

## CHAPTER I

### **Background**

Russia and Turkey had a long history in armed conflict, war and annexation. In 1853-1856 a war happened between Turkey and Russia. At that time, Turkey had an alliance with France and Britain against Russia, and ended without victory. A war between Russia and Turkey happened again in 1877-1878 where Russia became the winner of that war and made a Bulgaria become independent (Armandanu, 2015).

During the cold war between the Soviet Union and Western state, Russia and Turkey did not have a good relationship. Russia which was more leaning with Soviet Union has different views with Turkey which gives support and lean more on the western state, until now the different views in politics between Russia and Turkey can be viewed from Russia which gives more support to the Bashar Al-Assad and Turkey which gives support to make the government of Bashar Al-Assad fell down (Armandanu, 2015).

The relation between Russia and Turkey finally restarted after the Soviet Union collapsed. Vladimir Putin as the first president of Russia who visited Turkey since the Russian and Ottoman Empires built relationship in the fifteenth century. After that, leader of both countries officially visited each other and built a good cooperation. The cooperation between Russia and Turkey mostly happened in the field of energy and manufacture. The cooperation which was built by Turkey and Russia made the value of trade

between two countries sustainably increased. The trading between Russia and Turkey finally made Russia become the Turkey biggest trading partner after Germany (Aydintasbas, 2016, p.4).

Turkey which is located in strategic location, used its geographic location as a bridge for the international transit of energy raw including oil and natural gas to Russia, the European Union, Caspian Sea, Middle East and its neighbours (Pacheco, 2011, p.7). In recent years, Russia and Turkey decided to have cooperation in the Trans-Anatolian pipeline project and focused on development of the Blue Stream II pipeline. Turkey also gave permission towards Russia to through Turkey exclusive zone. Because Turkish was highly dependent with Russia in energy sectors, this condition makes Turkey maintain a good cooperative strategy with Russia (Pacheco, 2011, p.47).

Since on 1980s, several of Turkish companies built many projects in Russia. Turkey built more than 800 projects and had several investors in Russia. Turkish investors in Russia had several contribution or share in the food industry, clothing, and chemical industries. As an example, there is a share which owned by Turkish investors in Russia existed in the shoes of Tevolina brand and in the apparel of the Glora Jeans brand (BBC, 2015).

Replacing the position of Germany in 2008, Russia became the important trading partner for Turkey. The trading between Russia and Turkey had a significant improvement trading in energy sector and tourism sector, where Turkey as the largest export market for Russian sources and become a good destination for Russian tourists. This condition made Turkey become dependent on Russia in energy sector and the income in tourism sectors was increasing significantly (Yogi, 2015).

In May 2010, Russia and Turkey made an agreement when president of Russia Dmitry Medvedev visited to Turkey. Ankara and Moscow agreed to allow visa-free travel for trips until 30 days and to build the first nuclear power plant in Turkey. Promoting visa free until 30 days when visiting Turkey made Turkey as the main destination for Russian tourists, more than 3,2 million Russian people choose Turkey as their tour destination (Natalya, 2011).

In 2012, the agreement was made between Moscow and Ankara. There was an agreement to build a nuclear power plant in Turkey, which was named Akkuyu. The purpose of this power plant construction was to conserve the energy import of Turkey and this construction was built in the province of Merin, sea coast of Mediterania (BBC, 2015).

The relation between Russia and Turkey had started to become complicated again since the conflict in Suriah happened. The strained situation happened because Russia and Turkey had different views and different positions about Suriah. The high tension between Russia and Turkey happened when Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi U-24 on November, 24 2015.

On November, 24 2015, Turkish warplanes F-16 shot down Russian Sukhoi U-24 because Russian Sukhoi U-24 broke the border of Turkey territory. That action made Turkey shot down Russian plane on the 6.000 meters and 1 km the Turkish border. Recep Tayyip Erdogan as the president of Turkey said that, "All of the side must have respect with the right of Turkey protect their border." (BBC, 2015).

Russian minister of defense stated, "Russian Sukhoi U-24 never entered the Turkey region", as published by RBTH Indonesia on December 3, 2015. This condition made Russia react towards the action of Turkey in shooting down Russian Sukhoi SU-24. In this undergraduate thesis, the writer analyzed the reaction of Russia after Turkey shot down

Russian Sukhoi U-24. The writer uses some particular terms, those are reaction, territory infraction, economic sanction, and foreign policy.

### **Research Question**

How did Russia react to Turkey after Turkey shot down Sukhoi U-24 ?

### **Theoretical Framework**

To find out about the reaction Russia after Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi U-24 in bilateral economic relation, the writer uses several concepts in order to elaborate and analyze the phenomenon. The concepts are as follows :

#### **Foreign Policy**

Foreign policy as the concept of International Relations is defined as the explicit and implicit actions of governmental officials designed to promote national interests beyond a country territorial boundaries (Mark, 1995, p.146). Foreign policy as the decision of governing authorities is made to realize the international goals (Kegley, 2003, p.63). It means that every policy which has effect towards other actors in the outside of their border, is defined as the foreign policy and also includes some dimensions like economic and security to realize international goals.

An action of the state which influences or gives the effect towards other actors in the external area. It is also known as the state centric approach, which means that foreign policy may emphasize in the state actor (Alex, 2008, p.66). The foreign Policy is also important than other policies because it is related to national interest (Cohen, 1968, p.530). National interest of the state is used to stabilize the reaction when the situation security dilemma increases on the top (Rose, 1998, p.150).

The foreign policy is related to behavior, according Skinner, behavior is the respond or reaction towards stimulation from outside (Notoatmodjo, 2003). Foreign policy is also used to respond a phenomenon, such as the disagreement through which the parties perceive a threat to their needs, interest or concern. A state territory can be threatened from within and outside of the state, and can threatened by seizure or damage (Brauch, 2011, p.62).

To describe the conflict between Russia and Turkey after Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi U-24, and the way to make it easier to analyze the subject problem, the writer used the typology of political strategy foreign policy by John Lovell. The typology of political strategy foreign policy is a strategy or policy taken by a state and can be explained by assessment of decision maker based on the ability of their country on confront their enemy.

According to John Lovell, strategy is a set of action (moves) or series of decisions, in a competitive situation or problems where the result was not governed based on the chance. Typology of political strategy foreign policy by John Lovell have 4 (four) type of strategy, such as confrontation, lead, accommodation and concordant (Mohtar, 1990, p.223).

### Typology of Political Strategy Foreign Policy

Figure 1.1

Typology of Political Strategy Foreign Policy

		Assessment of rival strategy	
		Threaten	Support
ESTIMATE SELF CAPABILITY	Stronger	Confrontation	Lead
	Weaker	Accommodation	Concordant

Source : John Lovell, Foreign Policy in Perspective (Holt, Rinehart&Winston, 1970)

From figure 1.1, it can be seen that a state is able to approximate their capability and assessment of rival strategy. According to John Lovell, a political strategy foreign policy consists of confrontation accomodation, lead and concordant.

- a. Confrontation is an attitude or action opposed the enemy and a situation between two state or more state adverse when states not had a same thought.
- b. Accomodation is fulfillment of a demand from weaker side, which apporiximate its rival threaten and have more power and capability.
- c. Lead is an attitude or action take by a state when approximate its rival support their interest.
- d. Concordant is an attitude or action take by a state which more support and fulfill a demand from its rival.

In particular condition, a state has a stronger capability for confront their rival, that state will choose a confrontation strategy or lead strategy, because state estimates its capability to respond its rival with its power. If a state considers that its rival make a threatening strategy, that state will take a confrontation strategy, such as doing economic sanctions, embargoes, severance of diplomatic relation, military intervention until the strategy of war.

As stated before, confrontation is an attitude or action opposed the enemy. in the conflict situation between two sides. Russia which has a good military and economic has a capability to do confrontation when its state that other states make a threatening strategy. On implementation of a confrontation strategy, a state is able to make some policies and political strategies of foreign policy. Political strategies are as follows :

## **1. Embargo**

Embargo is the cultural technique in foreign policy on the macro scale. Embargo means ceasing or stopping supply a product, commodities, services a state to another state. Several times, a state uses embargo to influence another state and obey its interest or demand. A state which has economic power is able embargo another state and give the effect in their economic (Wahyuni, 2007, p.27).

## **2. Military Intervention**

Intervention is an action which is planned and decided to operate on a process to prevent phenomenon or case which is not wished. Intervention is possible to be done on politic, economy and military sectors. Intervention which is done by a state usually based on national interest, humanity reasons or ethic. Military intervention is a form of intervention which is done by a state by sending troops or the power of weapon to other states or region.

## **Hypotheses**

The reaction is the respond towards a phenomenon, such as the disagreement that a state perceives a threat for their needs, interest or concern. In this case, hypotheses of Russia reaction after Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi U-24, are presented as follows :

1. Russia decided to embargo Turkey in import trading prohibition by Turkey to the territory of Russia and services prohibition by Turkey.
2. Russia suspended its relations with Turkey including military relations.

## **Research Purposes**

1. To know about the reaction of Russia after Turkey shot down Russia Su-24.
2. To apply the theories or concepts of International Relations to the International Issues.
3. To analyze the negative effect of economic sanctions towards Russia and Turkey.

## **Research Method**

This undergraduate thesis uses the qualitative method, the literature, research on journal, article and other data which are relevant with the research question. It includes qualitative strategy in which the writer explores in depth a event, activity, process. The cases are bounded by time, and writer collected all of information using a variety of data collection with sustained period of time. This research also analyzes the detail descriptions.

## **Structure of Writing**

**Chapter 1** : This chapter introduces the problems of the topic and explains briefly about the history of the topic. The requirements are the background, research questions, theoretical framework, hypotheses, purpose of writing, the methods of writing and the structure of writing.

**Chapter II** : This chapter explains the history between Turkey and Russia before Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi U-24.

**Chapter III** : This chapter describes the Russian economic sanction and military intervention towards Turkey.

**Chapter IV** : This chapter explains a conclusion that summarized the result of the data.