

CHAPTER III

RUSSIA REACTION TO TURKEY

This chapter, describes the reaction of Russia after Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24. The tragedy of Sukhoi SU-24 made Russia with its a good military and economic capability able to use confrontation strategy towards Turkey. Although, Russia and Turkey before the accident were in a good relationship, Russia decided to gave economics santions towards Turkey. Russia also used its military power to respond the action of Turkey. Finally, Russian policies gave several impact towards the relations both of countries.

A. Tragedy Russian Sukhoi SU-24

Military jet Russian Sukhoi SU-24 was shot down by Turkey on Tuesday, November 24, 2015. It increased the tensions between Russian and Turkey. The plane was intercepted and shot down by air-to-air missile of Turkish F-16 jet and crashed on Syria territory. The reason why military jet Russian Sukhoi SU-24 was shot down by a Turkish F-16 jet was because the Russian plane entered the Turkish airspace. Nevertheless, the causes of this case be disputed whether the Russian plane enter Turkey airspace or not, because the Captain Konstantin Murakhtin said that, there was no warning from Turkey before his jet was shot down by Turkey (Henry, 2016, p.10).

Based on the New York Daily News which was published on November 25, 2015 Konstantin Murakhtin as a captain of military jet Russian Sukhoi SU-24 stated “In actual fact, there were no warnings at all, neither through the video, visually, so we did not at any point adjust our course”, Murakhtin was certainly sure about the mission area, and said that military jet Russian Sukhoi SU-24 never entered into Turkey territory. This incident sparked a war words and increase the tension between Russian

and Turkey, Turkey and Russia gave different statements about the condition which happened (Silverstein, 2015).

The Russian Sukhoi SU-24 was also known as a Fencer and designed for two crew members which produced since Soviet Union era. This kind of plane was also used by several countries including Russia and Ukraine. Russian Sukhoi SU-24 was armed with Cannon GSH-6-23 with a maximum 500 ammunition. Sukhoi SU-24 also has a type of nuclear weapons. Currently, Russian Sukhoi SU-24 was produced by the Sukhoi Company which was one of Russia's major manufactures (Julio, 2015).

After the military jet Russian Sukhoi SU-24 was shot down by a Turkish F-16 jet, Turkey confirmed that the warning had been given. Based on the audio recording released by the Turkish army. It can be noticed that Turkey gave warning as follows "this is Turkish Air Force Speaking on guard, you are approaching Turkish airspace, change your heading south immediately." but the recording had not been verified (Silverstein, 2015). This action could not be tolerated by Russian government, Vladimir Putin as the President of Russia responded strongly that "Shooting Down Russian Sukhoi SU-24 was a stab in the back and carried out by the accomplices of terrorist." (Tomkiw, 2015).

Turkey took action to shoot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24 because Russian Sukhoi SU-24 broke the border of Turkey territory. According Recep Tayyip Erdogan as the president of Turkey that all of the sides must have respect with the right of Turkey in protecting its border (BBC, 2015). In this case, Turkey has the right to protect its border because a state territory also can be threatened by seizure or damage and a threats also possible come from within and outside of the state (Brauch, 2011, p.62).

The action taken by Turkey to shoot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24, made co-pilot of Russian Sukhoi SU-24 killed. After Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi, Captain Konstantin Murakhtin and his co-pilot Lieutenant Colonel Oleg Peshkov used parachute from the plummeting plane Russian Sukhoi SU-24. Captain Konstantin and Colonel Peshkov tried to sail safety but Colonel Peshkov was killed by Syrian rebels. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavroc stated that “the downing of Russian Sukhoi SU 24 was planned provocation and terrorist used Turkey territory to attack other countries.” (Silverstein, 2015).

The action of Turkey to shoot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24 did not only make Pilot and Co-Pilot killed, but also ignored Russian Federation interest in resolving international security problems, because Russian Sukhoi SU 24 was sent by Russia to fight against rebel and terrorist based on the request President of Syria Bashar Al Assad (RBTH, 2015). Based on the concept of Russian foreign policy (2008), Russia will take joint actions with other states to find solutions of common problems and commit to work with all interested states to address common challenges (Russian Foreign Policy, 2008).

However, the reason why Sukhoi SU-24 was sent by Russia was to support Bashar Al Assad regime. This policy was to protect their interest in Syria especially their relation with Syria government. Since the Bashar Al Assad regime led in Syria, cooperation and investment between Syria and Russia begun to increase. To protect the Bashar Al Assad regime, and fight with rebel and terrorism, Russia sent their armed forces in Syria territory (Farid, 2015, p.93). In the fact that Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi Su-24 it showed that Turkey ignored the Russian Federation interest and opposed the increase of role the Russian Federation in the global level.

According to the result of opinion poll by Levada Center on 18-21 December 2015, many people thought that the Turkish Leadership, President Erdoğan, was to blame for the shooting down of Russian Sukhoi SU-24. 25% of people from 1600 participants also thought that the leader of the USA and NATO were to blame because they opposed Russia in Syria. 272 people of 1600 participants also agreed that it was the fault of Turkish pilots (Akturk, 2016, p.13).

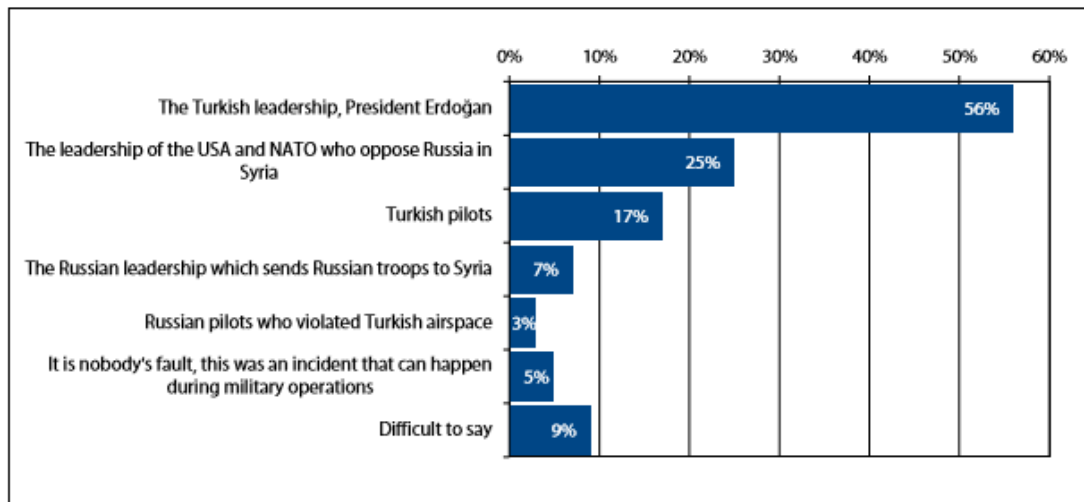


Figure 3.1 : In Your Opinion, Who Is to Blame for the Downing by Turkish Fighters of the Russian Airplane Which Was Taking Part in the Military Operation in Syria?
 Source: representative opinion poll by Levada Center on 18–21 December 2015, N = 1600, published on 25 December 2015

After all, Russian Sukhoi SU-24 which was shot down by Turkey military made Moscow decided to consider their relations with Ankara. Russia took several policies to respond the action of Turkey to shoot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24.

B. Economic Sectors

1. Economic Relations between Russia and Turkey

The economic relations between Russia and Turkey played an important role for both of countries. The trade between Russia and Turkey including the activities of Turkish construction companies on Russia territory, the increase of Russian tourists to

Turkey and the cooperation for production and transition of energy resources. The trading between Russia and Turkey also included in the agricultural and manufacture sectors.

Since 1984, Russia and Turkey signed natural gas agreement. In that time, Turkey promised to buy the Russian gas from 1987 until twenty five years. Turkey also exported manufacture goods to Russian Federation including textile, chemicals, vehicles and food. Russia as the trading partner of Turkey also exported several material, natural gas, oil and metals. In the fact that most of Turkish exported goods and imports most of natural gas from Russia (Gurtuna, 2006, p,77).

The good relationship between Russia and Turkey in the economic sectors happened since the end of the Cold War. From 1992 to 2004 the amount of trade between Russia and Turkey increased from about 1.482.7 million dollars to 8.445.1 million dollars. The volume of trade between Russia and Turkey was around 1.5 billion dollars in 1993 and increased to 4.2 billion dollars in 1997. In 1991 until 1998 Turkish firms also worked in the Russian Federation on 533 projects with a total value of 9.246 billion dollars. At that time, Russia also accounted 42% of its contractor services which were provided by Turkish firms (Gurtuna, 2006, p.78).

In 2004, the total volume of trade between Russia and Turkey was around 10.860 million dollars. This trading was composed of manufactured goods with the share of 84 % Russia imports and Turkish imports from Russia were composed of energy resources and raw materials and goods having low elasticity. Turkish also imported iron and steel industry around 19% (Gurtuna, 2006, p.79).

Based on Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs official website, in 2007, the trading between Russia and Turkey Russia was around 25.2 billion dollars. This condition made Russia as the second trading partner after Germany. Russia was

also as the main import source for Turkey with 13% account for overall imports in Turkey (evisa.gov). The important field of economic relations between Russia and Turkey was also in tourism sector. The number of Russian tourists visiting to Turkey increased every year. This conditions caused Russians to prefer Turkey for their vacations, because Turkey was qualified in service and price, also easy for Russian tourists to get visa from.

In the field of energy, Turkey decided to import natural gas from other countries. Turkey decided to import natural gas from Russia. In 2014, Turkey imported 54.49% natural gas from Russia, that amount from 49.26 billion m³ natural gas which imported by Turkey from other countries (Yardimci, 2015). From the data below, it can be seen that Turkey has high dependence in natural gas sector.

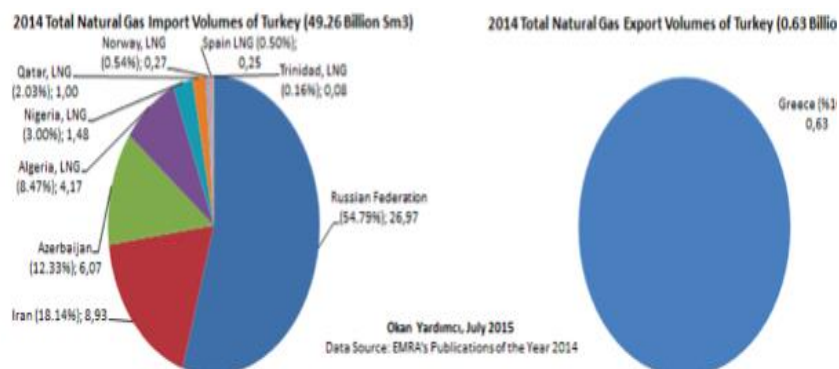


Figure 3.2 : Turkey Natural Gas Import Volumes of Turkey

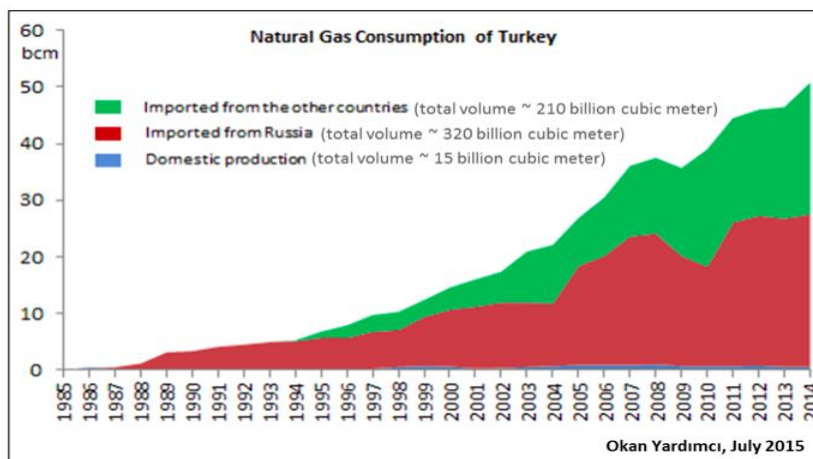


Figure 3.3 : Natural Gas Consumption of Turkey

A good trading relationship between Russia and Turkey can be found also in field of agriculture. According Ministry of Economy Turkey report, Turkey ranked 4th in the world in the productions of fresh vegetables and ranked 8th in the production of fresh fruits (Cristina, 2016, p.7).

Table 3.2 : list of countries that produce fresh vegetables

No.	Country	2011	2012	Change (%)
1	China	559.908.500	573.935.000	2.5
2	India	107.376.529	109.140.990	1.6
3	USA	34.670.373	35.947.720	3.7
4	Turkey	27.406.658	27.818.918	1.5
5	Iran	22.471.185	23.485.675	4.5
6	Egypt	18.991.810	19.084.388	4.4
7	Russia	16.275.327	16.084.372	-1.2
8	Mexico	12.160.789	13.599.497	11.8
9	Spain	12.583.971	12.531.000	-0.4
10	Italy	14.242.284	12.297.645	-13.7
11	Nigeria	11.439.588	11.940.600	4.4
12	Japan	11.176.289	11.351.200	1.6
13	Brazil	11.611.031	11.054.949	-4.8
14	Indonesia	10.518.029	10.507.836	-0.1
15	Ukraine	9.832.900	10.017.000	1.9
	Total	1.087.591.891	1.106.133.865	1.7

Table 3.3 : list of countries that produces fresh fruits

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Having a good production of agricultures, Turkey also exported its productions to others countries and Russia became the first consumer of Turkey agricultural products. Russian importers of Turkish fresh fruit and vegetables valued at around USD 829 million and USD 788 milion in 2011 and 2012 (Cristina, 2016, p.8).

Table 3.4: Turkey total fresh fruit and vegetables exports to top 10 importers

No.	Countries	2011		2012		2013		Change (13/12) (%)	
		Tons	Million USD	Tons	Million USD	Tons	Million USD	Quantity	Volume
1	Russia	1.127.422	829	1.064.939	788	1.082.599	878	1.7	11,4
2	Iraq	474.553	260	586.668	301	632.871	255	7.9	-15,3
3	Ukraine	284.718	187	240.832	169	333.363	232	38.4	37,7
4	Germany	132.033	194	124.858	192	119.502	198	-4.3	3,2
5	Bulgaria	156.318	115	121.782	83	146.496	96	20.3	-28,7
6	S. Arabia	170.374	109	122.871	68	103.573	64	-15.7	-31,7
7	Romania	152.018	103	113.218	71	82.805	60	-26.9	-37,9
8	Netherlands	24.791	31	29.009	36	35.400	43	22.0	-14,9
9	England	24.835	32	23.341	33	30.954	37	32.6	-18,8
10	Moldova	51.715	35	41.115	28	49.112	32	19.5	-60,1
	Total		2 278					11.3	-7,7

Source : Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nation. Stastics Mission.

In the table 3.4, it can be seen that Russia as an important partner for Turkey to export its fresh fruits and vegetables products. It surely gives a good income towards the economic of Turkey. In 2011, Turkey exported about 1.127.442 products to Russia. If it is compared to other countries, it showed the significantly different trading amount and it made Russia as an important partner for Turkey.

Nevertheless, the relations between Russia and Turkey became complicated since the action of Turkey shot down Sukhoi SU-24. Because of that accident, Russia decided to use confrontation strategy. Russia thought that the action of Turkey was a back stab to Russia. Russia which had a good military and economic sectors, used its power to respond the actions of Turkey.

2. Economic Sanctions

After a Russian Sukhoi SU-24 was shot by Turkey, The Prime Minister of Russia issued an order to the Russian ministers to arrange the retaliation steps towards Turkey. On November 28, 2015 the decree on economic sanction which enacted by Russia towards Turkey was signed by President of Russia Vladimir Putin. According to the decree of economic sanction, from January 1, 2016 Russian companies were forbidden to accept Turkish citizens employees and free visa policy between two countries will be suspended. It made Turkish citizens who want to go on vacation in Russia could not have free access. Russian Federation also prohibited to use subcontractors Turkey to implement Russia state projects (Jenkins, 2015).

According to the decree, Turkish companies were prohibited to build construction, civil engineering and all other specialized construction works. The decree of economic sanction towards Turkey also prohibited to import of commodity products from Turkey. In the field of aviation, Russia also issued a ban on charter air flight between Russia and Turkey. Russia also informed agencies of tourism in Russia not to sell the travel packages to the citizens of Russia to have vacation in Turkey state (Wahyono, 2015).

Based on the economic sanctions, Russia also banned Turkish workers in the travel and hotel business, Turkish companies also were prohibited to participate in several project (Hurriyetdailynews.2015). In this case Russia used the power in economic sector to respond the Turkey action. The action of Russia was to prove that the country has the ability to confront their rival. Russia used cultural technique in foreign policy on the macro scale, including stopping supply of product, commodities, services from a state to another state. A state which has economic power like Russia is able to do embargo or gave economic sanction to another state and give the effect in their economic.

On November 18, 2015, Russian Agriculture Minister Alexander Tkachev met with his Turkish counterpart, Faruk Celik, in Sochi on the international agriculture fair that drew delegations from both countries. The delegation both of countries discussed the process of stopping the agricultural sanctions. However, after the meeting, Russia said that the country could continue to ban Turkish tomatoes for the next two to three years. According to the Russian Minister, this step will help Russian tomato producers become more competitive (Yekaterina & Chulkovskaya, 2016).

As published on Al-monitor.com Georgy Petrov as a vice President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Russian Federation told that “For many years, Turkish tomatoes were dominant on Russian market. After the jet crisis and the economic sanctions against Turkey, Russian producers made huge investments in tomato production. Now it was essential that they don’t lose their money.” (Yekaterina & Chulkovskaya, 2016).

In addition to a ban on import products from Turkey to Russia, nuclear power plant project between Russia and Turkey were also suspended. According to the Russian Ambassador, Andrey Karlov that “The relations between Russia and Turkey was in the worst crisis during the history both of countries.” (Muhaimin, 2015). Russian Ambassador also said that Russia asked Turkey to fulfill the three requirements from Russia if Turkey wanted to make a peaceful relationship with Russia, such as Turkey should apologize for shooting the jet plane Russian Sukhoi SU-24, Turkey must give punishment for those who had responsible of this accident, and Turkey should pay for the damage suffered in Russian military.

3. The Impact of Economic Sanctions

After the case of Russian Sukhoi SU-24 happened, the decrease of suitcase trade occurred. As stated before, Turkey was a main destination for Russian tourists. The suitcase trading between Russia and Turkey occurred to fulfill the need of tourism. This trading already happened with Russian tourists in Istanbul Laleli district since for a long time. However after economic sanction, the suitcase trading decreased until 36 % and in 2014 suitcase export added up to \$8.6 billions but in 2015 amount went down to \$5.5 billions (Sonmez, 2016).

Economic sanction also given effect in tourism sector although it was not significant. The decrease of Turkey income in tourism sector happened since 2014 before the accident of Sukhoi SU-24, but after the accident of Sukhoi SU-24 Russia given warning towards its citizens to not had vacation to Turkey. Meanwhile, in November and December 2015, the Russian tourists who visited Turkey reduce, or fell around 18.5% (Sonmez, 2016).

Russian economic sanction gave the effect to Turkey especially in Antalya, not only in tourism but also in the trading of fresh vegetables and fruits export to Russia. Several products were banned by Russia including tomatoes, onions, grapes, cucumbers, chicken and turkey. Several enterprises begun experiencing difficult times and Turkish contractors in Russia also were under pressured (Zildzovic, 2015).

Russia and Turkey also had cooperation in the field of investment, in Russia there were about 500 Turkish firms and 150 of the Turkish firms were contracting companies. A good cooperation between Russia and Turkey can be seen from the fact that several Turkish companies were operated in Russia such as Zorlu energy, Enka, Anadolu Grabu, Ant Yapi and the Alarko group companies. In Turkey, Russia had direct investment including the Akkuyu Nuclear power plant and some energy investment.

Because the crisis relations between Russia and Turkey, the project nuclear power plant between Russia and Turkey also had been suspended (Sonmez, 2016).

On February 06-07, 2016 towards 1.600 respondents in 46 Russia region, a poll of Russian research institutes revealed that the majority of Russia refused to have compromise with Turkey and demanded Turkey to apologize because Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24. According to the Russian citizens Turkey was wrong in shooting down Russian Sukhoi SU-24 and had to get the bilateral sanctions. According to the poll results, 78% of the Russian citizens opposed the peace towards Turkey before Turkey apologized and 11% of Russian citizens felt that Russia and Turkey should re-establish a good relationship although Turkey did not apologize (Berlianto, 2016).

As previously mentioned, the bilateral relationship between Russia and Turkey was in a good shape, Russia as an important trading partner for Turkey can give a big effect with use economic sanctions. According to the Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey, Mehmet Simsek, the tension between Russia and Turkey could make Turkey lose its revenue until \$9 Billion (Muhaimin, 2015).

C. Military sectors

1. Military Relations between Russia and Turkey

After the Soviet Union era, Russian Federation and Turkey has a good relationship in cooperation. Russian Federation sold several products to Turkey including material and armory. Russian Federation and Turkey also showed that both of countries tried to build a good relationship by signing an agreement that Russia and Turkey as friendly states and both of the countries promised to be neutral if one of them were attacked by another power. Russia and Turkey also made a trade in the military equipment, Turkish armed forces paid 40 million dollars for the Russian military

equipment and 146.5 million dollars for additional equipment and weapon. Russia and Turkey also signed an inter-governmental agreement about cooperation in military and technical problems and both of the countries also agreed to have cooperation in the field of defense industry.

Since 1996, Russian Federation was interested with the ATA project. ATA project was aimed to supply Turkey with 145 helicopters. This project made Russia interested because it gave the value about 2.5 billion dollars to 4.5 billion dollars. Russian Federation and Turkey also agreed to sign a military cooperation agreement which provided exchange officers for training purposes and showed that Russia and Turkey seriously concerned to fight against terrorism, Russian Federation agreed to prohibit terrorist organization on its territory which committed against Turkey.

A good relationship between Russia and Turkey was also shown by both of the countries cooperate to prevent the war happening. In the case of Iraq in 2003, Russia opposed the war and Turkey rejected the U.S demand to spread the troops in Turkey to attack Iraq from the north. Russia and Turkey also agreed to support the territory of Iraq (Akturk, 2013, p.2).

In September, 2013, Russia and Turkey conducted a two day joint air military exercises under the NATO-Russian Cooperative Airspace Initiative. This program was used to test, evaluate and develop the quality personnel of the new Ankara Area Control Center ability to fight against the terrorist attack with Russia cooperation (HurriyetDailyNews.com, 2013).

As published on international sindonews.com, Russia and Turkey had a good military power. Russia in ranked 2nd from 106 countries, Russia had 15398 tanks, 3429 aircraft, 352 ships at sea defenses, 3793 (MLRSs), 31298 armored combat vehicles

(AFVS), 5972 SPGS. While, Turkey ranked 10th from 106 countries, with 3788 tanks, 7550 armored combat vehicles (AFVs), 811 (MLRSs), 1020 aircraft and 115 ships for sea power. (Muhaimin, 2015).

From the data of military force between Russia and Turkey, it can be seen that military power of Russia better than Turkey. However, as a member of NATO and the allies of United States, can not be denied that Turkey will get the support from NATO and United States in the case that a war between Russia and Turkey happened.

2. The Military Response

As published on International Sindonews.com on November 25, 2015, Russia took several policies after Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24, Russia announced three important steps, including all of Russia operation attack in Syria which should be under the escort of fighter jets of Russia, Russia sent warships with missile in Latakia coast. Thus, the relationship between Russia and Turkey was suspended (Muhaimin, 2015).

Russia also ceased all of the military contact between Russia and Turkey, as the Minister of Defense Igor Konshenkov said that “Today, all of the contact cooperation between Russian and Turkey had been suspended, including the channel freeway which was defined in order to avoid various incidents during Russian air action against the terrorist in Syria.” (Alif, 2015).

Vladimir Putin also sent warship after Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24. Moscow sent warship to the Mediterranean sea to increase the airspace security and destroy all of the targets that could be a threat to the interest of Russia. Moskva warship which was sent by Russia entered the coastal of Latakia in Syria was one of the largest warship by the Russian Federation, the ability of Moskva warship which can destroy the all of target, Moskva warship was also equipped with fort air defense system like S-300. As

stated by Russian minister of military “every target which has potential to be a threat for us, will be destroyed.” (Azarya, 2015).

As reported in Sindonews.com, a Russian spokesman, Sergei Naryshkin said “Russia has the right to give military response after Turkey shot down Russian Sukhoi SU-24 aircraft, because shooting Russian Sukhoi SU-24 similarly with conscious murder.” (Berlianto, 2015). To improve the security of Russian fighter jet, Russia also allocated additional resources such as placing a missile defense system S-400.

3. The Impact of Military Response

After Russia gave military response towards Turkey, the ties between Russia and Turkey did not directly change and the tension between Russia and Turkey still happened. Based on the result of representative opinion poll by Levada center on 18-21 December 2015, 13% people from 1600 participants assumed that international isolations of Russia and sanctions by the west countries against Russia would be happened. 192 people assume that escalations of the military confrontation, deterioration of isolated incidents into local wars and military clashes between Russia and NATO troops were also possible to occur as the consequences of the confrontation between Russia and Turkey (Akturk, 2016, p.13).

Many people also thought that, there will be no consequences because of the confrontation between Russian and Turkey. 28% from 1600 participants thought that Turkey did not express a danger to Russia. Nevertheless, many people assume that, the confrontation of Russia towards Turkey would give actors of mutual economic will suffer, because Russia and Turkey had a good economic and trading relations (Akturk, 2016, p.13).

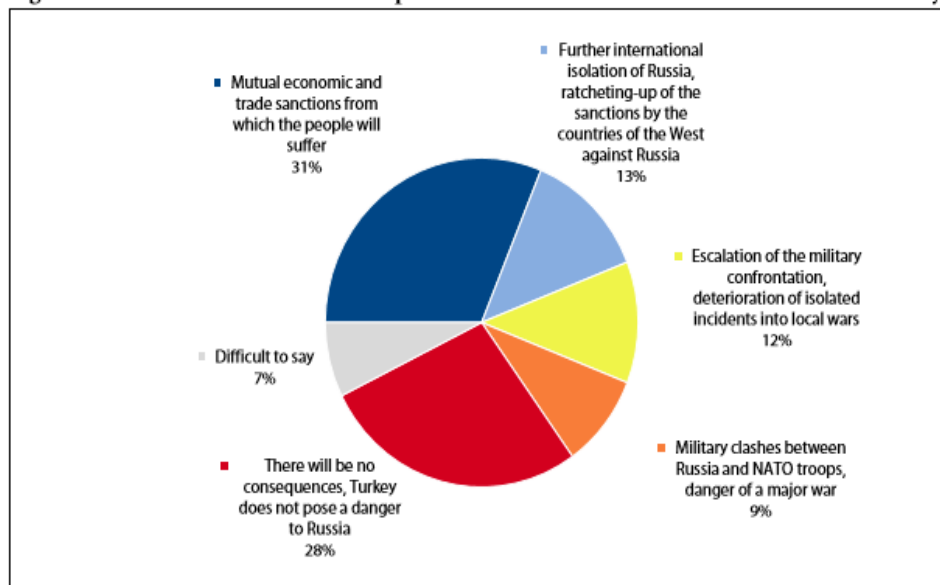


Figure 3.5 : What Are the Possible Consequences of the Confrontation Between Russia and Turkey? Source: representative opinion poll by Levada Center on 18–21 December 2015, N = 1600, published on 25 December 2015

On 12-13 December 2015, Fond Obshchestvennogo Mneniya (FOM) also released the result of representative opinion poll from 1000 participants, and showed that the majority of Russian attitude towards Turkish was not changed. However, many Russian people were also worse than before, because they did not accept the action of Turkey in shooting down Russian Sukhoi SU-24 (Akturk, 2016, p.15).

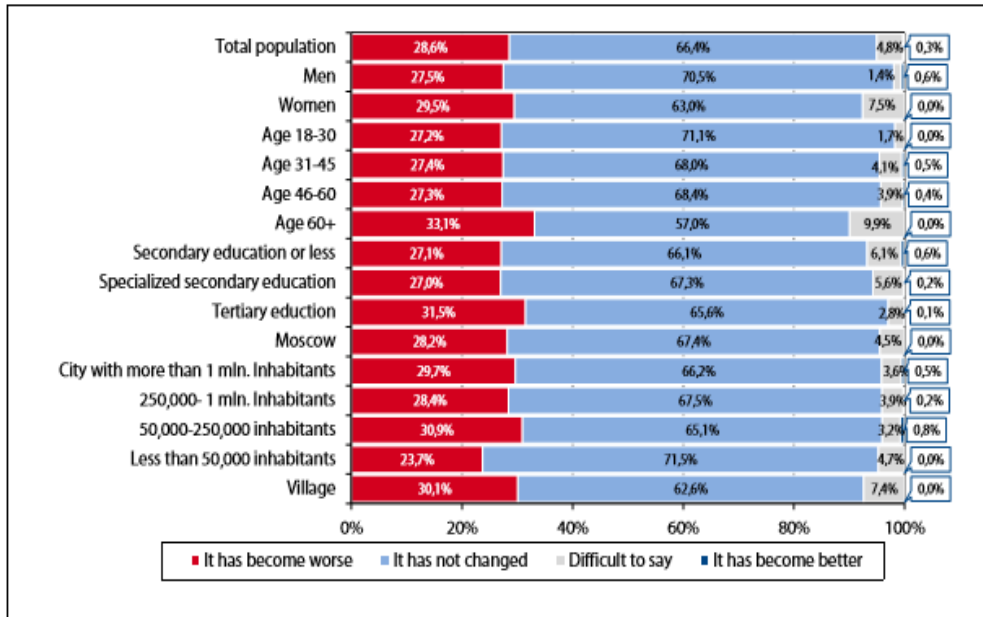


Figure 3.5 : Has Your Attitude Towards the Turks Lately Become Better, Worse, Or Has It Remained the Same? <http://fom.ru/Mir/12452>