

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY

Russia was the largest fraction of The Uni Soviet in Europe. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia started to formulate several policies and implement the foreign policy of the Russian Federation. Russia formulated the concept of Russian Federation Foreign Policy to uphold Russian national interest and achieve Russian strategic national priorities.

Russian Federation declared that Russia state is a law state with a presidential system, which has a constitution judiciary, executive and legislative. The constitution of Russian Federation makes several policies to implement the foreign policy of Russian Federation, the national security strategy of the Russian Federation, and other legal instrument of Russian Federation.

A. The Concept of Russian Federation Foreign Policy

Russia is located in Eastern Europe and Northern Asia. Russia was the largest fraction of the Uni Soviet in Europe with had an area 17.075.000 km² and had a population of approximately 147.1 million (A. Fahrurodji, 2005, p.193). Russia is a federation country and led by a president, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin who was a first president in Russia. On December 1993, the constitution of the Russian Federation declared that Russia state is a law state with a presidential system and has a constitution judiciary, executive and legislative (A. Fahrurodhi, 2005, p.194).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia started to formulate several policies of the Russian Federation which initially focused on the improvement and economic equality. It was based on the view of president Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin that Russia needed to stabilize the economic situation. After the president Vladimir Putin replaced

the position of president Yeltsin in 1999, president Vladimir Putin began to restructure Russian policy and focused on defense and military Russian Federation.

Vladimir Putin policy to improve defense and military Russian Federation gave impacts in supporting Russian national interest. Russia desired to become a country which had a power after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The policy to improve the defense and military can maintain regional security and international stability and make Russia to be considered by the alliance of Russia and its enemy. Russia also had revived the arms industry and fulfilled the needs of domestic armament.

Based on the Foreign Policy Concept of The Russian Federation which was approved by president of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, on November 30, 2016. The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation officially published on official document in their website, and mentioned that to uphold the national interests of the Russian Federation and achieve its strategic national priorities, the State's foreign policy activities shall be aimed at accomplishing the following main objectives:

1. To ensure national security, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and strengthen the rule of law and democratic institutions.
2. To create a favorable external environment that would allow economy of Russia to grow steadily and become more competitive and would promote technological modernization as well as higher standards of living and quality of life for its population.
3. To consolidate the Russian Federation's position as a center of influence in today's world.
4. To strengthen position of Russia in global economic relations and prevent any discrimination against Russian goods, services and investments by using the

options afforded by international and regional economic and financial organizations.

5. To further promote the efforts to strengthen international peace and ensure global security and stability with a view to establishing a fair and democratic international system that addresses international issues on the basis of collective decision-making, the rule of international law, primarily the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations (the UN Charter), as well as equal partnerships among States, with the central and coordinating role played by the United Nations (UN) as the key organization in charge of regulating international relation.
6. To pursue neighbor relation with adjacent states, assist them in eliminating the existing and preventing the emergence of the new hotbeds of tension and conflicts on their territory.
7. To promote, within bilateral and multilateral frameworks, mutually beneficial and equal partnerships with foreign countries, inter-State associations, international organizations and within forums, guided by the principles of independence and sovereignty, pragmatism, transparency, predictability, a multi directional approach and the commitment to pursue national priorities on a non-confrontational basis; expand international cooperation on a non-discriminatory basis; facilitate the emergence of network alliances and proactive participation in of Russia
8. To ensure comprehensive, effective protection of the rights and legitimate interests of Russian citizens and compatriots residing abroad, including within various international frameworks
9. To strengthen its role in international culture; promote and consolidate the position of the Russian language in the world; raise global awareness of its cultural

achievements and national historical legacy, cultural identity of the Russian people, and Russian education and research; consolidate the Russian-speaking diaspora.

10. To bolster the standing of Russian mass media and communication tools in the global information space and to convey Russian perspective on international process to a wider international community;
11. To facilitate the development of constructive dialogue and partnership with a view to promote harmony and mutual enrichment among various cultures and civilizations.

Russia is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a participant in several international organizations, regional frameworks, inter-State dialogue and cooperation mechanisms. The Russian Federation gave contribution to the positive development, well-balanced and unifying international agenda by relying on substantial resources in all areas of human activity and develop relation with another state, international organizations and associations in various parts of the world.

Russia implements their foreign policy guided by its national interests and based on unconditional respect for international law. Russia is fully aware of its responsibility to support peace and security in the world both at the global and regional levels and is committed to work with all states to address common challenges.

In overcoming global challenges, Russian Federation is aimed to create a stable and sustainable system of international relation based on norms of international law and principles of equal rights, mutual respect and non-interference in domestic affairs of states, so as to ensure solid and equal security for each and every member of the global community.

As published by The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation in the official website, Russia consistently advocates strengthening international security and enhancing strategic and regional stability. The regulations states that Russian Federation :

1. strictly abides by its international arms control obligations, and encourages its partners to do the same ;
2. attaches great importance to the implementation of the treaty between the Russian Federation and the United States of America on measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms of April 8, 2010;
3. maintains an unwavering commitment to strengthen the political and legal foundations of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, as well as the non-proliferation of other weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, gave the risk that elements of such weapons could fall into the hands of non-State actors, primarily terrorist organizations, including in territories within States that central authorities no longer control, in full or in part; affirms its commitment to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of July 1, 1968, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction of December 16, 1971, the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction of January 13, 1993, as well as supports the efforts to make them universal; works to expedite the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty of September 24, 1996;
4. participates, on the basis of the principles of equal rights and indivisible security, in devising new arms control agreements that serve Russian national interests and contribute to strategic stability;

5. consistently works to prevent an arms race in space by drafting and entering into an international treaty, and as an interim measure, encourages states to commit themselves not to be the first to introduce weapons in space;
6. reaffirms its readiness to discuss further gradual reduction of nuclear capabilities recognizing the growing need to make this a multilateral process and giving due consideration to all factors that affect strategic stability;
7. stands for establishing, on an equal basis, a collective response system to possible missile-related challenges and threats, while opposing unilateral, unrestricted actions by states or groups of states to build-up missile defense systems that undermine strategic stability and international security;
8. proactively contributes to international efforts towards improved control over the transfer of dual-use materials and technology, including by participating in multilateral export control regimes;
9. supports the creation of zones free from nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction, primarily in the Middle East;
10. advocates stronger technical and physical nuclear safety worldwide and efforts to prevent acts of nuclear terrorism, primarily by improving the relevant international legal mechanisms, with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) playing a central role in international cooperation on these matters, while respecting the right of states to determine their national policy on their own; believes that the state itself bears responsibility for ensuring that the national nuclear safety system is efficient and reliable and determining its optimal parameters at its discretion;
11. advocates the promotion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation of states, primarily nuclear weapons, with a view to resolve issues related to strategic stability, ensuring

common security in the spirit of openness, including the peaceful use of nuclear energy to meet the demand for fuel and energy in all countries.

Russia also measures to ensure national and international cyber security, combat terrorism and other criminal threats. Russia deters the use for military-political aims which can threaten international law, Russia also believes that international peacekeeping is an effective tool for settling armed conflicts and facilitating post-crisis nation-building. Russia tries to participate in international peacekeeping efforts under the UN leadership. In cooperation with regional and international organizations, and actively contribute in improving the preventive potential of the UN peacekeeping.

B. Russian Foreign Policy to Turkey

Igor Torbakov as a political scientist described the relation between Russia and Turkey as the political dualism, which mean that Russia and Turkey have elements of cooperation and rivalry (Indrani, 2014, p.01). The cooperation between Russia and Turkey was formed after Russia entered the world of politics as a 'new' actors. In the region of Eurasia, Russia and Turkey gave implications for the regional balance, which made the cooperation between Russia and Turkey in various sectors very important to maintain and continuation of their strategic interest in the region of Eurasia (Mohamad, 2011, p.105).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia attempted to preserve a sphere of their influence and privileged position in the former of Soviet Union, Caucasus and the Black Sea region (Akturk, 2013, p.7). Russia attempted to built a good relationship and it seems Russia and Turkey signed the treaty on Principles of Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Turkey and the Russian Federation on May 25, 1992 (Mohamad, 2011, p.105).

After Turkish Prime Ministers, Suleyman Demirel, visited Russia in 1992, Russia and Turkey made serious effort to rebuild the relationship between them. As the new era of Turkish-Russian relation, Prime Minister Demirel tried to initiate a treaty on the Principles of Relation between the Republic of Turkey and the Russian Federation, that treaty was signed on May 25, 1992 (Indrani, 2014, p.02).

As released by Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Russia and Turkey made a treaty foundation both of countries relations, which seats forth the principles, includes :

1. Respect for political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity
2. Non-interference in internal affairs
3. Equality of rights and mutual interests
4. Refraining use force and threat in solving problems.

On 14-17 December 1997, Russian Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, visited Turkey and gave the impression to improve the relation between Russia and Turkey. During that visit, Russian and Turkish Prime Minister agreed to respect territorial integrity and economic relation of each other. Russian and Turkish Prime Minister also declared that cooperation and trust were needed instead of competition and suspicion between Russia and Turkey (Mohammad & Luqman, 2011, p.5).

The cooperation between Russia and Turkey in the field of energy was signed on December 15, 1997. Russia and Turkey signed an intergovernmental agreement for the Blue Steam Project. According to the agreement, Russia sold natural gas to Turkey beginning in 2000 through the direct pipeline under the Black Sea, the agreement lasted

25 years (with an additional 5 years auto-renewal at the end of the period), the price was determined by the Turkish state-owned company, BOTAS, and the Russian state owned company, ROA Gazprom and the export of natural gas was not allowed without the permission of Russia (Yardimci, 2015).

There was an improvement of Russia and Turkey relations in diplomatic and economic. After the second war in Chechnya, Russia and Turkey signed the agreements, one of the agreement was Russia and Turkey joined declarations on Anti Terrorism which signed on November 5, 1999. Russia and Turkey also signed the agreement to the Blue Stream Project (Mohammad & Luqman, 2011, p.5).

As stated before, after Russia and Turkey joined declarations on Anti Terrorism, On December 18, 1999. Russia and Turkey signed the memorandum on Cooperation Against Terrorism, in that time Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin also declared that Russia will not support any kind of terrorist activities aiming Turkey, such as activities of Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and condemned in international terrorism (Mohammad & Luqman, 2011, p.6).

In June 2001, the Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov's came to Turkey met the Turkish President, Ahmet Necdet, and its minister to discussed strategy in Eurasia. Both of countries decided to establish a working group with concerning the issue of Nagorno Karabagh, Straits, energy and fight against terrorism. After that, the relation between Russia and Turkey was improved when both of countries signed the "Action Plan to Develop Cooperation between the Russian Federation and Turkey" (Mohammad & Luqman, 2011, p.7).

On September 11, 2001 the terrorist attacks gave an important role for Russia and Turkey, both of countries agreed to fight against terrorism and make Turkish President,

Ahmet Necdet, and Russian President Vladimir Putin discuss the situation and condition in Eurasia. Russian and Turkish presidents agreed to concern and maintain the solidarity in International community. Russian presiden also declared that Russia will give support to Turkey against terrorism after the terrorist attack happened in Istanbul November, 2003 (Mohammad & Luqman, 2011, p.8).

C. Turkey Foreign Policy to Russia

In several cases, according the official government of Turkey, the cooperation with Russia and with other non-Western actors was not about building ideological commitments but more focused in cooperating with all potential power. It can be seen in the cooperation between Russia and Turkey marked in the economic cooperation by regional competition regarding to the market and the cooperation to access the gas and oil reserves in Central Asia and Caucasus (Alaranta, 2015, p.5).

Based on the Turkey 'strategic depth' doctrine, Turkey built a relationship with Russia with focus on cooperating in economic and policital issues. According to the doctrine, the cooperation both of countries including trade, fight of terrorism and separatism. The cooperation between Russia and Turkey certainly related in energy sectors (Pachero, 2011, p.47).

The economic relationship between Russia and Turkey was shaped by the finding Turkey beneficial geographic location. Turkey agreed its geographic location as a bridge for the international transit of energy raw materials from Russia, Transcaucasia, the Caspian Sea area, and from the Arab States to Europe and Israel. Therefore, that policy gives advantages for Russia and Turkey and made both of countries began had a good relationship. (Sergey, 2011).

The Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igov Ivanov, visited Turkey in 2001 to fulfill the invitation of Turkey. During that visit, Russia and Turkey agreed to add a multidimensional feature for their relations with extending bilateral cooperation to the Eurasian region. To extend bilateral cooperation, both of countries joined an Action Plan for cooperation in Eurasia was signed by Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia and Turkey, in New York on November 16, 2001.

On December 5-6, 2004, the Russian President Vladimir Putin, Russian Minister of Defense Sergey Lavrov and the President of Tatarstan came to Turkey for official visited to take a part in business forum. During that visit, both of countries considered of desire to maintain a good relationship in the term of against terrorism, the Chechen issue in Russian Federation and its implication for Turkey, relations in the Straits, cooperation in the construction of pipelines, and the partnership in Central Asia and in Caucasus (Mohammad & Luqman, 2011, p.9).

In that time, the meeting focused on attempts to find out new areas of cooperation between Russia and Turkey. After that, Russia and Turkey agreed to signed on some agreements :

1. The Joint Declaration on Strengthening Friendship and Multiplane Cooperation.
2. The Agreement on Mutual Protection of the Rights and the Intellectual Property, within the Framework of Military - Technological Cooperation.
3. The Agreement on Mutual Protection of the Classified Information and Materials Transmitted Within the Framework of Military - Technological Cooperation.
4. The Agreement on Prevention of Incidents on the Sea Outside the Territorial Waters.

5. The Cooperation Agreement between Russian Vnesheconombank, Roseksimbank and Eximbank of Turkey.
6. The Memorandum on Development of Cooperation in Gas Sphere between Gazprom and Botash Company.
7. The Memorandum on Cooperation Between Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and the Center of Strategic Researches in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey

In 2008, Russia replaced the position of Germany as the Turkish largest trading partner, the total annual trade volume both of countries was \$38 billion. Because of that Russia and Turkey desired to see the volume of trade until it reached \$100 billion. In May 2010, Russia and Turkey makes a agreement when president of Russia Dmitri Medvedev visited Turkey, the agreement declared that citizens of Moscow allowed to have visa-free travel for trips until 30 days in Turkey territory and Russia permitted to built the first nuclear power plant in Turkey (Sergey & Natalya,