response, a provocation was staged in Bucha, which the West immediately used in order to introduce another package of sanctions, and Ukrainian neo-Nazis carried out atrocities against Russian prisoners of war," the top diplomat stressed. (lavrov 07 04, Konum 7)

<https://tass.com/world/1434121> (lavrov 07 04, Konum 9)

zelensky 28 03

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:45 PM

Ukraine wants to be security guaranteed by the diplomatic issue also president Zelensky said Ukraine's sovereignty is the most important to whole world states'.

USA 24 02

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:52 PM

"We are united in our abhorrence of Putin's depraved onslaught, and we're going to continue to have their back as they fight for their freedom, their democracy, their very survival. And we're going to give Ukraine the arms to fight and defend themselves through all the difficult days ahead. (USA 16 03, Konum 20)

Liberty, democracy, human dignity — these are the forces far more powerful than fear and oppression. They cannot be extinguished by tyrants like Putin and his armies. They cannot be erased by people — from people's hearts and hopes by any amount of violence and intimidation. They endure.

And in the contest between democracy and autocracy, between sovereignty and subjugation, make no mistake: Freedom will prevail."

Bidon 24.02.2022 2:05 P.M. EST

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/02/24/remarks-by-president-biden-on-russias-unprovoked-and-unjustified-attack-on-ukraine/> (USA 24 02, Konum 147-148)

But we emerged anew in the great battle for freedom: a battle between democracy and autocracy, between liberty and repression, between a rules-based order and one governed by brute force. (USA 26 03 3, Konum 4)

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/26/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-united-efforts-of-the-free-world-to-support-the-people-of-ukraine/>

Olaf Scholz 23.03.2022 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:29 AM

Scholz said that to cope with these challenges, social solidarity was necessary at an international level, including in NATO and the EU.

"We will show the world that we stand together," he said.

"Freedom and democracy are suddenly not abstract concepts anymore, but things that must be defended." (Olaf Scholz 23.03.2022, Konum 19-21)

<https://www.dw.com/en/germany-chancellor-scholz-vows-to-help-ukraine-in-speech-to-parliament/a-61227132>

zelensky 22 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:36 AM

"Why did Russia start the war? The capture of Ukraine is its first step to establishing control over Eastern Europe, to destroying democracy in our region. Ukraine was and remains the mainstay of democratic processes in our region," said the head of state. He added that Russia is bringing death and dictatorship to Ukraine, and after Ukraine, they will try to bring it all to Moldova, Poland, Georgia, the Baltic states, Kazakhstan, and other countries that they can 'reach.'"

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3464012-zelensky-asks-portugal-for-tanks-apcs-antiship-missiles.html> (zelensky 22 04, Konum 8-9)

UK - PM statement 03 05 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:58 AM

When an autocrat deliberately destroys these institutions, he might look as though he is strong and some people might even believe it, but he is sowing the seeds of catastrophe, for himself and for his country,

because there will be nothing to prevent him committing another terrible mistake Putin's mistake was to invade Ukraine, and the carcasses of Russian armour littering your fields and streets are monuments not only to his folly, but to the dangers of autocracy itself.

(UK - PM statement 03 05, Konum 55-57)

(UK - PM açıklama 03 05, Konum 55-57)

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-minister-boris-johnsons-address-to-the-ukrainian-parliament-3-may-2022> (UK - PM statement 03 05, Konum 96)

putin 28 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:10 AM

On Tuesday, Guterres held negotiations with Putin in Moscow. During the open part of the meeting, the Russian president state that all civilians, if they are really present at Azovstal, are free to exit the plan, and Ukrainian servicemen must let them go. The President noted that Russian humanitarian corridors from Mariupol are active, and about 130,000-140,000 people have already used them, and are free to go wherever they please - either to Russia or to Ukraine. According to Putin, if civilians are indeed present at Azovstal, then holding them as human shields is a war crime by Ukrainian nationalist battalions. (putin 28 04, Konum 9)

<https://tass.com/politics/1445095> (putin 28 04, Konum 11)

putin 27 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:14 AM

On Monday, addressing an expanded meeting of the Board of the Prosecutor General's Office, President Vladimir Putin focused on numerous breaches of international law by Ukrainian nationalists and foreign mercenaries. Among them are killings of civilians and the use of civilians, including children, as human shields, the president said. (putin 27 04, Konum 7)

<https://tass.com/world/1444349> (putin 27 04, Konum 8)

peskov 28 02 🟡

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:16 AM

"At the same time, we see multiple attempts by Ukrainian nationalist groups <...> to use the civilian population, civilian objects, residential buildings as a shield, a human shield," the Kremlin spokesman noted. "This is unacceptable," he said. "Our soldiers are making every effort to avoid [civilian casualties]," Peskov emphasized. (peskov 28 02, Konum 5)

Shmyhal 14 03 🟡

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:20 AM

We all are well aware that punishment for genocide and terrorism is impossible to avoid. And we must be even tougher in our response. We demand a decision on the immediate exclusion of Russia from the Council of Europe! Those who unequivocally support unprovoked and unjustified aggression have no place in a single European family where human life is of the highest value", Denys Shmyhal said in his video address to the parliamentarians of 46 European democracies, the [Government portal](https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3429651-shmyhal-calls-for-immediate-expulsion-of-russia-from-council-of-europe.html) informs. (Shmyhal 14 03, Konum 2)

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3429651-shmyhal-calls-for-immediate-expulsion-of-russia-from-council-of-europe.html>
(Shmyhal 14 03, Konum 8)

lavrov 22 02 🟡

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 12:48 PM

"We understand that now our colleagues are seeking to put all the blame for the breakdown of the Minsk agreements on Russia. Our European, American, and British colleagues will never stop and rest content until they use all their possibilities for the so-called punishment of Russia. They are already threatening with possible hellish sanctions, or, as they say, 'mother of all sanctions.' We are already used to it," he said in an interview with the Rossiya-24 television channel. (lavrov 22 02, Konum 4)

According to Lavrov, sanctions will be imposed on Russia in any case. "In this connection, I would like to point, to my deepest regret, to the negative and provocative role of the European Union, which cannot be responsible for its words and actions," he said. (lavrov 22 02, Konum 5)

[Colleagues from US, Europe expected to use all possibilities to "punish" Russia — Lavrov - Russian Politics & Diplomacy - TASS](#)

putin-24-02 🟡

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 12:29 PM

I would now like to say something very important for those who may be tempted to interfere in these developments from the outside. No matter who tries to stand in our way or all the more so create threats for our country and our people, they must know that Russia will respond immediately, and the consequences will be such as you have never seen in your entire history. (putin-24-02, Konum 53)

I will begin with what I said in my address on February 21, 2022. I spoke about our biggest concerns and worries, and about the fundamental threats which irresponsible Western politicians created for Russia consistently, rudely and unceremoniously from year to year. I am referring to the eastward expansion of NATO, which is moving its military infrastructure ever closer to the Russian border. It is a fact that over the p (putin-24-02, Konum 7-8)Moreover, these past days NATO leadership has been blunt in its statements that they need to accelerate and step up efforts to bring the alliance's infrastructure closer to Russia's border (putin-24-02, Konum 29)

<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843> (putin-24-02, Konum 62)

Putin-9-5 🟡

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:00 PM

Another punitive operation in Donbass, an invasion of our historic lands, including Crimea, was openly in the making. Kiev declared that it could attain nuclear weapons. The NATO bloc launched an active military build-up on the territories adjacent to us.

Thus, an absolutely unacceptable threat to us was steadily being created right on our borders. There was every indication that a clash with neo-Nazis and Banderites backed by the United States and their minions was unavoidable. (Putin-9-5, Konum 13-14)

<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/68366> erişim tarihi 11.05.2022

Memo 32

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:02 PM

Russia launched a pre-emptive strike at the aggression. It was a forced, timely and the only correct decision. A decision by a sovereign, strong and independent country. (Putin-9-5, Konum 16)

Memo 33

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:06 PM

Let me repeat, we saw the military infrastructure being built up, hundreds of foreign advisors starting work, and regular supplies of cutting-edge weaponry being delivered from NATO countries. The threat grew every day. (Putin-9-5, Konum 15)

Memo 34

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:13 PM

Thus, an absolutely unacceptable threat to us was steadily being created right on our borders. There was every indication that a clash with neo-Nazis and Banderites backed by the United States and their minions was unavoidable. (Putin-9-5, Konum 14)

Olaf Scholz 23.03.2022

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:29 AM

Scholz said that to cope with these challenges, social solidarity was necessary at an international level, including in NATO and the EU.

"We will show the world that we stand together," he said.

"Freedom and democracy are suddenly not abstract concepts anymore, but things that must be defended." (Olaf Scholz 23.03.2022, Konum 19-21)

<https://www.dw.com/en/germany-chancellor-scholz-vows-to-help-ukraine-in-speech-to-parliament/a-61227132>

Putin-9-5

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:00 PM

Another punitive operation in Donbass, an invasion of our historic lands, including Crimea, was openly in the making. Kiev declared that it could attain nuclear weapons. The NATO bloc launched an active military build-up on the territories adjacent to us.

Thus, an absolutely unacceptable threat to us was steadily being created right on our borders. There was every indication that a clash with neo-Nazis and Banderites backed by the United States and their minions was unavoidable. (Putin-9-5, Konum 13-14)

"Russia launched a pre-emptive strike at the aggression. It was a forced, timely and the only correct decision. A decision by a sovereign, strong and independent country". (Putin-9-5, Konum 16)

<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/68366> erişim tarihi 11.05.2022

Shmyhal 14 03

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:20 AM

We all are well aware that punishment for genocide and terrorism is impossible to avoid. And we must be even tougher in our response.

We demand a decision on the immediate exclusion of Russia from the Council of Europe! Those who unequivocally support unprovoked and unjustified aggression have no place in a single European family where human life is of the highest value", Denys Shmyhal said in his video address to the parliamentarians of 46 European democracies, the [Government portal](#) informs. (Shmyhal 14 03, Konum 2)

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3429651-shmyhal-calls-for-immediate-expulsion-of-russia-from-council-of-europe.html>
(Shmyhal 14 03, Konum 8)

USA 24 02

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:52 PM

"We are united in our abhorrence of Putin's depraved onslaught, and we're going to continue to have their back as they fight for their freedom, their democracy, their very survival. And we're going to give Ukraine the arms to fight and defend themselves through all the difficult days ahead. (USA 16 03, Konum 20)

Liberty, democracy, human dignity — these are the forces far more powerful than fear and oppression. They cannot be extinguished by tyrants like Putin and his armies. They cannot be erased by people — from people's hearts and hopes by any amount of violence and intimidation. They endure.

And in the contest between democracy and autocracy, between sovereignty and subjugation, make no mistake: Freedom will prevail."

Bidon 24.02.2022 2:05 P.M. EST

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/02/24/remarks-by-president-biden-on-russias-unprovoked-and-unjustified-attack-on-ukraine/> (USA 24 02, Konum 147-148)

But we emerged anew in the great battle for freedom: a battle between democracy and autocracy, between liberty and repression, between a rules-based order and one governed by brute force. (USA 26 03 3, Konum 4)

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2022/03/26/remarks-by-president-biden-on-the-united-efforts-of-the-free-world-to-support-the-people-of-ukraine/>

UK - PM statement 03 05

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:58 AM

When an autocrat deliberately destroys these institutions, he might look as though he is strong and some people might even believe it, but he is sowing the seeds of catastrophe, for himself and for his country, because there will be nothing to prevent him committing another terrible mistake Putin's mistake was to invade Ukraine, and the carcasses of Russian armour littering your fields and streets are monuments not only to his folly, but to the dangers of autocracy itself. (UK - PM statement 03 05, Konum 55-57)

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-minister-boris-johnsons-address-to-the-ukrainian-parliament-3-may-2022> (UK - PM statement 03 05, Konum 96)

kuleba 23 02 2

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:14 PM

Today, Ukraine defends not only global security, but also freedom, democracy and fundamental principles of international law. Peaceful life and the future of millions of people in Europe and around the globe rely on the rules that Russia tries to destroy. Diplomacy and international fora must prevail and stop Russian aggression. (kuleba 23 02 2, Konum 34)

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-politics/3410752-foreign-minister-dmytro-kulebas-statement-at-unga-debate-on-situation-in-temporarily-occupied-territories-of-ukraine.html> (kuleba 23 02 2, Konum 59)

lavrov 07 04

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:34 PM

Lavrov also said that Russian troops had de-escalated the situation in the Kiev and Chernigov area after the Istanbul meeting as a gesture of goodwill in order to facilitate efforts to make an agreement. "In response, a provocation was staged in Bucha, which the West immediately used in order to introduce another package of sanctions, and Ukrainian neo-Nazis carried out atrocities against Russian prisoners of war," the top diplomat stressed. (lavrov 07 04, Konum 7)

<https://tass.com/world/1434121> (lavrov 07 04, Konum 9)

lavrov 22 02

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 12:48 PM

"We understand that now our colleagues are seeking to put all the blame for the breakdown of the Minsk agreements on Russia. Our European, American, and British colleagues will never stop and rest content until they use all their possibilities for the so-called punishment of Russia. They are already threatening with possible hellish sanctions, or, as they say, 'mother of all sanctions.' We are already used to it," he said in an interview with the Rossiya-24 television channel. (lavrov 22 02, Konum 4)

According to Lavrov, sanctions will be imposed on Russia in any case. "In this connection, I would like to point, to my deepest regret, to the negative and provocative role of the European Union, which cannot be responsible for its words and actions," he said. (lavrov 22 02, Konum 5)

[Colleagues from US, Europe expected to use all possibilities to "punish" Russia — Lavrov - Russian Politics & Diplomacy - TASS](#)

peskov 28 02 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:16 AM

"At the same time, we see multiple attempts by Ukrainian nationalist groups <...> to use the civilian population, civilian objects, residential buildings as a shield, a human shield," the Kremlin spokesman noted. "This is unacceptable," he said. "Our soldiers are making every effort to avoid [civilian casualties]," Peskov emphasized. (peskov 28 02, Konum 5)

putin 27 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:14 AM

On Monday, addressing an expanded meeting of the Board of the Prosecutor General's Office, President Vladimir Putin focused on numerous breaches of international law by Ukrainian nationalists and foreign mercenaries. Among them are killings of civilians and the use of civilians, including children, as human shields, the president said. (putin 27 04, Konum 7)

<https://tass.com/world/1444349> (putin 27 04, Konum 8)

putin 28 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 10:10 AM

On Tuesday, Guterres held negotiations with Putin in Moscow. During the open part of the meeting, the Russian president state that all civilians, if they are really present at Azovstal, are free to exit the plan, and Ukrainian servicemen must let them go. The President noted that Russian humanitarian corridors from Mariupol are active, and about 130,000-140,000 people have already used them, and are free to go wherever they please - either to Russia or to Ukraine. According to Putin, if civilians are indeed present at Azovstal, then holding them as human shields is a war crime by Ukrainian nationalist battalions. (putin 28 04, Konum 9)

<https://tass.com/politics/1445095> (putin 28 04, Konum 11)

putin-24-02 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 12:29 PM

I would now like to say something very important for those who may be tempted to interfere in these developments from the outside. No matter who tries to stand in our way or all the more so create threats for our country and our people, they must know that Russia will respond immediately, and the consequences will be such as you have never seen in your entire history. (putin-24-02, Konum 53)

I will begin with what I said in my address on February 21, 2022. I spoke about our biggest concerns and worries, and about the fundamental threats which irresponsible Western politicians created for Russia consistently, rudely and unceremoniously from year to year. I am referring to the eastward expansion of NATO, which is moving its military infrastructure ever closer to the Russian border. It is a fact that over the p (putin-24-02, Konum 7-8)Moreover, these past days NATO leadership has been blunt in its statements that they need to accelerate and step up efforts to bring the alliance's infrastructure closer to Russia's border (putin-24-02, Konum 29)

<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843> (putin-24-02, Konum 62)

zelensky 22 04 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/8/2022 9:36 AM

"Why did Russia start the war? The capture of Ukraine is its first step to establishing control over Eastern Europe, to destroying democracy in our region. Ukraine was and remains the mainstay of democratic processes in our region," said the head of state. He added that Russia is bringing death and dictatorship to Ukraine, and after Ukraine, they will try to bring it all to Moldova, Poland, Georgia, the Baltic states, Kazakhstan, and other countries that they can 'reach.'"

<https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-polytics/3464012-zelensky-asks-portugal-for-tanks-apcs-antiship-missiles.html> (zelensky 22 04, Konum 8-9)

zelensky 28 03 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/7/2022 11:45 PM

Ukraine wants to be security guaranteed by the diplomatic issue also president Zelensky said Ukraine's sovereignty is the most important to whole world states'.

Memo 32 ■

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:02 PM

Russia launched a pre-emptive strike at the aggression. It was a forced, timely and the only correct decision. A decision by a sovereign, strong and independent country. (Putin-9-5, Konum 16)

Memo 33 🟡

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:06 PM

Let me repeat, we saw the military infrastructure being built up, hundreds of foreign advisors starting work, and regular supplies of cutting-edge weaponry being delivered from NATO countries. The threat grew every day. (Putin-9-5, Konum 15)

Memo 34 🟡

Created by: Sinem, 5/11/2022 1:13 PM

Thus, an absolutely unacceptable threat to us was steadily being created right on our borders. There was every indication that a clash with neo-Nazis and Banderites backed by the United States and their minions was unavoidable. (Putin-9-5, Konum 14)

