SECURITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION:
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

SECURITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION:
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

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This thesis analyzes how a relative security in the Black Sea Region has been established and sustained since the end of the WWII by adapting international structure understanding of Neorealist theory to regional structure. In the Region, there has been a Soviet/Russian sphere of influence and special relations between the USSR/RF and its subordinates shape both the distribution of capabilities and the ordering principle of the regional structure. In the Black Sea Region, the distribution of capabilities has not been unipolar since the beginning of the Cold War due to the presence of Turkey, which has been the US ally country. The ordering principle has been anarchical hierarchy within anarchy because of the co-existence of subordinate states of the different great powers. This regional structure has been effective in enhancing or terminating regional security because it affected the policies of the regional and the non-regional actors that could destroy or maintain regional security. In this thesis, from 1948 (beginning of the Cold War) to 2012; in main three periods, security situation of the Region, regional structure, sphere of influences in the Region, security situation of international system and relations between great powers are defined and then, relationship between regional structure and regional security is laid down. In all periods, how regional structure affects policies of regional and related non-regional actors and how this web of relations and position affects regional security is shown.

ÖZ

KARADENİZ BÖLGESİ'NDE GÜVENLİK

DEVAMLILIK VE DEĞİŞİM

Anlar, Aslıhan

Doktora, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Mustafa Türkeş

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Aralık 2013, 521 sayfa

Karadeniz Bölgesi II. Dünya Şavaşı yılları dışında göreli olarak güvenli bir bölge olagelmiştir. Bu tez Bölge'de güvenliğin nasıl sağlandığı ve sürdürülebildiğini araştırmaktadır. Bu inceleme sırasında Neorealist teorinin uluslararası yapı kuramı bölgesel yapıya uyarlanarak kullanılmıştır. Bölge'de Soğuk Savaş'ın başlangıcından bugüne Sovyet/Rus etki alanı bulunmakta ve kendisi ile kendisine bağlı devletler arasındaki özel ilişki bölgesel yapının hem güçler dağılımını hem de düzenleyici ilkesini şekillendirmektedir. Bölge'de güçler dağılımı Soğuk Savaş'tan bu yana ABD yanlısı Türkiye'nin varlığı nedeni ile hiç bir zaman tek kutuplu olmamış ancak büyük bir güç farklılığı bulunmuştur. Düzenleyici ilke ise farklı büyük güçlerin etki alanındaki ülkelerin aynı bölgede olması sebebi ile anarşi içinde anarşik hiyerarşi olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu bölgesel yapı güvenliği arttıracak ya da yok edecek kapasiteye sahip bölgesel ya da bölge dışı ülkelerin politikalarında etkili olmuştur. Bu tezde Soğuk Savaş'ın başlangıcından, 1948'den başlayarak 2012'ye kadar olan zaman zarfında, üç ana dönemde, Bölge'deki güvenlik durumu, bölgesel yapı, Bölge'deki etki alanları, uluslararası sistemin güvenlik durumu ve büyük güçler arasındaki ilişkiler tanımlanmış ve bölgesel güvenlik ile bölgesel yapı arasındaki bağ

ortaya konmuştur. Tüm dönemlerde bölgesel yapının bölgesel ve ilgili bölge dışı aktörlerin politikalarını nasıl etkilediği ve onların ilişkiler ağının da bölgesel güvenliği nasıl şekillendirdiği gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karadeniz Bölgesi, bölgesel güvenlik, bölgesel yapı, anarşik hiyerarşi, etki alanı

To Emre Zafer Anlar,
my son

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providing support and enduring love with me for ten years. And last but not least, my son, Emre Zafer and my second child -not named for the time being- they were with me while writing this thesis, and I would like to dedicate my thesis to Emre Zafer; I believe he will understand what it means in the future.

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AB	Avrupa Birliği
ABD	Amerika Birleşik Devletleri
ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
ACP	African Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
AKKA	Avrupa Konvansiyonel Kuvvetler Antlaşması
AKP	JDP- Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
ANP	Annual National Program
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BCP	Bulgarian Communist Party
BiH	Bosnia Herzegovina
BILGESAM	Wise Men Center For Strategic Studies (Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırma Merkezi)
BLACKSEAFOR	Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group
BMENA	Broader Middle East and North Africa
BSEC	Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization
BSR	Black Sea Region
BSREC	Black Sea Regional Energy Center
BTC	Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan
CDC	Community Democratic Choice
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEFTA	Central European Free Trade Agreement
CEI	Central European Initiative
CES	Common Economic Space
CFET	Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
Cominform	Communist International Bureau
COW	Correlates of War
CP	Communist Parties
CPforSTP	Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technological Progress
CPU	Communist Party of Ukraine
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe
CST	Collective Security Treaty
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area
DOD	Debt Outstanding Disbursed
DUMA	Russian Federation Federal Assembly
EAEC	EurAsian Economic Community
EaP	Eastern Partnership
ECU	European Currency Unit
EEC	European Economic Community
EECt	Eastern European Countries
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
En-En Strategy	National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EPDK	Turkish Energy Market Regulatory Authority (Enerji Piyasası Düzenleme Kurumu)
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
EU	European Union
EUJUST THEMIS	EU Rule of Law Mission to Georgia
EUMM	EU Monitoring Mission

EUMM Georgia	EU Monitoring Mission in Georgia
EurAsEC	Eurasian Economic Community
EURONEST	European Union East
EvrAzEs	Eurasian Economic Community
FEICFDSEI	Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and Further Development of Socialist Economic Integration
FIR	Flight Information Region
FY	Fiscal Year
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
G-8	Group of Eight
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GFR	German Federal Republic
GLOBE	Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment
GSP+	General System of Preferences +
GUAM	Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova
HSBC	Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Limited
IFOR	Peace Implementation Force
IMEMO	Institute of World Economy and International Relations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INF	Intermediate Nuclear Forces
INOGATE	Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe
IPAP	Individual Partnership Action Plan
KAL	Korean Airlines
KGB	Committee for State Security
MAP	Membership Action Plans
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market
MGIMO	Moscow State Institute of International Relations

MPFSEE	Agreement on Multinational Peace Force South-Eastern Europe
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIS	Newly Independent States
NPT	The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
NRDC-T	NATO Rapid Deployable Corps-Turkey
NSF	National Salvation Front
NST	New Security Threats
NSWP	Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact
OAE	Operation Active Endeavour
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Country
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
PCC	Political Consultative Committee
PfP	Partnership for Peace Program
PJC	Permanent Joint Council
PKK	Kurdistan Workers Party
PMR	Pridnestrovyan Moldovan Republic
PPG	Public and Publicly Guaranteed
RCC	Regional Cooperation Council
RF	Russian Federation
RSC	Regional Security Complex
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talk
SECI	Southeast European Cooperative Initiative
SEE	Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe
SEEBRIG	The South-Eastern Europe Brigade
SEECP	South East European Co-operation Process

SES	Single Economic Space
SFOR	Stabilization Force
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SSCB	Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
START	Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States
TNK	Tymen Oil Cooperation
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UDF	Union of Democratic Forces
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction
WP	Warsaw Pact
WTO	World Trade Organization
WW	World War

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Black Sea Region is one of the most significant regions since the security had been largely preserved during the period from 1918 till today except WWII years although states in the Region had been historically and at times ideologically contested. While the regional countries, except Turkey, were involved in the WWII, security was re-established in the new context of bipolar international system. Although instabilities have occurred from time to time following the system and regime change in the Region, these have not led to any major regional security crisis. These instabilities have not been solved, but largely frozen. During the Cold War era and the post-Cold War years, policy makers in Ankara and in Moscow, whether as the Soviet Union or as the Russian Federation, played a crucial role in creating order in the Region. This has been a result of interaction between the international system and the regional actors regarding the Black Sea Region.

While the Soviet Union had a special relationship with Romania and Bulgaria during the Cold War, the Russian Federation had similar relations with Ukraine and Georgia until the mid-1990s, after which it started to shift and took on a new shape in the following years. Each shift produced a new regional structure, contributing both stability and instability. However, none led to a major war with the capacity to destroy the existing security structure in the Black Sea Region.

This different type of regional structure is assumed to be one of the most important factors in preserving the relatively secure situation of the Region, as expressed above. Therefore, this thesis attempts to explore how regional security is influenced by the regional structure and the international system by examining the

distribution of capabilities and the ordering principle of the regional structure in the Black Sea Region during three periods – the Cold War, the 1991-1999 period and from 2000 to 2012, thus it answers the question of how security is sustained in the Region.

The broader theoretical framework of the thesis is Neorealism; however, its discourse of 'international structure' has been revised in accordance with the regional characteristic of the subject in question and its 'ordering principle' understanding has been revised in order to explore the special relationship among regional actors in different time periods.

This modification resulted from the fact that 'ordering principle' discourse of Neorealism is insufficient to explain the relationship between two states, one of which is superior to the other in terms of economic and military capabilities. Indeed, the ordering principle of a structure cannot be confined to the two concepts which are hierarchy and anarchy. Neorealist theory argues that in international fora no central and common authority exists to regulate relationships between units; therefore the international system is anarchic while the ordering principle of the domestic political structure is hierarchic because of the existence of central authority. Neorealism claims that there are only two forms of ordering principle, either anarchy or hierarchy, and does not accept any other formations of the ordering principles of the structure.

However, in an international system, there exist different forms of ordering principles which have characteristics similar to the ordering principles of both anarchic and hierarchic systems. There have been regions in which a hierarchical relationship prevails within a wider anarchical international system. This leads to the formation of different types of international or regional systems.

This Neorealist understanding of international system has been criticized by many theorists specializing on international relations. Among them is Jack

Donnelly, who emphasizes the existence of the "mixed political orders".[1] In his book *Realism and International Relations,* he points out that there have been many international and political systems throughout history, as well as in the contemporary world, that consist of a group of states which are internally sovereign but externally subordinate; that is, a great power has "special rights and responsibilities" over the group of states.[2] This type of mixed political systems – international but having a hierarchical relationship – is embedded within a larger anarchical structure.[3]

David Lake also refers to the existence of a hierarchical relationship within an anarchic international system. He determines parameters to define this hierarchical relationship between the USA and Latin and Central American countries in his book *Hierarchy in International Relations.* He defines four indicators in economic and security sectors and tries to find out the hierarchical relationship between the USA and countries in her sphere of influence.[4]

During the Cold War and in the post-Cold War years, in the Black Sea Region, there has been a Soviet/Russian sphere of influence; this has led to the formation of an ordering principle that is neither anarchy nor hierarchy. Changes in the scope and intensity of the Russian sphere of influence differentiate both the ordering principle and the distribution of capabilities, thus the regional structure of the Region. Therefore, the main objective of this thesis is to define what type of regional structure has occurred in the Black Sea region and to point out how regional structure affects the security situation in the Region. This thesis argues that

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[1] Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2000, p. 87.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-97.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[4] David Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London: 2009.

a relatively secure situation in the Black Sea Region has been maintained owing to the specificity of the dynamics between regional security and regional structure. In line with the theoretical framework and the modifications made, the concept of ordering principle of anarchical hierarchy will be worked out. In other words, the forms and essence of 'anarchical hierarchy' will be looked into in this thesis.

To determine the anarchical hierarchic ordering principle, fifteen indicators (six in the security sector, six in the economic sector and three in the political sector) are identified. As part of the methodology, these indicators are defined in Chapter II - Theoretical Framework and the following chapters on the Black Sea Region examine the existence of these indicators in relations between Russia and the regional countries; thus, the ordering principle of the regional structure is to be laid out.

For any region, security is related to the absence of aggression and military conflict. There may be instability in a region but to assess a region as secure, there should at least not be any on-going conflict between the actors. There have not been any large scale military conflicts in the Black Sea Region despite the occurrence of the Georgia-South Ossetia War (1991-1992), the Georgia-Abkhazia military conflicts (1993-1994), the first and second Chechnya Wars (in 1994-1996 and 1999-2003/4) and the military confrontation between Georgia and the Russian Federation in 2008. These destabilizing factors are worthy of exploration to determine whether they have capacity to lead to radical change in the Region through a comparison of the regional structure features before and after these military confrontations.

In a region, even if there is no on-going military conflict, it is important to maintain or establish order, preserving the balance-of-interest in the region in order to prevent military conflicts. In the following chapters, what kind of order and when it was established in the Black Sea Region will be examined.

The security of a region may be destroyed in the event that regional states pursue revisionist policies which can change all balances or a new great power may emerge and interfere with regional politics in a revisionist way. At this point, it is

very important for the foreign polices of regional countries to maintain their balance and status-quo. Russia is one of the leading states which attaches importance to preserving the status-quo in the Region. It is worth studying the methods the Russian Federation has used to sustain security and whether any special relationship has been utilized to preserve the status-quo. How Russia has perceived the emergence of great powers and the interfering policies of non-regional great powers towards the Region as a threat for regional security will also be studied. Indeed, relations between Western and regional countries gain importance due to the fact that they could affect the dynamics of Russian relations with regional countries and regional structure in terms of both distribution of capabilities and ordering principle, by this way regional security. Therefore, their relations with all regional countries will be analysed.

To search how the status-quo in the Region was formed and re-produced, it is necessary to explore the role of Turkish foreign policy regarding the Black Sea Region. Whether Turkey's policy has had a stabilizing effect by preventing a spill-over effect of instability from the Middle East to the Black Sea and why and how it has overlapped with Russian policy in the Region are important issues. Why she respected the regional structure constituted by Russian superior relations with Bulgaria and Romania during the Cold War and with Georgia and Ukraine during the post-Cold War is issues related to the position and effect of Turkey as regards the security of the Region. It is also important to examine whether Bulgaria, Romania, (after the end of the Cold War) Ukraine and Georgia have pursued policies to maintain or revise this structure.

However regional security cannot be analysed without exploring the effects of the international system and the adjacent region. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union was a global power, her competition with the USA affected the international system and its security was defined in terms of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States – the two superpowers. On the other hand, the sphere of influence of the Russian Federation was limited to the post-Soviet countries except the Baltic States and her world-wide policies were transformed into more regional

ones after the end of the Cold War. Therefore, whether and to what extent security in the international system and the neighbouring region affects Black Sea security will be taken into account.

Given the focus of research and the arguments above, the study will be organized as follows. Chapter 1 outlines the main arguments and the questions of the study and defines the theoretical and methodological framework.

Chapter 2 explains the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis. It presents a literature review first, followed by a brief outline of the main premises of Neorealism. This chapter also elaborates on the deficiencies of the 'ordering principle' understanding of Neorealism and examines the existence of mixed forms. This thesis specifically defines the mixed forms as anarchical hierarchy. In addition, the methodological indicators that are used throughout the thesis (economic, political and security) are outlined. Then, the following section further explores relationships between regional structure and regional security, taking into account the international system as well as the regional security structure. Therefore, the indicators for identifying the state of affairs concerning security in the Region, in neighbouring Regions and international system are shown in detail. Measurements for assessing the effects of the balancing and bandwagoning policies of regional countries towards the Russian Federation and non-regional great powers regarding regional security of the Region are also presented in this Chapter.

Chapter 3 defines firstly state-of-affairs of security in the Black Sea Region during the Cold War. After defining interfering policies of the USA, state-of-affairs of security in the international system during the Cold War is described. In the following section regional structures is examined by exploring the distribution of capability and the ordering principle in the Black Sea Region. Next, how security and the status-quo in the Region were preserved are shown by looking at how Russian tutelage prevented outside intervention, internal efforts for change and spill over of the negative effect of tension in the international system during the Cold War to the Region.

Chapter 4 firstly defines state-of-affairs of security in the Black Sea Region during the period from 1991 to 2000. Then, it elaborates the factors behind this security situation. The following section defines the sphere of influence of the Russian Federation and attempts of the non-regional great powers to establish relations with regional countries. This is considered necessary because new states emerged and a new status quo was established after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. State-of-affairs of security neighbouring regions and the relationships between the EU, the US and the Russian Federation are described next to find out their effect on regional security. After an examination of the position and effect of Turkey, the regional structure in the Black Sea Region will be identified by exploring the distribution of capability and the ordering principle. Finally, questions concerning how Russia prevents a spill-over of regional crises and whether there was any intervention by non-regional great powers or any effort on the part of regional countries to change the status-quo are answered.

Chapter 5 starts by defining state-of-affairs of security in the Black Sea Region during the period from 2001 to 2012. Secondly, whether there has been any change in the sphere of influence of the Russian Federation is looked into and her relations with regional countries and non-regional great powers are outlined. Then, the relationships between the EU, the US and the Russian Federation are explored in order to ascertain its effect on regional politics. After identifying regional structures, the following section assesses Russian policies for preserving the status-quo during this period by preventing US intervention in the Region in the form of the NATO enlargement and the tendency of regional states such as Georgia to follow revisionist policies to ensure territorial integrity. Finally, the causal relationship between regional security and these factors is explored.

Chapter 6 summarizes the conclusions of the thesis. The questions raised in the Introduction are answered and the logical consequences of the theoretical debate on regional security, its relationship with the regional structure are clearly pointed out. Differences between threats against security and destabilizing factors are laid

down. Relationship between regional and international security will be shown. Revision on generalizations regarding policies pursued by states which was developed by Neorealism is also summarized in this Chapter.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1   INTRODUCTION

This thesis attempts to explore the security of the Black Sea Region from a revised Neorealist perspective since it provides a structural analysis. The Black Sea Region comprises these six coastal states: the Russian Federation, Turkey, Georgia, Ukraine, Romania and Bulgaria. In this thesis, the Black Sea Region was chosen as a case study because security has been preserved in this Region during nearly sixty seven years since the end of the WWII. Moreover, this Region enables researchers to study on a regional structure of which ordering principle has changed according to different time periods. This regional structure also has a special characteristics which is the fact that there are countries, found in spheres of influence of different great powers and this led to emergence of an ordering principle that can be defined as co-existence of different types of anarchical hierarchies within anarchy (that will be held in deail below). Therefore, this region is chosen deliberately for taking different types of countries into consideration. Netiher the Trans-Caucasia nor the the Eastern European Countries or the Balkans have these characteristics.

The first section of this chapter summarizes previous studies pertaining to security in the Black Sea Region, thus displaying the lack of theoretical studies in related literature. Previous studies focused on six main issues: geopolitical considerations, energy security, newly emerging soft security threats, the role of the BSEC in enhancing security in the Region, European Union and US policies. However, the subject in question is not considered with a theoretical perspective. In the same section, second part, studies on regionalism and regional security is

summarized to display lack of any study that problematizes relationship between regional security and regional structure.

The second section explains and explores neorealist understanding and its tools for explaining international structure and then underlies differences between hierarchy and anarchy. The second part deals with the ideas of three authors (David Lake, Charles Doran and Jack Donnelly) who criticize the anarchy and hierarchy dichotomy and then attempts to display indicators that can be used to define the ordering principle of the structure.

The third section explores relationships between regional security and regional structure. Differences in the regional structure and its two components (distribution of capabilities and ordering principle) affect regional security by influencing the threats which states perceive and their policies to cope with these threats (their choice of balancing or bandwagoning). The effects of the security situations of the international system and neighboring countries and the policies of non-regional great powers towards the Region and their effect of regional security are also be worked out. Then, parameters to define regional security are laid down. The last part concludes the chapter.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review surveys different approaches and views on Black Sea security and regionalism.

2.2.1   Security in the Black Sea Region

Even though the Black Sea Region concept is not new, studies on the subject in the literature are focusing on six main issues: geopolitical considerations, energy security, newly emerging – soft security threats, role of the BSEC in enhancing security in the Region, European Union and US policies.

2.2.1.1   Geopolitical Rivalry

Some authors try to explain the state-of-affairs of the security as geopolitical rivalry. Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer claims that "the Black Sea geopolitics today is

dominated by the foreign policies of Russia, Ukraine, and Turkey towards one another."[5] She seeks to clarify the nature of the historical change in terms of the power structure in the Black Sea Region, with all its positive and negative implications for European stability and security.[6] She also tries to show that the closed system with a hegemon state has been replaced by a pluralist and open system of relations among multiple actors and forces.[7]

Fyodor Lukyanov takes up the issue of geopolitical rivalry between the global players in the Black Sea Region and claims that leading world players are still guided by national interests, and they are not yet ready to assume responsibility for formulating new game rules that would suit everyone.[8]

Igor Torbakov discusses the main challenges and obstacles to the Euro-Atlantic strategy in the Black Sea Region[9]. He argues that there are three sets of challenges: problems with conceptualizing the Black Sea area, the place of the Black Sea on America's and the European Union's priority lists and the problem of how to engage Russia and Turkey.[10] He concludes by pointing out that the US and the EU are unable to constitute a more secure area around the Black Sea because of these challenges.[11]

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[5] Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, "From Hegemony to Pluralism: The Changing Politics of the Black Sea", *SAIS Review,* Vol. 17, No. 1, 1997, p. 2.

[6] *Ibid,* p. 23.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Fyodor Lukyanov, "Bridging Troubled Waters", *Transitions Online*, 11/12/2007, p. 2.

[9] Igor Torbakov, "Challenges to Euro-Atlantic Strategy in the Black Sea Region", *The Proceedings of the International Conference on the Black Sea Security in the Aftermath of 9/11 Changing Parameters and New Approaches*, Ankara, 9 October 2006, pp. 70-78.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 76

James Sherr underlines the increasing importance of realpolitik in the Black Sea Region.[12] He considers the tension between Russia and international organizations (NATO and the EU).[13] The security of the Region is highly dependent on external development within the framework of the international environment which emerged after 9/11 and the US invasion of Iraq[14].

Mustafa Aydın argues that attention of the greater powers towards the Region leads to a clash of interest and asserts that great powers' attention may not always lead to prosperity; rather it may lead to instability.[15] According to him, the Region, along with other BMENA countries, has gained importance for the US and the EU since the 9/11 terrorist attacks.[16] He underlines the regionalization projects of three great powers (the US, the EU and the RF) in the Region and claims that some countries are located at the intersection of the projects and this makes cooperation more difficult. The Black Sea Region lies at the intersection of all these projects.[17] Among the regional countries, Turkey supports their integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions and the global economy,[18] while maintaining her reservation against some Euro-Atlantic strategies regarding maritime security in the Black Sea and the Mountreux Convention.[19] On these issues, Turkey has defended

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[12] James Sherr, "Security in the Black Sea Region: Back to Realpolitik?", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 2008, p. 141.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

[15] Mustafa Aydın, "Geographical Blessing Versus Geopolitical Curse: Great Power Security Agendas for the Black Sea Region and a Turkish Alternative", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, September 2009, p. 272.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 275

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 280

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 281

the status-quo and this leads to political disagreements with the US-ally regional countries.[20]

Sergii Glebov notes his view that the security situation of the post-Cold War security is influenced or determined by geopolitical tensions at three levels.[21] He states that Turkey faces four dilemmas: rapprochement with Russia and being a NATO member and the US ally at the regional level;[22] energy strategies and the needs of GUAM countries at the sub-regional level;[23] diverging interests of the EU and Russia[24]; NATO's possible enlargement towards Ukraine and Georgia[25] and US involvement in security architecture of the region at the systemic level.[26]

Oksana Antonenko claims that the 2008 Russian-Georgian war can improve the chances of preventing future wars and crises through its shock impact on regional actors.[27] According to her, the war has had an awakening effect on the Region, displaying that security threats are real and ongoing approaches are not efficient in preventing conflicts[28] and has led to redefining the roles of regional security actors, including Turkey and the EU.[29] She points out that the post-war

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

[21] Sergeii Glebov, "Black Sea Security as a Regional Concern for the Black Sea States and the Global Powers", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, September 2009, p. 351.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 356.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 357-8.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 360.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

[27] Oksana Antonenko, "Towards a comprehensive Regional Security Framework in the Black Sea Region after the Russia-Georgia War", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, September 2009, p. 259.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 264.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

process, a comprehensive institution with an agenda of environmental, human, economic and social security should be designed.[30]

All these authors underline the importance given by the great powers to the Region and the position of Russia in the Region and put emphasis on change; however, they do not offer a convincing theoretical perspective to explain the transformation of security in the Black Sea Region.

2.2.1.2 Newly Emerging Threats and Destabilizing Factors

In the literature, there is another group of authors who emphasize newly emerging threats and destabilizing factors while exploring insecurity in the Region. I. Kuklina attempts to evaluate the dynamics that prevent the establishment of international stability in the Black Sea Region.[31] Leonid Polyakov also touches upon new security threats in the Region.[32] He explains that the Black Sea Region is crucial to avoiding new security threats (NSTs) such as terrorism, illegal migration, illegal trade of arms, drug trafficking[33] because of the three features of the Region as being a source of NSTs, a barrier to NSTs, a target and a transit for NSTs.[34] Tedo Japaridze and Bruce Lawlor identify destabilizing factors as a common threat which regional countries face and propose projects that aim to enhance law enforcement.[35] Deborah Sanders considers these threats in the context of maritime security, noting that there

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

[31] I. Kuklina, "Security Issues in the Black Sea and Caspian Region", *Russian Politics and Law,* Vol. 40, No. 6, November- December 2002, pp. 80-93.

[32] Leonid Polyakov, "New Security Threats in the Black Sea Region", *The Black Sea Region Cooperation and Security Building*, edited by Oleksandr Pavliuk and Ivanna Klympush- Tsintsadze, M. E. Sharpe, New York: 2004, pp. 211- 242.

[33] *Ibid.,* p. 211.

[34] *Ibid.*.

[35] Tedo Japaridze and Bruce Lawlor, "The Black Sea: A Special Geography- An Explosive Region", *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol 31, No. 5, 2009, p. 311.

are numerous such threats in the Black Sea,[36] which the two regional maritime security organizations – BLACKSEAFOR and Black Sea Harmony – are unable to deal with.[37] She defines them as "poor imitations of the OAE".[38] She also points out that these coastal states do not have capable navies or infrastructures[39] and poor relations among them prevent efficient cooperation for enhancing maritime security.[40] On the other hand, Vasie Nazare assesses naval forces of the littoral countries and ranks their naval power as Turkey, Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria and Georgia.[41] She expresses the view that "the first two can independently perform every type of operation, while others only partial and preferably in cooperation."[42]

Igor Munteanu first defines the security environment in the Region, then focuses on the Transnistria issue and claims that the issue is test case for the "benefits of a policy of neglect from the West"[43] and "export of insecurity in the common neighborhood of Russia and the West."[44] He concludes that both stabilization and destabilization are possible.[45] Dov Lynch evaluates four de facto

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[36] Deborah Sanders, "Maritime Security in the Black Sea: Can Regional Solutions Work?", *European Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2, June 2009, p. 102

[37] *Ibid.*, pp.108-109.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 109

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-116

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 116-119

[41] Vasile Nazare, "Romanian Naval Forces Role in Crisis Management next to the Black Sea", *Eurolimes,* Issue 7, 2009, p. 166.

[42] *Ibid.*, p 167

[43] Igor Munteanu, "Frozen Conflicts and the Black Sea Security: A View from Moldova", *The Proceedings of the International Conference on the Black Sea Security in the Aftermath of 9/11 Changing Parameters and New Approaches*, Ankara, 9 October 2006, p. 63.

[44] *Ibid.,* p. 63

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 68.

states – the Pridnestrovyan Moldovan Republic (PMR)[46] (Transnistria) inside Moldovan borders, the Republic of South Ossetia,[47] the Republic of Abkhazia[48] within Georgian borders, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic[49] in Azerbaijan and claims that the people's fear is a driving force,[50] so the settlement of these conflicts depends on eradicating the feelings of insecurity and fear.[51] Kimitaka Matsuzato underlines the importance of usage of cognitive factors in two de facto states: Abkhazia and Transnistria, claiming that two concept-transborder nationalities (Mingrelians in Abkhazia and Moldovans in Transnistria)[52] and inter-Orthodoxy relations between different orthodox churches (Russian, Georgian, Romanian and others, attempting to be recognized churches) have a decisive role in building national consciousness in these republics.[53] Moreover, he notes that "the conflictive situation, caused by this kind of cognitive crafting, or ethno-confessional manipulation, is much less conducive to war than a situation in which there is no room for manipulation."[54]

In security literature, the concept of soft security, including newly emerging security threats, emerges in articles published after the 1990s influenced by the end of the Cold War. Its usage is widely accepted by many authors, especially after 9/11.

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[46] Dov Lynch, "De facto States around the Black Sea: The Importance of Fear" *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, September 2007, pp. 483.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.,* p. 485.

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 494.

[52] Kimitaka Matsuzato, "Inter-Orthodox Relations and Transborder Nationalities in and Around Unrecognized Abkhazia and Transnitria", *Religion, State & Society*, Vol. 37, No. 3, September 2009, p. 239.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[54] *Ibid.*

In Black Sea Security studies, the same trend is observed, whereas they are destabilizing factors rather than threats against security.

2.2.1.3 Regional Initiatives in the Black Sea Region

The positions of regional organizations in enhancing security can also be underlined. Ioannis Stribis and Ercan Özer evaluate the ability and potential role of the BSEC in enhancing security (such as confidence building) by assessing official documents.[55]

Felix Ciuta, in his article "Parting the Black Sea Region: Geopolitics, Institutionalization and the Reconfiguration of European Security",[56] evaluates the general characteristics of the EU initiatives of security building and region building around the Black Sea.

George Prevelakis analyzes the new tensions and opportunities which have emerged in the post-Cold War era, considering inside and outside forces and the integration process in his article.[57] He proposes three ways to promote integration: network building, opening national territories and image (of international community) building.[58] Plamen Pantev analyzes the possibility of "security cooperation" in the Black Sea Region,[59] asserting that it is needed in the Region and

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[55] Ioannis Stribis, "The Evolving Security Concern in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3. September 2003, pp. 130-162 and Ercan Özer, "The Black Sea Economic Cooperation and Regional Security" *Perceptions*, Vol. 2, September-November 1997, pp. 72-86.

[56] Felix Ciuta, "Parting the Black Sea Region: Geopolitics, Institutionalization and the Reconfiguration of European Security", *European Security,* Vol. 16, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 51-78.

[57] George Prevelakis, "The Geopolitics of the Black Sea Region", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September 2001, pp. 148-152.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 151-152.

[59] Plamen Pantev, "Security Cooperation in the Black Sea Basin", *Politics of the Black Sea Dynamics of Cooperation and Conflict*, edited by Tunç Aybak, IB Tauris, London and New York: 2001, pp. 115-133.

it is not impossible, but process is far from a security-community type of relationship[60].

Mustafa Aydın lists all regional organizations (such as Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, EU, NATO, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Commonwealth of Independent States, Southeast European Cooperative Initiative, World Trade Organization, Council of Europe, Stability Pact-SEE, Tashkent Treaty) and questioned whether countries around the Black Sea can be considered as a region. [61]

Alexander Goncharenko evaluates another regional organization: the Black Sea-Caspian Democratic Control Consortium and claims that this group may have an important effect in democratization and further integration.[62]

Dimitrios Triantaphyllou asserts that regionalization policies have two paradoxes: economic growth/subregionalism versus ethnonationalism/security dilemmas and the 'neighbourhood perception paradox'.[63] Especially regarding the latter one, he claims that regionalism is used to increase cooperation; however, both the policies of the great powers and their institutionalization efforts are shaped by the power politics, which is one of the most important obstacles against cooperation.[64]

Alina Homorozean takes up five regional organizations: the BSEC, the Black Sea Synergy and the Eastern Partnership, Community of Democratic Choice, the Baku Initiative and the Energy Community, the Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[61] Mustafa Aydın, "Europe's Next Shore: the Black Sea Region after EU Enlargement", *Occasional Papers*, No. 53, June 2004.

[62] Alexander Goncharenko , "The Wider Black Sea Area: New Geopolitical Realities, Regional Security Structures and Democratic Control A Ukranian View", *The Role of the Wider Black Sea Area in a Future European Security Space*, Vol. 2, NDC Occasional Paper, December 2005, pp. 120-124..

[63] Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, "The 'Security Paradoxes' of the Black Sea Region", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 9, Issue 3, September 2009, pp. 225

[64]*Ibid.*, p. 232.

Partnership.[65] She compares the Region with the Southeast Asian region by looking at the distribution of capabilities in the Region[66] and EU-initiated regional organizations with the Northern Dimension (as a success story).[67] By comparing these two regions, she reaches the conclusion that the Region needs complex regional initiatives to prevent the dominance of any great power.[68] For a successful regional cooperation, "a single integrated regional cooperation package, functioning on the principles of multi-dimensional development (…), with a particular focus on regional public goods, which do not affect sovereignty issues" should be created.[69]

According to these authors, regional problems can be solved by enhancing regional economic integration or constituting a regional forum in which all actors can find the opportunity to communicate and voice their views on the issue. These studies are all efforts to offer advice for problem-solving and supporting the establishment of an EU-type world which is composed of the EU and other regional organizations. Therefore, they are reviewing how a regional organization can be built, which countries should be members of this regional organization and why these organizations are unsuccessful. In this thesis, these regional organizations are taken up as an indicator of the interest of great powers in the Region and regional countries' effort to balance the Russian Federation by bandwagoning with the non-regional great powers.

2.2.1.4 The European Union and the Black Sea Region

EU policies regarding enhancing security in the Region are also assessed. Graeme P. Herd and Fotios Moustakis, in their article entitled "Black Sea

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[65] Alina Homorozean, "Regional Black Sea Architecture and Consequences for the Regional Cooperation Framework", *Romaina Journal of European Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 2010, pp.12-17.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp.11-12.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 17-19.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 19

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Geopolitics: A Litmus Test for the European Security Order?" explore the relationship between the Black Sea Region and European security order[70] and focus on four security dynamics: integration into western security structures, the sustainability of the Black Sea transition process, the competitive influence of regional hegemons and the effects of natural resource transportation.[71] They stress that systemic influence of historical evolution is the key factor which shapes relationships between the EU and the Region.[72]

Fabrizio Tassinari says that the EU understands the necessity of developing a regional approach to the Region and develops a model by looking at the EU's other regional initiatives.[73] George Cristian and Mihaela Matei claim that European security dynamics require an extended approach.[74] The Black Sea Region is a missing link in Union policies. After defining security risks and challenges (the interlocking of regional disparities, frozen and low-intensity conflicts, illegal trafficking of armaments, mafia intrusion, trafficking in drugs and human beings, migrations and terrorism), the authors claim that the Black Sea should be an open sea, and the Region is ready for integration.[75]

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[70] Graeme P. Herd and Fotios Moustakis, "Black Sea Geopolitics: A Litmus Test for the European Security Order?", *Mediterranean Politics,* Vol. 5, No. 3, 2000, pp. 117-139.

[71] *Ibid.,* p.117

[72] *Ibid.,* p. 118.

[73] Fabrizio Tassinari, "A Synergy for the Black Sea Region: Guidelines for an EU Initiative", *The Proceedings of the International Conference on the Black Sea Security in the Aftermath of 9/11: Changing Parameters and New Approaches*, Ankara, 9 October 2006, pp. 27-49.

[74] George Cristian and Mihaela Matei, "The Black Sea Region in an Enlarged Europe: Changing Patterns, Changing Politics", *Mediterranean Quarterly,* Vol. 16, No. 1, Winter 2005, p. 51.

[75] *Ibid.,* p.49.

Marius Vahl and Sergiu Celac elaborate the emerging importance of the Region to the EU,[76] the Union's existing initiatives towards the Region and its interests in the Region in detail[77] and conclude that the time has come to develop a coherent EU policy towards the Black Sea[78].

Sabrine Fisher tries to answer the question of why the EU initiatives would not prevent deterioration of the security situation in the Region. She asserts that the EU has a complex web of relations with the Black Sea countries, bilaterally and multilaterally, and it has been involved in various missions in the Region. However, the Union cannot be efficient in management of security relations because contradictions among member states on the issue of relations with Russia,[79] the geopolitical thinking of regional actors[80] and state weakness, destructive nationalism and fragmentation[81] in the Region hinder EU policies.

These authors focus on the EU perspective, the threat perception regarding the Region and EU initiatives. They underline necessity of establishing a viable mechanism to regulate EU-Black Sea Region relations and some of them suggest that re-establishing regime of Black Sea and forming a free passage regime. They are mostly touching upon ineffectiveness of the EU's mechanism and on problem-solving in the Region.

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[76] Marius Vahl and Sergiu Celac, "Ready for a Breakthrough: Elements for a European Union Strategy Towards the Black Sea Region", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, June 2006, pp. 170-173.

[77] *Ibid,* pp. 174-178.

[78] *Ibid.,* p. 180.

[79] Sabine Fisher, "The European Union and Security in the Black Sea Region after the Georgia Crisis", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies,* Vol. 9, No. 3, September 2009, p. 344

[80] *Ibid.,* p. 344-345.

[81] *Ibid.,* p. 346.

2.2.1.5 Energy Security and the Black Sea

Energy security is one of the most important issues which are frequently studied. Gareth M. Winrow examines the extent to which the transportation of energy resources improves economic cooperation or exacerbates commercial and political rivalry in the Region.[82] In another article, he firstly defines the link between geopolitics and energy security, stating that "in the post-Cold War era a new type of conflict has developed in which resource flows, instead of ideological and political divisions, form the main fault lines."[83] It is because domination over energy resources and protecting energy supply routes has gained importance. In this context, the significance of the wider Black Sea has risen because it hosts important energy transportation points and important risks and threats against these routes that may emanate from frozen conflict or they could become a safe haven for terrorists and smuggling organizations. The policies of the EU, which is highly concerned about energy security and vulnerable to short cuts and policies of the Russian Federation, as one of the most important energy exporting country around the Region, makes the situation more complicated. On one hand, the EU would like to design initiatives to ensure energy security; Russia, on the other hand, would like to protect the status-quo and is backed by Turkey. After describing the positions and importance of Ukraine and Georgia and the policies of Bulgaria, Romania, the US and NATO, Winrow concludes that geopolitics and the matter of energy security in the BSR will remain interlinked in the foreseeable future.[84]

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[82] Gareth M. Winrow, "Energy Security in the Black Sea Region: Economic Interdependence or Commercial and Political Rivalry*, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, May 2002, pp. 129-152.

[83] Gareth Winrow, "Geopolitics and Energy Security in the Wider Black Sea Region", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, June 2007, p. 219.

84 Ibid., p. 233.

Necdet Pamir claims that cooperation and diversification of the energy route in the Region could increase energy security.[85] Rivalry may be overcome with mutual understanding but diversification may become a source of instability.[86]

Gechard Mangott and Kirsten Westphal express their view that the EU planned to form an energy community in the BSR but it faces four challenges such as domestic policies of the energy-producing countries, lack of coordination among EU member states and Russian efforts to prevent EU policies to diversify pipelines and problems in transit countries such as Ukraine.[87]

These authors study on possibilities of transportation of energy through wider Black Sea countries, possible routes and pipelines and regional and non-regional actors energy policies regarding the Region. These studies are limited to only energy issues and offering alternative solution on energy related problems.

2.2.1.6 The United States and the Black Sea Region

US policies in the Region also attract attention and find a place in the literature. Orhan Babaoğlu attempts to answer two questions: "Is the Black Sea a bridge or a barrier between the United States and Turkey? And does the issue of Black Sea security provide an opportunity to mend deteriorated relations or a new source of friction?" [88] His view is that the issues of energy and security provide the basis for cooperation between the United States and Turkey in the Black Sea.[89]

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[85] Necdet Pamir, "The Black Sea: A Gateway to Energy Security and Diversification", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, June 2007, pp. 245-263.

[86] *Ibid.,* p. 245.

[87]Gechard Mangott and Kirsten Westphal, "The Relevance of the Wider Black Sea Region to EU and Russian Energy Issues", *The Wider Black Sea Region in the 21st Century Strategic, Economic and Energy Perspectives*, edited by Danie Hamilton and Gerhard Mangott, Center for Transatlantic Relations, Washington DC: 2008, pp. 147-176.

[88] Orhan Babaoğlu, "The Black Sea Basin: A New Axis in Global Maritime Security", *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy,* August 2005.

[89] *Ibid.*

Stephen Larrabee summarizes some key points in his article regarding the relationship between the US and the Region. [90] First of all, the factors behind US attention towards the Region are energy, democratization, expansion of the Euro-Atlantic institutions and the re-emergence of Russia.[91] Secondly, he touched upon the three aims of US strategy (democracy and market reform, energy and commerce, security)[92] and six obstacles she faced: diversity of the Region, historical animosities and ethnic conflicts, lack of strong regional institutions, western ambivalence as to whether the countries of the Region are part of Europe, strategic rivalries and ambitions.[93] Finally he lists some priorities regarding the Region for the Obama administration, which are Ukraine's and Georgia's membership prospects in NATO, the importance of Azerbaijan, the normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey and engagement of Russia.[94]

Nicole Dolghin looks into US-Russian relationships, explaining problems that may emerge between the two actors and some of them will be related to the Black Sea.[95] To her, Russia's interests in the Black Sea are vital ones; however, the US looks at the Region in terms of free circulation of hydrocarbons.[96] She indicates three possible issues that could lead to problems: NATO enlargement, the anti-missile shield, and relationships in the Caucasus Region.[97]

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[90] F. Stephen Larrabee, "The United States and Security in the Black Sea Region", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 9, Issue 3, September 2009, pp. 301-315.

[91] *Ibid.,* pp. 301-302.

[92] *Ibid.,* p. 302.

[93] *Ibid.,* pp. 302- 303.

[94] *Ibid.,* pp. 309-314.

[95] Nicole Dolghin, "Russia-US Relations and the Black Sea Security", *Strategic Impact*, Issue 2, 2009, p. 17.

[96] *Ibid.,* p. 20.

[97] *Ibid.*

This literature also focuses on the US perspective – why this region is important for the US and her relationships with regional actors. The effect of one state, especially if it is the most powerful state in the system, may be important but describing her relations cannot give useful information for understanding security in a region. Actors may be influential in relationships among regional countries, but regional security is determined by regional structure.

Present literature on the Black Sea looks at a wide range of issues regarding the security of the Region such as geopolitical considerations, energy security, newly emerging soft security threats, the role of the regional initiatives in enhancing security, European integration and US policies. However, the literature suffers from a lack of theoretical analysis and focuses merely on current developments and the relationships between actors in the Region, without a holistic or historical approach.

This thesis attempts to provide a theoretical framework for security studies in the Black Sea Region. To provide the framework, the tools of Neorealist theory will be used. However, instead of analyzing the whole international system, it is assumed that there are regional structures apart from but at the same time related to international security and thus open to its effects. Therefore, in this thesis referent objects are the states around the Black Sea and the Black Sea Region itself. Before the theoretical and methodological tools of the thesis are presented, regionalism studies will be surveyed.

2.2.2 Regionalism and Theories

In international relations theory, there are various studies on regionalism. Among them, Neorealism makes important points regarding region formation.[98] According to Neorealism, "regional groupings form as a response to external challenges and there are no essential differences between economic and political

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[98] Andrew Hurrell, "Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective", *Regionalism in World Politics*, edited by Andrew Hurell and Louise Fawcett, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 47.

regionalism."[99] Other incentives for regionalism are power politics, coping with mercantilist economic competition and as a response of weak powers.[100] In some cases, the hegemon itself may seek to become involved actively in the construction of regional institutions as a part of its strategy of sustaining its position.[101] Regionalism in the Black Sea Region is not the result of attempts of weak regional countries and a so-called hegemon; rather, it emerged due to efforts of both the great powers and the regional countries.

Peter Katzenstein, in his book entitled "*A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*" claims that the US as hegemon is coordinating critical regions, in some of which she has staunch allies and uses them as a transmission belt in affecting regional relationship.[102] In other regions, however, the US tries to establish "vertical relations that link core regional states to America, regions to sub-regions and America to regions."[103] Due to these relationships, regions are made porous, thus the US can find the opportunity to affect regional dynamics. Katzenstein mostly focuses on US policies and efforts to establish regional links and considers Europe and East Asia as critical regions. His analyses may be helpful to understand US policies and strategies regions; however, he did not take the Black Sea Region into consideration.

Amitav Acharya takes up regional responses to outside-great powers that shape regional order.[104] Types of responses are categorized into three groups: reactions of a regional great power, attempts by minor states of a region to resist

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[99] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 48-49.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[102] Peter Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca: 2005, p. 1.

[103] *Ibid.*

[104] Amitav Acharya, "The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics", *World Politics,* Vol. 59, No. 4, July 2007, p. 642.

stronger powers and societal responses to great and regional powers such as anti-globalization movements.[105] Her categorization could be a useful analytical tool, but it is not sufficiently detailed and does not evaluate regional responses in terms of security relations.

In international security literature, the most important author who studies regional security is Barry Buzan and the Copenhagen school. In his book, *People State and Fear*, Buzan allocates one chapter to regional security. In this chapter, he claims that there is the gap between state and system; region should be added as a subsystem.[106] For him, in defining regional security, the two most important variables are power politics and the pattern of amity and enmity among states.[107] Buzan notes that these are both variables for assessing regional security and the necessary conditions for formation of a region.[108] Besides these, there should be geographical proximity and intense interdependence.[109] He defines these groups of states as security complexes. He does not see security complexes as part of the system, but rather as entities having their own structure.[110] Within this structure, to evaluate change, he looks into power shifts in a region, effects of external actors and changes in patterns of hostility and friendship.[111] Buzan and Ole Weaver develop this regional security complex theory in their "*Region and Powers*" book, expressing the view that the essential structure of an RSC (Regional Security Complex) embodies four variables: boundary which differentiates the RSC from its neighbors; anarchic

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[105] *Ibid.*

[106] Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Colorado: 1991, p. 188.

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[110] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 211-218.

structure, which means that the RSC must be composed of two or more autonomous units; polarity, which covers the distribution of power among the units; social construction, which covers the patterns of amity and enmity among the units.[112]

There are four categories of RSC according to the existence of great powers: centered RSC, great power security complex, supercomplexes and standard ones.[113] However, how regions produce security is not clear in *Regions and Powers*. The authors do not clarify a causal relationship between type of region and regional security order. They define various regional orders such as collective security, alliance, concert, and regime and security community, but there is no clear link between types of RSCs and types of regional order. Similar-categorized RSCs can produce different orders. For example, the Middle East and South America are standard RSCs but the Middle East is a conflict-formation RSC, while the latter is a security regime.[114]

According to Buzan and Weaver, regional security complexes have structures which include two components: the patterns of amity and enmity and the distribution of capabilities among principal states.[115] "Distribution of power in security complexes shapes the possibilities for alignment while patterns of amity and enmity shape the whole character of relations within the region."[116] Therefore, shifts in the two components should be explored to find out structural outcomes. While evaluating such shifts, Buzan, referring to Weaver, explains that "within any given complex, there exists a spectrum of relational possibilities described by the degrees

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[112] Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Regions and Powers The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2003, p.53.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-61.

[114] *Ibid.*, p.473.

[115] Buzan, *op. cit. People State and Fear*, p. 209.

[116] *Ibid*, p. 214.

of amity and enmity that define security interdependence."[117] At the two extreme points of the spectrum, there are chaos and security community.[118] In chaos, all actors perceive themselves as enemies and the state-of-affairs in the region is chaotic, conflictual and unstable. At the other extreme, in a security community, all actors are friends.[119]

Buzan and Weaver's works are very detailed and their studies have a historical perspective. In this thesis, there are similar points such as acceptance of a regional structure apart from the international system. In their studies, they accept existence of anarchy, they do not attempt to explore whether there is anarchy or any other type of ordering principle. Another different point is that they try to articulate a securitization approach. This is used to measure amity and enmity in domestic politics, which they assume as one of the basic determinants of security relations in regions. However, in this thesis, domestic politics is not considered as a variable to be examined.

Another author who focuses on regional security is Paul Papayanou. He asserts that the determinative factors in the security situation of a region are the will of the great powers and their mobilization capacity, which he defines as the motivation that leaders of great powers have to intervene in regions.[120] It is also this mobilization capacity that determines the cooperative or conflictual policies of the great powers.[121] Papayanou considers economic interests, ethnic and ideological ties

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[117] Ole Weaver, "The Interplay of Some Regional and Subregional Dynamics of Security", Unpublished paper, Centre for Peace and Conflict Research, Copenhagen, November 1987, pp. 5-8 cited by *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] Paul Papayanou, "Great Powers and Regional Orders: Possibilities and Prospects After the Cold War", *Regional Orders Building Security in a New World*, edited by David A. Lake and Patrick Morgan, the Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania: 1997, pp. 128-129.

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

and human rights concerns to be determinants of mobilization capacity.[122] According to Papayanou, there are five possible orders: pluralistic security community, collective security, concert, balance of power and hegemony.[123] The first four types of order are multipolar; there may be more than one great power in the system, but their effects on order are different. The system is more stable in pluralistic security community, collective security and concert;[124] in balance of power, the relationship between them is conflictual.[125] In hegemony, there is only one great power and there are three policy options for it in the region: balancing the others, an alliance system and hegemonic stability.[126]

Papayanou, in his categorization of hegemony and other order types, detects a difference in regions with multipolarity and unipolarity. While his approach may explain the different policies of a hegemon in the region, it still suffers from a lack of perspective regarding the effects of the ordering principle. In regions where a dominant state and its historical or ongoing sphere of influence exist, it is not possible for this dominant state to ignore developments in that region even if it does not have any economic interest or ethnic/ideological concerns.

Another author studying on regional security is David Lake. According to him, in order to define a group of states as a region, the existence of a common threat perception is essential. These states are "affected by at least one transborder but local externality that emanates from a particular geographic area."[127] These externalities may be positive, but he considers "local externalities that produce threats to physical

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[122] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 136-38.

[125] *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.

[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

[127] David A. Lake, "Regional Security Complexes: A Systems Approach", *Regional Orders Building Security in a New World*, edited by David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania: 1997, p. 48.

safety."[128] According to him, the most conflict-prone system is a bipolar regional structure embedded within a bipolar global structure.[129]

Another author who studied regional security is Benny Miller. In his book-*States, Nations and the Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace*, he defines four new concepts (Nation to State Balance', 'State-to-Nation Imbalance', 'national incongruent states', 'war-proneness') and tries to explain war and peace situation with these terms.[130] He defines 'Nation to State Balance' as being composed of a degree of congruence between the division of a region into territorial states and national aspirations and the political identifications of the nations. This balance also refers to the prevalence of strong versus weak states. There is a state-to-nation imbalance when there is a lack of congruence between states and national identification and at least some of regional states are weak states.[131] According to Miller, this state-to-nation imbalance is the underlying cause of regional war-proneness (the disposition of a region toward war).[132] His explanation is very useful for understanding and comparing different regional conflicts; however, he focuses on the question of war and peace and his research question is "Why are some regions peaceful and others are not?" rather than the security situation of a Region, which is the focus of this thesis.

As explained above, many authors explore security from a regional perspective and examine the security situation in a region. This thesis will attempt to do the same; however, its main difference lies in its argument that regional security is affected and determined by the regional structure.

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[128] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[129] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[130] Benny Miller, *States, Nations and the Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace*, Cambridge University Press, New York: 2007.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 2

[132] *Ibid.*, p. 2 and p. 18.

2.3   A REVISED NEOREALIST THEORY OF REGIONAL SECURITY

2.3.1   Neorealism

One of the basic contributions of the Neorealist theory is its assumption of the existence of a structure above the states which is defined as more than the sum of states and their interactions. This new understanding of realist theory was developed by Kenneth Waltz, mostly in his book *Theory of International Politics.*[133] He defines the structure as a mechanism which emerges from the interaction of states and then constrains them from taking certain actions while propelling them toward others.[134] He claims that it is the basic factor behind state policies which needs to be explored and defined. To define structure, the first question is "what is the principle by which the parts are arranged?"[135]

At this stage, to determine other questions for defining international structure, he uses an analogy of domestic politics. Then he compares international-political structure with domestic politics stating "domestic politics are hierarchically ordered. The units – institutions and agencies – stand vis-à-vis each other in relations of super and subordination."[136] Secondly, "political actors are formally differentiated according to the degrees of authority and their distinct functions are specified."[137] These functions are specified by forming broad agreements on the tasks of various parts of a government.[138] Even though Waltz defines the latter as a distinct character,

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[133] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Random House, New York: 1979.

[134] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Realism and International Politics*, Routledge, New York and London: 2008, p. 74

[135] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[136] Waltz*, op. cit. Theory of International Politics*, p. 81.

[137] *Ibid.*

[138]*Ibid.*

it is also a result of the former property of domestic politics. Finally, his third property is the relative capabilities of the parts of the polity within a state.[139]

After defining domestic politics, Waltz then explains international-political structure by applying parameters which he uses to define domestic political structures. He defines the "ordering principle" of the domestic political structure as hierarchic and centralized. There is a super-subordinated relationship, which means that some are entitled to command, while others are required to obey. On the other hand, "the parts of international-political system stand in relation of coordination. Formally, each is the equal of all the others. None is entitled to command; none is required to obey. International systems are decentralized and anarchic."[140] Domestic political structures have a government but international political structures have no supranational or a centralized agents or organization.[141] He does not deny the existence of well-developed international organizations, but none of them have the capacity to be a centralized government for world states like governments within a state.

Regarding anarchy, Waltz examines the problem of "how to conceive of an order without an order-maker and of organizational effects without formal organizers."[142] To solve this paradox, he uses an analogy of the invisible-ordering hand of the market, devised by microeconomic theory. International-political systems, like economic markets, are formed by the co-actions of self-regarding units which are states of this era.[143] No state intends to form an international structure;

[139] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[141] *Ibid.*

[142] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[143] *Ibid.*, p. 91

however, their spontaneous, unintended and individualist policies lead to the emergence of a structure which is sustained under the same mechanism.[144]

For him, the main motivation behind states is ensuring survival because only in this way can states pursue other policies. Survival is a prerequisite for all other targets of the state.[145] Structure also helps states to pursue policies, with the ultimate aim of ensuring survival by penalizing those who do not pursue such policies and rewarding the ones who can sustain a neorealist foreign policy.[146] Therefore, all states strive to copy the foreign policies of the most successful state under the influence of the international and political structure. This characteristic leads to second term in the definition of structure. Units are the part of structure not "formally differentiated by the functions they perform. (…) So long as anarchy endures, states remain like units."[147] States may be different in size, capabilities or ideology but not in their functions. In an anarchic structure, the state should rely solely on its power, especially military capabilities, to maintain security. In this type of international structure, all states act similarly in order to defend themselves. All states feel the need to strengthen their military capabilities, join alliances or develop more intelligent strategies.

The third characteristic is the distribution of capabilities. Waltz expresses the view that components of a domestic system are in relationship with each other under the framework of cooperation because of being functionally different and "to the extent of their capabilities".[148] In international fora, states are functionally alike, therefore the units are separated by their capabilities and this characteristic also makes it possible to distinguish different international structures in different time

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[144] *Ibid.*

[145] *Ibid.*

[146] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[147] *Ibid.*

[148] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

periods according to the number of the great powers.[149] Although distribution of capabilities appears to be a unit property, it is a system-wide concept.[150] It is also a feature that determines the security and stability of the system. Waltz insists that, for stability and peace, there should be fewer decisive actors in the world, stating that "Smaller systems are more stable and their members are better able to manage affairs for their mutual benefit."[151]

After defining the characteristics, Waltz defines the results of anarchy by emphasizing the differences between domestic and international political structures and comparing the outcomes of hierarchy and anarchy. (Table 1)

The first difference is observable in terms of violence since the use of force is observed in both realms. Therefore, a difference between these two realms "lies in different modes of organization for doing something about it."[152] This means that in hierarchy, citizens do not have to use force to defend themselves. Only governments have the right to use force, and it is legitimate. In the international realm, however, all states have a legitimate right to use of force and all have to defend themselves because the international system is self-help, but the domestic system is not.[153]

The second difference lies in interdependence and integration. According to Waltz, the domestic system is hierarchically organized with authority organizing relationships among individuals. Under this order, units are free to specialize because they have no hesitation in increasing their interdependence. However, in anarchical conditions, all units have to be sufficient within themselves, and this limits cooperation.

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[149] *Ibid.*

[150] *Ibid*., p. 98.

[151] *Ibid*., p.136.

[152] *Ibid.,* p. 103.

[153] *Ibid.*, pp 104-105.

After comparing these two political structures, Waltz defines the expected behaviors of states acting under anarchy, which he sees as a basic factor behind states' behaviors. According to him, "similarities of behaviors are observed across realms that are different in substance but similar in structure and differences of behaviors are observed where realms are similar in substance but different in structure."[154] Under the same structure conditions, states may have the similar policies. Under anarchy (unchangeable, according to neorealist theory) and same distribution of capabilities (bipolar or multipolar), Waltz foresees two expected policies: emulation of successful policies and balancing.[155] Regarding emulation, the sameness of the policies of the competing states is promoted through competition among great powers to achieve relative gains instead of absolute gain in order to ensure security and survival and to maintain its position in the system.[156]

Table 1: Comparison between Domestic and International Political Structures[157]

Domestic Political Structure	International Political Structure
Field of Hierarchy	*Field of Anarchy*
Centralized	Decentralized
Super-subordinated relationships	Each unit is equal
Existence of government	No Supranational or Centralized Agents/Organization
Units functionally different	Units alike
Cooperation	Competition
Units under autonomy of the government	Units are sovereign, they have authority within itself
Only central authority has right of use of force	Right of all states to use force
Units free to specialize	All units are in search of being independent

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[154] *Ibid.,* p. 123.

[155] *Ibid*. p. 124.

[156] *Ibid*., p. 128.

[157] This table has been prepared according to Waltz's insights regarding the differences between domestic and international political structures. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-113.

Table 1 Continued

Conflicts among units for authority and rights	Conflicts for allocation of gains and losses
Realm of Authority	Realm of Power
Realm of Administration	Realm of Struggle
Realm of Law	Realm of Accommodation
Vertical	Horizontal
Heterogeneous	Homogeneous
Directed	Undirected
Contrived	Mutually Adaptive

Waltz claims that there are two ways for states to pursue balancing: external balancing (joining alliances) and internal balancing (gaining more power).[158] He explains that a balance of power will eventually emerge whether states want it or not; it is not immutable. However, he does not offer a reliable explanation regarding the different policies of states in the international system, he just claims that states in anarchy balance rather than bandwagon-pursuing policies in harmony with the powerful challenger country. In hierarchic conditions, among competing political actors, bandwagoning may be possible because there is no threat against their survival.[159] However, in an anarchic condition, great powers prefer to pursue policy of balancing against the most powerful one, rather than cooperating with it because in that case the leading power gains more and more to the extent that it may pose threats to all countries, including its partners and friends.[160]

The balance of power theory, devised by Neorealism is also criticized or revised by other authors.[161] Regarding Waltz's balance of power theory, Jack

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[158] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[159] *Ibid.,* p. 126.

[160] *Ibid.*

[161] Donnelly, *op. cit.*; Stephen Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Order", *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 4, Spring 1985 and Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In", *International Security,* Vol. 19, No. 1, Summer 1994.

Donnelly expresses the view that balancing or bandwagoning policies cannot be explained only by the ordering principle – anarchy or hierarchy.[162] He claims that "the incentive behind bandwagoning flows not from hierarchy but from anticipated behavior of the winner."[163] There are many examples of states which prefer to pursue a policy of bandwagoning instead of balancing or opt not to balance even though all the conditions Waltz assumes for balancing exist. Donnelly asserts that balancing is driven by not only anarchic systemic conditions but also other factors such as risk and cost calculations, possible profits in case of bandwagoning, the capabilities and characters of actors (non-structural factors).[164]

The insights of Stephen Walt on balancing and bandwagoning are also beneficial. In his article, entitled "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Order", he claims that if a threat comes from a proximate power, weaker states may easily adopt bandwagoning instead of balancing. He gives examples of weaker states in the sphere of influence of a dominant power, "especially [in the case where the] powerful neighbor has demonstrated its ability to comply obedience."[165] Another factor causing bandwagoning is that if balancing seems to be unwise for vulnerable states, then they may choose bandwagoning. In a sphere of influence, weaker states having neighbors with large offensive capabilities and aggressive intentions may prefer bandwagoning.[166]

Randall Schweller also revises the balance of power theory and points out that the basic incentive behind alliances is "the compatibility of political goals, not imbalances of power or threat."[167] If a state is satisfied with the status-quo, she

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[162] Donnelly, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[163] *Ibid.*

[164] *Ibid.*, p.118.

[165] Walt, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[166] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[167] Schweller, *op. cit. Bandwagoning for Profit*, p. 88.

adopts a balance of power policy, while a state dissatisfied with the status-quo will bandwagon with a revisionist state even if she is powerful. While balancing is a costly choice, bandwagoning may offer benefits. Therefore, Schweller asserts that bandwagoning is more common.[168] His main difference is that he is talking about great powers not just weaker states.[169] There are many states which are not satisfied with the status-quo and would like to expand. Therefore, he extends Neorealism by including revisionist states without excluding pro-status-quo ones.

After underlining the commonality and diversity of bandwagoning, Schweller proposes a new concept of "balance of interest."[170] At the unit level, "balance of interest theory refers to costs [a state] is willing to pay to defend its values relative to the costs it is willing to pay to extend its values."[171] Thus, if the value of things that a state would like to get is more than what she already has – that is, if she is not satisfied with the status-quo – she has interest in bandwagoning.

Schweller also claims that two concepts of revisionist power and status-quo power cannot explain the policies of states; therefore, he adds two more categories, using the analogy of "lions, lambs, jackals, wolves."[172] Lions are status-quo powers and/or security-maximizers, pursuing defensive policies or balancing or buck-passing when facing danger.[173] "Lambs are countries that will pay only low costs to defend or extend their values."[174] These countries have some capabilities which, although limited, they would not like to lose; therefore, they are not expansionist. They are

[168] *Ibid.,* p. 93.

[169] Randall L. Schweller, "New Realist Research on Alliances: Refining, Not Refuting, Waltz's Balancing Proposition", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4, December 1997, p. 929.

[170] Schweller, *op. cit. Bandwagoning for Profit*, p. 99.

[171] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[172] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[173] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

[174] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

weak states but they suffer from poor state-society relations, which prevent them from pursuing expansionist or active policies. They usually pursue appeasement, wave of future bandwagoning or distancing.[175] Jackals are countries that have capabilities and would like to defend this potential; however, they are dissatisfied, therefore they pursue jackal bandwagoning.[176] Wolves are revisionist states, with unlimited aims, pursuing aggressive policies and taking great risks.[177]

At the systemic level, as a result of balance of interest, Schweller points out determinor of safety of international system, noting that

> Distribution of capabilities, by itself, does not determine the stability of the system. (…) stability of the system depends on the balance of revisionist and conservative forces. When status-quo states are far more powerful than revisionist states, the system will be stable. When a revisionist state or coalition is stronger than the defenders of status-quo, the system will eventually undergo change; only the question of when, how and to whose advantage remain undecided.[178]

Furthermore, he states that when a system is under construction, or in flux, or a new system begins to emerge; bandwagoning is seen more commonly.[179] These insights of Schweller will be benefitted while explaining the policies of the pro-status-quo and the revisionist countries in the Black Sea Region in the following chapters.

2.3.2 Revision of Neorealist Theory

In this section, the anarchy understanding of the Neorealist theory will be revised. Indeed, anarchy discourse of the Neorealism was criticized or re-defined by

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[175] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-103 .

[176] *Ibid.*, p. 100 and p. 103.

[177] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[178] *Ibid.*, p. 104

[179] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

many international relations theory,[180] however, in this thesis, basic assumptions of Neorealism and existence of anarchic international system was accepted but it argues that there are regions in which hierarchical relationship prevails within a wider anarchical international system. The Black Sea Region is one of them. The similar theoretical framework, devised by many authors, particularly Jack Donnelly,[181] David Lake[182] and Charles Doran[183] provide some insights on this point and their framework of analysis is consulted. Therefore, their framework will be explained. At the end of this section, the indicators for identifying the ordering principles of the regional structure are laid out.

2.3.2.1 Review of Previous Studies on Revision of the Ordering Principle

Neorealism claims that the two terms of anarchy and hierarchy are enough to explain international political order. Waltz argues that all societies are mixed, so there is no need to define any other system.[184] Not all elements of anarchy or hierarchy need to exist in order to define a system; rather just some of them are sufficient to identify the system type. However, this crucial point is debatable. In this thesis, it is argued that subsequent to the point at which a system starts losing anarchic elements, that system cannot be defined as anarchic, but neither is it a hierarchic system. After that point, a third or more concepts are required to define the international system. The rest of this section will focus on these points, a reformulation of the ordering principle and an introduction to mixed systems in which those ordering principles are valid.

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[180] Faruk Yalvaç, "Uluslararası İlişkiler Kuramında Anarşi Söylemi", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 8, No. 29, Bahar 2011, pp. 71-99.

[181] Donnelly, *op. cit.*

[182] Lake, *op. cit. Hierarchy in International Relations.*

[183] Charles Doran, *Domestic Conflict in State Relations: The American Sphere of Influence,* Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, Calif: 1976.

[184] Waltz, *op. cit. Theory of International Politics*, p. 114-115.

One of the authors who find out hierarchical relationship between groups of actors in international society is Alexander Wendt. He, with Daniel Friedheim, points out that there are "situation where some states are recognized [by international society] as having a measure of de facto authority over others."[185] According to them, these situations create a tension between two principles which are "hierarchical political authority" and "territorial exclusivity."[186] By using a constructivist approach, they claim that hierarchical structures are constituted and, then institutionalized with a mutual acceptance and consent of the dominant and the weaker states on transfer of sovereignty from the latter to the former.[187] This is created with a mechanism of exchange of providing security to the state apparatus of the governed state against external and internal threats (which may be posed by society of that country because this situation reduces accountability and eliminates domestic legitimacy of states apparatus) with allowing the dominant state to be influential over domestic process of the weaker state.[188] Wendt and Friedheim's explanation provides important insights about transfer of sovereignty between actors with a process of changing their interest and identity but their insights are limited to that explanation. They accept differentiation of the ordering principle but do not make a discussion on differentiation of structure of the international system mostly because they have taken up structure from a constructivist perspective.

Another important author is Jack Donnelly who points out that "hierarchic sectors may significantly alter structural dynamics of an order that is fundamentally anarchic."[189] According to him, there are many examples of these mixed political

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[185] Alexander Wendt and Daniel Friedheim, " Hierarchy under Anarchy: Informal Empire and The East German State", *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, (edited by Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1996, p. 240

[186] *Ibid.*, p. 241

[187] *Ibid.*, p. 249

[188] *Ibid.*, pp. 249-253.

[189] Donnelly, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

orders in history and the contemporary world. In his book, entitled *Realism and International Relations*, he underlines the concept of sphere of influence in which states have the rights and powers of a sovereign state internally, but externally they can enforce their authority only within hierarchically imposed limits. He gives the relationship among the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern European States and East Germany during the Cold War period. While all were sovereign states, they were subordinate to the Soviet Union.[190] After accepting anarchy and hierarchy as a continuum, Donnelly questions many understandings of Neorealism which are based on anarchy and hierarchy dichotomy, such as authority, centralization of domestic systems, sovereignty, functionally indifferent units; except effect of anarchic international system on security which will be one of the main points of this thesis.

Among others, Charles Doran also focuses on "the sphere of influence" (of the USA),[191] rather than anarchy/hierarchy discourse. He determines 37 indicators and then attempts to find out how many of these indicators have been found in 71 countries[192] and finally he defines US sphere of influence by limiting it to these countries (Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama in 1960s) in which most of indicators appeared.[193] Then, he analyses the relationship between American dominance over these countries and domestic conflict within them by determining whether the peak point of American dominance coincides with the emergence of these domestic conflicts. As was seen, Doran has an agenda on US sphere of influence and its domestic effects but does not have a discourse of effect of a sphere of influence on ordering principle and regional/international structure.

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[190] *Ibid.*, p. 87-88.

[191] Doran, *op. cit.*.

[192] *Ibid.*, pp.51-57.

[193] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Adam Watson also touches upon that there were state systems in which the ordering principle of their structure was not anarchy during nearly the last 4000 years. He devises a model for understanding state system in which there were empires and other states. According to his model, there is imperial core at the centre that can be characterised in term of hierarchy.[194] As empires' power is descending, the circles extend outward.[195] From imperial core to system of independent states, there are dominion, suzerain and hegemonic state relations.[196] According to him, there is a systemic and constant tension between the desire for order which can be achieved under an empire and for independence of states in an anarchic system.[197] Watson makes a historical study, encompassing periods from 2000 BC and end of the Cold War and tries to find out characteristic of two categories of societies that are ancient and European; however, he does not focus on characteristics of different structures emerged after the end of the Cold War and he generally focuses on political hierarchic relations, not caring for military and economic hierarchic ones.

One of leading authors who studies the existence of hierarchical relationships within anarchy is David Lake. In his book, he devises an alternative approach of

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[194]   Barry Buzan and Richard Little, "Introduction of the 2009 Reissue", *The Evolution of International Society A Comparative Historical Analysis,* Adam Watson, Routledge, London and New York: 2009, p. xxii.

[195] *Ibid.,* p. xxii.

[196] *Ibid.,* p. xxiii.
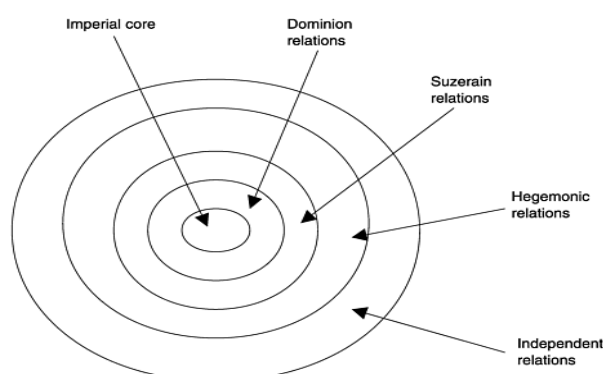
[197] *Ibid.,* p. xxv.

authority and attempts to define international hierarchy. According to him, "external restrictions on states constitute hierarchical authority relationships – a form of hierarchy within systemic anarchy."[198] While defining the parameters of hierarchy, he categorizes hierarchical relations into two. His article entitled "The New Sovereignty in International Relations" claims that there is an international hierarchy between a subordinate state and a dominant state across dimensions of state formation, politics, security and economic relations[199] and he finds different ranges in these types of relationship. The state formation relationship is mostly related to federation structure.[200] In the continuum of state formation, there are ranges of inter-jurisdictional functional authority, league, confederation, federation and union.[201] Lake defines political hierarchy by looking at external restrictions on states regarding minority and human rights.[202] The continuum of political relationship consists of universal covenant, mandate, dominion and imperium.[203] He considers universal

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[198] David Lake, "The New Sovereignty in International Relations", *International Studies Review,* Vol. 5, Issue 3, 2003, p. 312

[199] *Ibid.,* p. 314.

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] *Ibid*.

1d. A Continuum of State Formation (Elazar 1998)

[202] *Ibid.,* pp. 313-314.

[203] Lake summarizes all forms of political hierarchy from the anarchic end to the hierarchic end in the following figure:

covenant as the most anarchic form. In this form "states may accept infringement on their domestic rules and on the rights of their citizens" under a universal agreement, but these rules are applied to all states equally.[204] In mandate, however, there are "unilaterally imposed infringements"[205] on the subordinate's polity; in dominion, subordinate states accept many rules but remain self-governing.[206] At the hierarchic end, in imperium, "dominant states exercise full control over the terms of political participation and the political rights of citizens in subordinate polities."[207]

Although Lake touches upon four sectors, he prefers to analyze only two of them, pointing out that "in international relations the most hierarchical relationship takes the form of empires, where B is subordinate to A in a broad range of economic and security actions."[208] He decides that the most widespread form of hierarchy occurs in the areas of economy and security, which he assesses in detail in his book and article.

In security relationship, Lake claims that there are two ends: diplomacy at the anarchic end and protectorates at the hierarchic end.[209] "In diplomacy, polities

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| Universal Covenant | Mandate | Dominion | Imperium |

1c. A Continuum of Political Relationships

Ibid.

[204] *Ibid.*

[205] *Ibid.*

[206] *Ibid.*

[207] *Ibid.*

[208] Lake, *op. cit. Hierarchy in International Relations*, p. 52

[209] David Lake, "Escape from State of Nature Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics", *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Summer 2007, p. 59. In the same article, Lake prepares a figure in which he summarized his claims regarding security and economic hierarchy:

interact while retaining complete authority over their own action (…) [while in protectorate]; at the other extreme one state cedes complete authority to another over its security policy."[210] There are two more types of security relationship between these two ends. He defines *a sphere influence* point in the middle of the security relationship continuum.[211] In a sphere of influence; "a dominant state possesses the authority of only *to limit a subordinate's cooperation with third parties*."[212] Another form of security hierarchy is weak protectorate, in which the "dominant state exercises substantial but limited control over the subordinate's foreign and defense policies."[213]

According to Lake, economic relationship varies from market exchange (in which parties have full authority to decide on trade, investment or any other economic engagement) to dependency, meaning total transfer of authority over economic policies.[214] In the middle of the economic relationship continuum, there is an "economic zone" in which the "subordinate state is restricted from giving market

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Figure 1. Two Dimensions of International Hierarchy
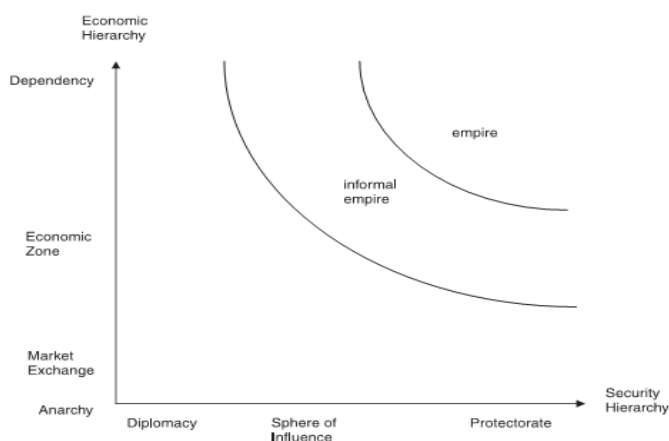
[210] *Ibid.,* pp. 59-60.

[211] *Ibid.,* p. 61

[212] Lake, *op. cit. Hierarchy in International Relations*, p. 54.

[213] *Ibid.*

[214] *Ibid.,* p. 60

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privileges to third parties or entering into economic transactions that give others influence over their affairs."[215] Another intermediate form in economic hierarchy is weak dependencies in which "the subordinate polity cedes some measures of authority over its external economic relations and domestic economic policy to the dominant state."[216] Lake also states that "this relationship may include a customs union with a common external tariff set by the dominant country's currency, which transfers some authority over monetary policy to the dominant country."[217] A dominant state having these middle points is denominated as an informal empire, while a dominant state having a high level of economic and security hierarchy is considered an empire.[218]

Lake defined two parameters to measure security hierarchy: deployment of military forces by the dominant country and the number of independent alliances possessed by the subordinate state.[219] According to him, the important point is whether there is an outside option for the subordinate state that reduces the dominant state's authority since "the larger the number of such independent alliances possessed by the subordinate, the less hierarchical the security relationship is" likely to be.[220] In economic hierarchy, he also defines two indicators: monetary policy autonomy (which is determined by exchange rate regime) and relative trade dependence.[221] The former may vary from allowing currency floating to using another country's

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[215] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[216] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[217] *Ibid.*

[218] Lake, *op. cit. Escape from State of Nature*, p.61.

[219] *Ibid.,* pp. 62-63.

[220] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

[221] *Ibid.,* pp. 64-67.

currency, apart from the degrees in his model[222] extending from anarchy to hierarchy.

Lake's very detailed study is extensively benefitted in this study. After devising his model, however, he applies it to measure relationships between the USA and Latin American countries. In this study, a similar model will be used to measure relationships in the Black Sea Region and their effect on regional security. Therefore, Lake's methods as laid out in his book need to be revised because region and dynamics of the Region are all different. The rest of the section will focus on developing this revised model for defining ordering principle.

2.3.2.2   Definition of Ordering Principle

In this study, it is argued that in some regions there is a different web of relationships that leads to the transformation of the ordering principle from anarchy into another form of ordering principle, which is denominated as "anarchical hierarchy" in this thesis. It is assumed that the most important practice that leads to this transformation of ordering principle is external intervention into domestic decision-making processes. Therefore, while exploring anarchical hierarchy, interventions of the regional great power into domestic affairs of the regional states found in her sphere of influence will be focused on. External interventions in politics, economics and security[223] are reviewed because interventions are intense in these sectors due to the specific dynamics of relationships between the dominant state and the subordinate states of the Black Sea Region. To determine these external restrictions and interventions, a set of indicators – some of which are borrowed from Doran's and Lake's studies and some are added – can be seen in Table 2 Indicators to Define Ordering Principle.

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[222] *Ibid.,* p. 65.

[223] Interventions of the dominant states regarding subordinate states' policies regarding minorities or ethnic groups and regarding her political regime are taken up under the same framework of "political hierarchy" whereas Lake expresses two different concepts for these issues: political relationship and sate formation. Lake, *op.cit.*, *The New Sovereignty in International Relations*, p. 312.

To uncover security hierarchy, indicators of *deployment of military forces* by the dominant country and the number of *independent allies* possessed by the subordinate state will be borrowed from Lake's model. Additionally, *crisis management* by the dominant state in an internal conflict within a weaker or subordinate state with coercive means, including military intervention will be looked into. These indicators will display the change of duties between states: the subordinate states let the dominant state protect them because they are not able to perform this task

In a relationship between a dominant state and a subordinate state, one of the characteristics is "required to obey" and other is "entitled to command", which is an important property of the hierarchic relationship.

Whether this relationship originates from obligation or consent is reflected best in the type of *punishment in case of disobedience* – blockade, embargo, diplomatic sanction (the reduction or removal of diplomatic ties, such as embassies), coercive diplomacy or intervention. Diplomatic sanctions are found at the anarchic end and intervention is the most extreme form of hierarchy. Diplomatic sanctions, protest, abolition of agreements, condemnation, blockade, embargo, ad-hoc strikes and intervention are intermediate steps of punishments.

It is also necessary to consider *security alliances.*[224] In some regions, the dominant power may initiate organization and programmes on security-related matters. Its subordinate states may feel obliged to be a member of these programmes so as not to offend the dominant power. At the anarchic end, states enter into alliances of their own will and decide on matters with consensus, while at the hierarchic end, states are obliged to join the alliances. Therefore, security alliances will also be reviewed to describe the ordering principle.

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[224] Concepts are borrowed from Katja Weber, "Hierarchy amidst Anarchy: A Transaction Cost Approach to International Security Cooperation", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 2, June, 1997, p. 323.

In sum, to identify security hierarchy, there are six indicators:

a. Deployment of military forces, including air force bases, army or marine troops, naval installations[225] by the dominant country: If a state accepts deployment of a military force in its own territory, this means that this state accepts another one's right of positioning in her country. The existence of military force deployment indicates a greater form of hierarchy.

b. The number of independent allies possessed by the subordinate state: The fewer allies the subordinate state has, the greater dominance the dominant power has.

c. Crisis Management of in domestic politics of the weaker state by the dominant state: The military intervention by a great power displays its dominance over the subordinate state.

d. Existence of punishment in case of disobedience: The existence of punishment by a great power shows its dominance over the subordinate state. The more coercive the punishment is, the more dominance the great power has.

e. Arms sales: The less dependent on core state military assistance, the more autonomous the government's foreign policy can be.[226]

f. Military interference through security alliances and joint maneuvers, joint defense agreements, military advisers sent from the dominant country into the subordinate country,[227] and military education programs between

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[225] Doran, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[226] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[227] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

dominant countries and subordinate countries.[228] The great power's influence is reduced when its interference is minimized.[229]

In economic hierarchy, Lake considers only two indicators – monetary policy autonomy (which is identified by exchange rate regime) and relative trade dependence, but there are various forms of intervention which may lead to the transformation of the ordering principle into more hierarchic forms. One of the most important indicators of economic hierarchy is trade dependency. Another way to achieve economic intervention is by imposing an economic system. The best indicator of this is the similarity between the economic systems of states (such as those of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and Romania during the Cold War). This is the highest point of economic intervention, after which other forms such as economic integration, establishing economic zone, accepting a customs union or a common external tariff or the fixation of exchange rates to those of the dominant countries[230] can be observed from the most hierarchic to the anarchic end.

Within anarchy, states only function in one market and according to market exchange rules. Even under a market economy, the existence of a great power in the economies of subordinate states can give important leverage to her that can be used to influence the smaller states' decisions. The more powerful the economic relationship between dominant and subordinates states, the more influential the dominant state becomes on the decision-making process of subordinate states. Therefore, the debts of subordinate states to the dominant power, the presence of the dominant state's companies in the privatization process of the sub-ordinated state's infrastructure and the percentage of foreign direct investment will be reviewed.

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[228] Condoleezza Rice, "The Military as an Instrument of Influence and Control", *Dominant Powers and Subordinate States The United States in Latin America and the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe*, edited by Jan F. Triska, Duke University Press, Durham: 1986, p. 245.

[229] Doran, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[230] These indicators are borrowed from Lake, *op. cit. Hierarchy in International Relations*, p. 57.

In hierarchically-formed political relationships, there are two common features: they are unilaterally imposed and they are influential in internal affairs. There are many forms of political interventions which are both unilaterally imposed and influential in internal affairs. The highest point is the imposition of a political regime into the subordinate states and the similarity between the state's political systems (such as the Soviet Union and Bulgaria during the Cold War) is an indicator of this form. Political intervention can also take place by imposing leadership change, through aligned groups or diaspora or through ethnicity groups.

There may be various forms of ordering principle and different practices of anarchical hierarchy. In this thesis, anarchical hierarchy is categorized as tight and loose anarchy. The most significant difference between these two forms is based on whether the superior position of the dominant states is challenged or not. In tight anarchical hierarchy, all forms of intervention take place at their highest points. This type of ordering principle existed in the Region during the 1946-1953 period. In loose anarchical hierarchy, on the other hand, all forms of intervention take place at their lowest point and the domination of the great power is challenged and about to be undermined. The ordering principle in the Region during the period from 1985 to 1991 is an example of this form.

Table 2: Indicators to Define Ordering Principle

	Georgia	Ukraine	Bulgaria	Romania	Turkey
MILITARY INTERVENTION					
Deployment of military forces					
Number of independent allies					
Crisis management					

Table 2 Continued

Military intervention via security alliances					
Punishment by coercive means					
Military intervention visa bilateral military cooperation or relationships					
Arms sales					
ECONOMIC INTERVENTION					
Trade dependence					
Imposition of economic system					
Economic integration					
Establishment of economic zone					
Customs union or common external tariffs					
Intensity of Economic Relations					
Punishment in case of disobedience					
Lack of market exchange rules- gas prices					
Debts					
FDI					

Table 2 Continued

Existence of companies of the dominant state in markets of the subordinate states					
POLITICAL INTERVENTION					
Imposition of political regime					
Ethnic groups or Russian minority					
Leadership change					
Support for pro-Russian leaders and their parties, measured by					
Continuity or change in presidents					
Continuity or change in parliament composition					
FORMS OF ORDERING PRINCIPLE					

These two categories, however, are not sufficient to explore the ordering principle in the Region during the period from 1954 to 1985 and during the post-Cold War era. Therefore, it is necessary to classify them into two sub-categories which are tight and near to tight and loose and near to loose anarchical hierarchy. In near to tight anarchical hierarchy, interventions may take place at their lower point. However, the economic, political, ideological (in the Soviet Union case) and military domination of the great power is maintained, as had happened during the 1954-1985 period. In near to loose anarchical hierarchy, interventions may take place but the domination of the great power has also started to be challenged. This type of ordering

principle existed from 1991 to 1999 and 2000 to 2012. These different forms of ordering principle can be seen in Table 3.

The existence of different variants of anarchical hierarchy leads to the formation of regional structures, thus it affects regional security. Ties between regional structure, which is shaped by differences in ordering principle, and regional security will be laid out in the following section.

2.4   REGIONAL STRUCTURE AND ITS EFFECT ON MAINTAINING REGIONAL SECURITY

In this study, definition of Neorealism of international structure is accepted and adapted to the regional level: regional structure is a mechanism, emerging from interaction of regional states; apart from the international structure but in interrelation with it; and after that, it affected regional states' decisions to choose specific policies among other policy preferences. The relationship between regional structure and regional security mostly depends on the role played by the regional great power. The strength and ability of the great power to sustain and extend or intensify its domination over her subordinate states shape the ordering principle. The ordering principle of the structure and the capability of the regional great power also interactively affect her role in preserving the status-quo and security. The regional structure has also a decisive effect on the policy preferences of subordinate states in sphere of influence of the regional great power, non-regional great powers, their partners in the Region, which each of them may have an effect on sustaining and enhancing or destroying regional security.

Within this framework, security in the Black Sea Region is explored in three periods 1947-1991 (the Cold War; tight; near to tight and loose anarchical hierarchy), 1991-1999 (during the first decade after the end of the Cold War; near to loose anarchical hierarchy) and 2000-2012 (during the second decade; near to loose anarchical hierarchy).

In regions whose ordering principle is *tight/near to tight anarchical hierarchy* (such as the situation in the Region during the Cold War), countries under the strict

hierarchy of a dominant country (such as Bulgaria under the Soviet tutelage) have no security problem, do not strive for survival because providing security is the task of the dominant country. Moreover, they do not attempt to regain their autonomy or make very limited efforts – such as the Romanian effort during the Cold War-because of unbalanced power differences between the dominant and subordinate states. Instead, they accept being under the security umbrella of the dominant state and thus they also contribute to the stability and security of the regional system. They also pursue foreign policies which are very similar to those of the dominant state. Weaker states such as Bulgaria till 1985 and Romania until 1953 do not have any option; they can only bandwagon. Thus, a threat against the status-quo that could originate from the dynamics within the Region is eliminated.

Table 3: Ordering Principles in the Region

Form of Ordering Principle	Countries	Time
Tight Anarchical Hierarchy	The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania	1947-1953
Near to Tight Anarchical Hierarchy	The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania	1954-1985
Loose Anarchical Hierarchy	The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania	1985-1991
Near to Loose Anarchical Hierarchy	The Russian Federation, Georgia and Ukraine	1991-1999; 2000-2012

For the great power, the goal is preserving, extending or intensifying its dominant position over the countries which are found in its sphere of influence; in other words, preserving the status-quo. She has limited security concerns about the countries located in her sphere of influence.

Regarding external threats, other great powers, including distant hegemons (for example, the policies of the USA during the Cold War) do not attempt to extend their sphere of influence towards this Region because of strict hierarchic conditions between dominant state and subordinate ones. Other great powers see no possibility of gaining any benefits from a conflict with the regional hegemon. Subordinate states also refrain from establishing strategic and intensive ties with other bloc countries. In this way, great power's domination is not challenged and the status-quo is preserved.

In a region whose ordering principle is *near to loose anarchical hierarchy* (as was the case during the 1991-1999 and 2000-2010 periods), countries under the dominance of the regional great power, such as Ukraine and Georgia, may change their goals and aim at preserving or intensifying their sovereignty and territorial integrity if they perceive that the regional great power poses a threat against their autonomy. The security of a region is directly related to the success of the great power to maintain its dominance over regional countries and prevent any intervention outside the Region.

In this case, subordinate states may attempt to balance the great power in any situation they perceive to be proper. However, the formation of a balancing coalition by themselves does not seem to be a possibility. To balance, they may prefer to establish relationship with other great powers or this kind of cooperation may be initiated by other great powers in other regions if the dominant state pursues policies that threaten them. If the dominant position of the regional great power seems to be loosened, another non-regional great power or a distant hegemon may establish strong relationships with regional countries. In that situation,

a) Regional countries may continue to pursue bandwagoning policies with the regional great power (such as Ukraine before 2004 and after August 2008), and thus manage to preserve security in the Region.

b) Regional countries may pursue balancing polices through bandwagoning with a non-regional great power (such as Georgia and Ukraine during the period from 2004 to 2008); thus, the regional great power may perceive a

threat from these regional countries and other non-regional great powers. As a result, the most powerful state (dominant state) in the region may establish a kind of control mechanism by forming regional alliances with other weak or middle-ranged states in the region. She may also pursue internal balancing by intensifying and extending her sphere of influence, follow policies which lead to weakening subordinate states, intervene in conflict resolution processes with subordinate states and even pursue violent punishment policies against the state that chooses to balance. At that point, competition between regional and non-regional great powers also gains importance. The regional great power must win this competition to continue its dominance. However, after re-constituting its dominant position, status-quo and security are preserved even if short-term military confrontation or conflicts have taken place.

These policies are different from the policies of the dominant state under tight anarchical hierarchy. In the latter situation, the dominant state has no doubts about the dedication of subordinate states and no fear of an attempt by other states to interfere with their subordinate partners because the system is restricted and controlled. Other states accept that the subordinate states are within the sphere of influence of the dominant state. There is no challenge to its dominance by the subordinate ones. In the former, the dominant state is losing some of its control over subordinate states and needs more intensification and extension.

If the ordering principle is transformed into *loose anarchical hierarchy* (such as the situation in the Region during the 1985-1991 period), the dominance and power of the regional great power has started to diminish and accordingly its ability. In some situations, great power's will to intervene into domestic and foreign policy of her subordinate countries is weakening. In that situation, subordinate states may pursue more independent policies in order to regain their autonomy and thus would like to change the status-quo. The regional great power may not be able to prevent this because the control mechanism based on strict anarchic hierarchic structure no

longer exists. In some situations, the regional great power may even want to support this change in the status-quo.

At the same time, non-regional great powers may feel free to establish strong relations and may support efforts for change inside the Region. In this way, domination by the regional great power is challenged and the status-quo may be destroyed, which may lead to instability or a power vacuum in the Region. The most important difference between the loose and near to loose anarchical hierarchy is that in the latter the dominance of the regional great power may be challenged from time to time and attempts at change may be more threatening, but the tutelage of the great power is powerful enough to re-constitute the order again; in the former, the great power loses her strength for this reformation and the status-quo cannot be preserved.

As already pointed out, the relationship between regional countries and non-regional great power is important because their intense relations may have the capacity to affect the position of the regional great power in her sphere of influence. Therefore, the strength of the regional great power and its dominance should be looked at by defining her sphere of influence and how it changes.

The regional structure has also a decisive effect on the vulnerability of the Region to tension existing in the outer world; therefore, it should be noted that regional security might be open to developments in the international system and the neighboring states. Another task of the dominant power is to prevent the spillover effect of a crisis situation or tension that occurs around the Region. Therefore, it is necessary to define security in the international system and neighboring Regions (the Caucasus and other post-Soviet states around the Region) and then to identify to what extent it affects security in the Black Sea Region.

2.4.1 Defining Sphere of Influence

This different characteristic of the regional structure of the BSR is originating from existence of the sphere of influence of a great power. Therefore, it is needed to define Soviet/Russian sphere of influence in the following chapter. In this study, among many others, the definition of sphere of influence made by Paul Keal is

adopted. He defines it as "a definite region within which a single external power exerts a predominant influence, which limits the independence or freedom of action of states within it."[231] He goes on to say that states located in a region where rival powers compete with each other for influence and none has clear dominance, cannot be considered a sphere of influence.[232] Doran expresses a similar view: "Although several external nations may penetrate a single region simultaneously, spheres of influence are a unique class of intrusive regions in which only one external power is likely to intrude."[233] He also attaches importance to the "absence of competing influence in a Region during the same period."[234] In sum, the underlying feature of sphere of influence is the existence of one dominant power and other powers accept this and refrain from intervening in these regions.

Another characteristic originates from type of relationship existing between the dominant and the subordinate powers. Policies of states in a sphere of influence are limited by the dominant states. Doran considers primary dependency upon a single and more powerful state as one of the most important properties of a sphere of influence.[235] On the same issue, Peal noted that

> Limitation of independence or freedom of action of political entities in a sphere of influence covers the range from direct action, such as armed intervention by the influencing power, to much less direct and more diffuse forms of influence, such as, for instance, the mechanisms described by interdependence and dependency theorists.[236]

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[231] Paul Keal, "On Influence and Spheres of Influence", *Dominant Powers and Subordinate States: The United States in Latin America and the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe*, edited by Jan F. Triska, Duke University Press, Durham: 1986, p. 124.

[232] *Ibid*.

[233] Doran, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[234] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[235] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[236] Keal, *op.cit.,* p. 125.

Within this framework, for the period after the end of the Cold War, the sphere of influence of the Russian Federation should be re-defined. The period of the Cold War was different because the spheres of influence of the Soviet Union and the USA were clear and they were in a strong position because inter-bloc relationships were very limited. Accordingly, to define whether or not there is a Russian sphere of influence in the Region after the end of the Cold War, it is important to show that the Russian Federation is the only great power, dominating her target countries (Ukraine and Georgia). Relationships between these countries and other great powers (the USA and the EU) are also explored. At this point, it is necessary to differentiate

a. Policies of regional states towards other great powers that are rivals to the regional great power (the policies of Ukraine, Georgia, Romania and Bulgaria regarding the EU and the US). This is a reaction of regional states towards other great powers.

b. Policies of other great powers regarding the Region (the policies of the US and the EU concerning countries in the Black Sea Region).

After the end of the Cold War, the newly independent states (including the Russian Federation) would have liked to develop relations with the Western countries. In order to manage relations with these newly independent states, the Western countries, the EU and the OSCE devised policies. Both of them are taken up while defining sphere of influence in order to determine whether they are pursuing policies that interfere in countries belonging to the Russian sphere of influence.

To measure this, three indicators will be used: contested regional organizations, leading trade partner and top military equipment supplier to regional countries. Firstly, contested regional organizations will be looked into. To identify such a situation, the data regarding regional organizations, their member countries and their membership dates are obtained from the web-sites of these regional organizations and compared. These regional organizations are assumed as contested because they are reflection of efforts of regional great power to sustain her dominant

position in the region and attempts of the non-regional great powers to undermine regional great powers' sphere of influence and to be influential there.

Secondly, it is necessary to find out the ratio of trade of a regional state with the regional great power to trade with a rival great power[237] ("the greater the trade with the core state's chief adversary, the more likely the adversary is to support a state against core state influence"[238]). To find this relationship, the Correlates of War International Trade dataset[239] will be used.

The third indicator is military equipment which is obtained from non-regional rival great powers. On this issue, Doran stated that "the greater the amount of military equipment provided by the Soviet Union [great power other than regional great power], the less dependence upon the United States [regional great power] for military aid [equipment]."[240] To obtain the top military equipment suppliers of regional countries, the SIPRI Arms Transfer Database[241] will be utilized.

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[237] Indicators of 'ratio of trade of regional state with regional great power to rival great power' and 'military equipment which was obtained from non-regional great powers' are borrowed from Doran, *op. cit*

[238] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[239] "International Trade 1870-2009", Barbieri, Katherine and Omar Keshk, Correlates of War Project Trade Data Set Codebook, Version 3.0, 2012, http://correlatesofwar.org, (accessed on 11.08.2012).

[240] Doran, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[241] "SIPRI Arms Transfer Database, Trade Register", http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/values.php, (Accessed on 09.11.2011).

Table 4. Indicators of Sphere of Influence

Countries	Turkey	Bulgaria	Romania	Ukraine	Georgia
1991-1999					
Contested Regional Organizations					
Top Trading Partner					
Top Military Equipment Supplier					
2000-2012					
Contested Regional Organizations					
Top Trading Partner					
Top Mil. Equip. Supplier					

2.4.2 Effect of International In/Security on Regional Security

Regional security is not isolated from the state-of-affairs of security in the international system or other regions around it. To ascertain whether there is any spillover effect of an insecurity situation in neighbouring Regions, military conflicts which have taken place there will be focused on.

Security in the international system may be threatened by four basic sources of instability and insecurity. These are military action, policies interfering in the

countries in the great powers' spheres of influences and the effect of nuclear weapons, the threat perception of the super powers, as stated in John Lewis Gaddis.[242] To find out whether or not there are sources of insecurity or instability, they should be looked into

Table 5: State-of-affairs Regarding Security in the International System

	1947-1953	1954-1968	1969-1984	1985-1991
Number of military conflicts				
Interfering polices pursued by the great powers towards countries in their spheres of influence				
Effects of nuclear weapons				
Threat perceptions of the great powers				

1. The number of military conflicts in which both of the great powers were involved or one of them is a partner ("Chronological List of All Wars"[243] will be used).

2. Policies pursued by the Soviet Union and the USA that interfered in the relations of countries found in their spheres of influences during the Cold War years and interfering policies pursued by the Western countries in the Russian sphere of influence during the post-Cold War era.

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[242] John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System", *International Security*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Spring 1986, pp.133-136.

[243] Meredith Reid Sarkees and Frank Wayman, *Resort to War: 1816 – 2007*, CQ Press, 2010. "Chronological List of All Wars", http://www.correlatesofwar.org/ (Accessed on 22.02.2011)

3. The effect of nuclear weapons: The effect is accepted as positive if an agreement is signed concerning nuclear weapons or if a newly emerged nuclear state signs an existing agreement; thus, a nuclear order concerning the use of nuclear weapons, the number of nuclear weapons and demilitarization is achieved. The effect is accepted as negative if an agreement is not signed or a pre-signed agreement is abolished, a newly emerged nuclear state refuses to sign an on-going nuclear agreement or one of the partners of a pre-signed agreement withdraws from the agreement; thus, nuclear order is destroyed.

4. The threat perception of the great powers (the USSR/Russian Federation, the USA and the EU) regarding each other.

After defining the sources of instability and insecurity in the international system during the Cold War (Chapter III, third section), whether secure or unsecure situations in the region system coexist with instability and insecurity factors in the international system will be looked into in order to determine the effect on regional security. If the international system experiences various instability and insecurity factors but security exists in the Region (such as in the Black Sea Region during the Cold War[244]), then it can be assumed that regional security is not sensitive to the international system. After finding out whether or not security situation of international system is influential on regional security or not; role of the great powers in this interaction of regional and international security will be explored. In chapters on periods after the end of the Cold War (Chapter IV and V, third sections) instead of defining the whole international system, Russian relations with the Western countries, including their relations on nuclear weapons will be looked into in order to analyze whether or not any tension in their relationship affect security in the Black Sea Region .

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[244] While Neorealism accepts that there was security during the Cold War, it should be re-explored because although there was nuclear security between the two superpowers, sources of insecurity also existed.

2.4.3   Defining Regional Security

For any region, security is related to the absence of aggression and military conflict. There may be instability in a region but to assess a region as secure there should not be any ongoing military conflict between the actors. It is also important to preserve or to establish order, serving balance-of-interest in the region by preventing military conflicts. The security of a region may be destroyed if states pursue revisionist policies that change all balances or new great powers emerge and interfere with regional politics in a revisionist way. The former can be identified by observing the existence of threats and the threat perception of countries towards each other, including clear identification of enemy. This can be measured by a significant increase in the ratio of a state's GDP on military expenditures, if necessary and if previous data cannot be obtained, the state's current military expenditures and the number of weapons imported (if needed) will be looked into.

To understand threat perceptions of states, security documents of states in the Region are required. They are preferred to study because security documents of regional states are offering a conceptual framework and a chance of comparing their framework within the broader theoretical framework of this thesis. If they cannot be obtained, second hand resources will be used to list their identification of threat or sources of threat. In a specific period, if sources of threats which states define are found, it is accepted that this state's threat perception is high. The only exception to this is the Cold War period, during which all indicators, including threat perception, were very clear and accepted, so it is unnecessary to redefine them. Regarding the second situation, the emergence of a new power and inference in regional politics will be taken into consideration while defining spheres of influence.

In sum, to define the state-of-affairs concerning security in a region, the following will be examined:

a. Number of military conflicts in the Region,

b. Significant increases in military expenditures of states, (ratio of military expenditure in the GDP and amount of weapon imports if necessary)

c. Policies of the non-regional great powers regarding the Region

d. Threat perceptions of regional actors towards each other

To investigate these points, the following databases are used:

a. To find number of military conflicts, the "Chronological List of All Wars"[245] (1816-2007), prepared by "Correlates of War" and released in March 2010, will be used.

b. To show military expenditures of states and to measure percentage of military expenditure in the GDP, the SIPRI Military Expenditure Database will be utilized. This database contains military expenditures as a percentage of gross domestic products for every country during the period from 1988 to 2009.[246] For amount of weapons export, SIPRI Arms Transfer Database will be benefitted.[247] For the military expenditures of regional countries during the period from 1947 to 1991, the COW Composite Index of National Capability[248] will be used.

c. To understand threat perceptions, security documents published by the states themselves are obtained and reviewed.

In the following chapters, the regional security situation is defined according to the indicators given above. Then, the factors deemed to affect regional security are defined.

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[245] Sarkees and Wayman, *op. cit.*

[246] "The SIPRI Military Expenditure Database", http://milexdata.sipri.org/result.php4, (Accessed on 09.11.2011)

[247] "SIPRI Arms Transfer Database, Trade Register", http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/values.php, (Accessed on 09.11.2011).

[248] J. David Singer, Stuart Bremer, John Stuckey, "Capability Distribution, Uncertainty, and Major Power War, 1820-1965", edited by Bruce Russett *Peace, War, and Numbers*, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972, pp. 19-48.
"National Material Capabilities," Version 4, http://www.correlatesofwar.org/COW2%20Data/Capabilities/nmc4.htm, (accessed on 11.08.2012).

2.5 CONCLUSION

This thesis attempts to analyze security in the Black Sea Region from a revised Neorealist perspective. In this chapter, it has been argued that the main determinant behind regional security is regional structure; therefore it is defined using characteristics designed by Waltz to define the international structure. However, the ordering principle description of Neorealism is revised in order to explain the specific relationship between a superior country and its subordinates because it is also argued that such a relationship has existed in the Region since the end of WWII. This thesis defines this mixed type of ordering principle as anarchical hierarchy and categorizes it into four groups according to the intensity and multiplicity of intervention of the great powers: tight, near to tight, near to loose and loose anarchical hierarchy. Since the end of WWII, the Region has hosted one form of anarchical hierarchy which may have changed in different time periods within the anarchic international system.

The formation of different regional structures, shaped by differences in ordering principle has affected regional security by changing the role played by the regional great power, subordinate states in her sphere of influence, non-regional great powers, and their partners in the Region. Therefore, the position of the great power within her sphere of influence and other great powers' attitudes towards the same area are very important in defining the effect of regional structure on regional security.

Within this framework, this chapter attempts a critical analysis of the main premises and the limitations of the literature on Black Sea studies. It tries to show that the available literature on security in the Black Sea Region focuses on current events, rather than systemic patterns, because of the lack of theoretical studies.

Then, the main assumptions of the neorealist theory are given. Based on this approach, balance of power theories (including the balance of interest understanding,

revised by Schweller[249]) the structure premises of Neorealism by Waltz, bandwagoning and alliance formation studies by Walt[250] are utilized.

This study presents an alternative understanding of the ordering principle of regional structure and defines the indicators that will be used to explain them in the following section. Afterwards, the relationships between the regional structure and regional security are examined, and the parameters that define the sphere of influence in the Region are described. To measure the possible effects of instability and insecurity factors in the international system and neighboring regions on regional security, a method for determining their effects is laid down. Then, indicators for describing regional security are presented.

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[249] Schweller, *op. cit. Bandwagoning for Profit*

[250] Walt, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER III

SECURITY AND FORMS OF ANARCHICAL HIERARCHY DURING THE COLD WAR (1948-1991) IN THE BLACK SEA REGION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

During the Cold War years, while the international system was suffering from high threat perception and nuclear deterrence, peace and security was preserved in the Black Sea Region. In this chapter it is to be explored how that could happen.

To do this, firstly, the security situation in the Black Sea Region during the Cold War will be defined. Then, in the following section, the interfering polices pursued by the USA will be outlined under the title of "Inter-Bloc Relationship." After that, sources of instability and insecurity which were found in the international system will be described. The role of Turkey and its effect on regional security will be looked into. Then, the regional structures will be identified by exploring the distribution of capability and the ordering principle in the Black Sea Region. In the final section, it will be attempted to display the causal relationship between regional security and regional structure.

The thesis assumed that the Cold War began with the Berlin Blockade in 1948 and ended with the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Cold War cannot be considered as one continuous period, but rather can be divided into five consecutive periods: 1948-1953 (Stalin Period), 1954-1968 (Transition Period from Crises to Détente), 1969-1979 (Détente), 1979-1985 (2nd Cold War) and 1986-1991 (Beginning of the End Period).

Here, as a starting point, it is assumed that an order which created security and was based on the balance of interest of the related actors was constructed in 1936 with the Mountreux Convention. Situations in which this status-quo is preserved are to be regarded as secure regional system. Therefore, it is necessary to show how the 1936 Mountreux order was established.

3.2   THE ORDER IN THE BLACK SEA REGION IN 1936

Until the beginning of the 16th century, the Black Sea was like an Ottoman lake and treated as a closed sea by the Ottomans. Only the eastern or Abkhazian-Mingrelian-Georgian littoral of the Black Sea was not directly controlled by the Ottomans because of the mountainous nature of the hinterland. Nevertheless, the trade of this region was largely conducted through the Black Sea Region, thus essentially under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman control over the whole Black Sea Region was completed in the 16th century. The Ottoman Empire's sea supremacy, according to Charles King, was based on three pillars.[251] The first pillar was their control of the straits and the mouth of the Danube, which were important routes for European ships to enter the Black Sea.[252] The second pillar was the policy of effective isolation of the client states from the littoral powers.[253] On the same point, Carl Korteper confirmed this by noting that "The Ottoman Empire (…) had restricted or eliminated altogether the political, economic and cultural ties of that [Black Sea] Region with other leading powers [such as] the Italian city-states, Hungary, Poland-Lithuania and Safavid Persia."[254] The third pillar, King pointed out, was the prevention of piracy.[255] At the beginning of the 17th century, firstly the

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[251] Charles King, *Black Sea: A History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York: 2004, p. 125.

[252] *Ibid.,* p. 125.

[253] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[254] Carl M. Kortepeter, "Ottoman Imperial Policy and the Economy of the Black Sea Region in the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 86, No. 2, April-June 1966, p. 96.

[255] King, *op.cit.,* p. 125.

Cossacks started to conduct raids on coastal cities and destroy the safety of the Sea and, at the same time, the order and dominance of Ottoman rule. Thus, the first challenge to Ottoman supremacy came from the sea.[256] The second challenge was the emergence of new rising powers. In the 17th century, Tsarist Russia began to challenge[257] and posed serious threats to the Ottoman dominance of the Black Sea throughout 18th and 19th centuries.

The first Russian-Ottoman confrontation took place in the Crimea and Russia started to gain land on the Black Sea. Despite the continuing attacks by Russia, the Ottoman Empire was still powerful until the Karlofwitz peace in 1699. By signing this treaty, the Ottoman Empire lost huge land masses and accepted that she had lost her dominance. Complementary to the Karlofwitz treaty, the Ottoman Empire signed an agreement with the Russian Tsar in 1700 and Russia got the Castle of Azak[258] and entered the Region.

Another turning point in the Region was the 1774 Treaty of Kucuk Kainarji. Through this treaty, the Russian Empire gained ship access into the Black Sea, hitherto an Ottoman Lake. Sultan Abdul Hamid I conceded full naval rights on the sea and commercial privileges to Russia, guaranteed free passage through the Straits[259] and gave the right to establish consulates anywhere in the Ottoman Empire.[260] The Sultan was also forced to recognize the independence of Crimea, which had an important Muslim population and was annexed by Russia in 1783.[261] With this treaty, it can be noted that the Russian Empire gained the right to pass

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[256] *Ibid.*, p.129.

[257] *Ibid.*, p.134.

[258] Oral Sander, *Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü Osmanlı Diplomasi Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara: 2000, p.130.

[259] Yücel Güçlü, "The Legal Regulations of Passage through the Turkish Straits", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 3, Summer 2000, p. 87.

[260] Sander, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[261] *Ibid.,* p. 183.

through the Straits and this privilege given to Russia was an exception to the Ottoman Empire's unchanging policy of keeping other countries' war and trade ships away from the Straits, which were totally under the sovereignty of the Empire.[262] According to Sander, the treaty marked the end of the status of the Black Sea as a Turkish Lake and it was the first time that "the Ottomans allowed a foreign merchant vessel free and unhindered navigation rights in the Black Sea."[263]

Another development both in Russian-Ottoman relations and in Ottoman history was the 1829 Edirne Treaty. According to this treaty, the Russian Empire again gained important land masses, Greece gained its independence and the Ottoman Empire granted important privileges to Serbia, Eflak and Boğdan. Greece independence became an example for other nations in the Empire. According to Sander, the Ottoman State now lost any hope of protecting herself from her Northern neighbour. After that, she pursued a balance of power policy with Europe to protect herself.[264] However, during the 1830s, the Ottoman Empire was dealing with one of her rebellious vassals, Mehmet Ali Pasha. Sultan Mahmut II demanded help from the Russian Empire and Russian soldiers were given permission to march into Istanbul to defend the lands of the Empire. They signed the 1833 Hunkar Iskelesi Treaty, which obliged the Sultan to close the Straits against other country's ships except Russian ones in times of war. Its articles also allowed mutual presence of war ships of the two countries in the Black Sea. According to a secret article of the Treaty, the Ottoman Sultan would close the Straits to any foreign war ship on the request of Tsar in the event of an attack against the Russian Empire.[265] In this way, according to Sander, "the decision to close the Straits to foreign war vessels, once in the exclusive domain

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[262] Şule Güneş, "Türk Boğazları", *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Aralık 2007, p. 218.

[263] Nilüfer Oral, *Regional Co-operation and Protection of the Marine Environment under International Law*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2013, p. 20.

[264] Sander, *op. cit.,* p. 182.

[265] Fahir Armaoğlu, *20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, Alkım Kitabevi, İstanbul: 1983, p. 79.

of the Sultan, was now to be shared with Russia."[266] This Russian privilege continued until 1841 with the Straits Convention. Up to that point in time, the Ottoman Empire had retained full sovereignty over the Straits and passage regime. If necessary, Ottoman Sultans could decide to share this sovereignty through bilateral agreements. After 1841, however, the passage regime was determined by a multilateral arrangement and the Sultan's right of decision and sovereignty was further restricted.

The Straits Convention was signed by Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1841. According to this Convention, passage of war ships through the Straits was prohibited in peace time (principle of closure of Straits). If the Ottoman State was a belligerent, she reserved her right to close or open the Straits.[267]

In 1856, with the Paris Treaty, access of foreign war vessels was prohibited and the Ottoman and Russian Empires could not maintain a fleet in the Region. Indeed, this treaty was an attempt on the part of Great Britain to establish a British zone of influence and to end the Russian privileges granted by the 1833 Hunkar Iskelesi Agreement.[268] With the Paris Treaty, the great powers also tried to create a new status-quo by which the Russian and Ottoman Empires were weakened in the Black Sea Region. However, in the 1871 conference in London, this principle was abolished and gave more authority regarding militarization in the Straits. In the same year, the Ottoman-Russian Convention abolished the article of the Paris Treaty, which had limited the number and power of naval forces.[269] This common attitude adopted by the Russian and Ottoman Empires was the first chain of a continuous

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[266] Sander, *op. cit.,* p. 232.

[267] Armaoğlu, *op. cit.,* p. 79.

[268] Mustafa Türkeş, "Giriş: Kuş Bakışı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne Geçiş", *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi*, Vol. 39, Number 1, April 2012, p. 5.

[269] Sander, *op. cit.,* p. 235.

pattern of pursuing common policies vis-à-vis European politics if this was conducive to their interests.

The fourth war between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century occurred in 1877-78 and ended with the signing of the Berlin Treaty, which was a disaster for the Ottoman Empire. Romania, Serbia and Montenegro gained their independence, an autonomous Bulgaria was established (declared its independence in 1908), Russia had taken southern Bessarabia, Austria-Hungary took control of Bosnia-Herzegovina.[270] Thus, the Ottoman Empire lost all its Black Sea lands except the Anatolian coasts, Thrace, Albania and Macedonia. The Ottoman Empire further lost Albania, Macedonia and Western Thrace in the Balkans Wars and the Straits were occupied by the British troops at the end of the WWI.

In 1917, the Bolshevik revolution took place and this meant the end of Imperial Tsarist Russia. The Ottoman Empire was defeated in WWI and finally was formally ended with the abolishment of the Ottoman dynasty rule in 1922. WWI seriously changed the geopolitical situation in the Black Sea Region. Two major empires around the Black Sea collapsed, Bulgaria and Romania preserved their existence and Azerbaijan and Georgia in the east initially preserved their independent status but joined the USSR in 1920.

The Soviet Union saw the Turkish war of Independence as an act against Western imperialism. The Soviet Union also supported anti-imperialist movements against the Western countries and both countries wanted to secure their borders to survive domestic reconstruction reforms. Finally, Turkey and the Soviet Union signed the "Turkey-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Brotherhood" on 16 March 1921. The Treaty firstly recognized the border between Turkey and the Soviet Union; Ardahan and Kars remained in Turkey but Turkey agreed to cede Batumi to

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[270] Barbara Jelavich, *Ottoman Empire, the Great Powers and the Straits Question 1870-*1887, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and London: 1973, p. 123.

Georgia.[271] This Treaty also contained an article on the future of the Straits which foresaw that the status and defence of the Straits should be decided in a conference attended only by Black Sea littoral states.[272] However, this article was not considered later in the Lausanne and Mountreux Conventions.[273] Russia also undertook to ensure acceptance of the articles of this treaty by the South Caucasian countries in a separate agreement to be signed with Turkey.[274] Accordingly, negotiations were held between representatives of Turkey, the Soviet Russia, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan and they signed the Kars Treaty on 13 October 1921. In Ankara, on 2 January 1922, Turkey and Ukraine signed the Friendship and Brotherhood Treaty.[275] By these treaties, Turkey's eastern neighbours recognized the new borders.

At the end of Turkish War of Independence, the Lausanne Treaty, including a separate Convention relating to the Straits was signed. Negotiations regarding the future of the Straits were held between the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Russia, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Turkey. The Soviet Union insisted that the future of the Straits should be decided by the littoral states of the Black Sea. On the other hand, Great Britain tried to prevent the participation of the Russian, Georgian and Ukrainian delegates at the Conference, but Turkey did not agree to this.[276] During the Conference, British and Soviet views conflicted. The British Empire desired complete freedom of navigation through Straits in peace and war times. In contrast, the Soviet Union argued for closure of the

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[271] İsmail Soysal, *Tarihçeleri ve Açıklamaları ile Birlikte Türkiye'nin Siyasal Antlaşmaları (1920-1945)*, I. Cilt, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 1983, p. 29.

[272] Erel Tellal, "1919-1923 Sovyetlerle İlişkiler", *Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar,* edited byBaskın Oran, Cilt I, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001, p. 173.

[273] Soysal, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 29.

[274] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[275] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[276] Selma Yel, *Değişen Dünya Şartlarında Karadeniz ve Boğazlar Meselesi 1923-2008*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara: 2009, p. 25.

Straits to the non-Black Sea littoral countries' war vessels. At that time, the British Empire had the strongest maritime fleet, while the Soviet Union had lost all its maritime forces during the war. Turkey also supported the Russian view of closing the Straits to foreign war vessels. At the end of the Conference, the freedom of the Straits was accepted but with limitations according to war and peace time and to merchant and war ships. During peace time and in war time if Turkey was neutral, freedom of passage was granted to civil ships/aircrafts and war ships/aircraft.[277] During war time, if Turkey was belligerent, freedom of navigation of neutral vessels (merchant and war) were recognized under the condition of not assisting enemy forces.[278] Turkey would have the right to visit and search such vessels.[279] The tonnage of the fleet of any nation passing through the Straits could not exceed the tonnage of largest fleet in the Black Sea.[280]

Moreover, an International Straits Commission composed of representatives of Turkey, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and the Kingdom of Serb-Croat- Slovene would be established.[281] The Soviet Union would not be happy with these settlements; however, she would later join in the Commission in 1927 and did not challenge the legal status of the Straits during inter-war years.

According to the Straits Convention of 1923, the Çanakkale (Dardanelles) and İstanbul (Bosporus) Straits were to be demilitarized, and only a garrison of

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[277] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

[278] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

[279] "Convention Regarding the Regime of Straits", *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Supplement: Official Document (Jan., 1924), p. 55.

[280] Samuel Kucherov, "The Problem of Constantinople and the Straits", *Russian Review,* Vol. 8, No. 3, July 1949, p. 216.

[281] "Convention Regarding Regime of Straits", (Jan., 1924), *op. cit.*, p. 60.

12,000 men would be maintained in Istanbul for her safety.[282] In the event of any attack against the Straits, the Commission composed of representatives of the Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan under the supervision of League of Nations would be responsible for providing peace in the Region.[283] Russia and Turkey found this regime inadequate to ensure security in the Region.[284] However, other countries guaranteed that peace would prevail in Europe and world-wide de-militarization would be achieved.[285] Then, Turkey accepted the regulations.

During the inter-war years, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey made up the Black Sea Region. All of these were dealing with the reconstruction process in their countries. Turkey and Russia had signed the 1925 Friendship and Neutrality Treaty and this was renewed in 1929, 1931 and 1935. Turkey also signed a Friendship Treaty with Bulgaria in October 1925,[286] a Neutrality, Reconciliation, Judicial Solution and Arbitration Treaty with Bulgaria in 1929[287] and with Romania in 1933.[288] In 1934 Turkey, Romania, Greece and Yugoslavia signed the Balkan Pact.[289] However, in the 1930s the general atmosphere was not as peaceful as the one in the Black Sea Region. Hitler's Germany militarized and started to threaten peace in Europe, Italy invaded Ethiopia (1935), and Japan occupied Manchuria (1931). In this international climate, Turkey sent a note to all parties of the Lausanne Convention regarding the Straits and demanded that the Convention be modified

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[282] Bülent Gökay, *A Clash of Empires: Turkey between Russian Bolshevism and British Imperialism 1918-1923*,Tauris Academic Studies, London and New York: 1997, p. 156.

[283] Kucherov, *op. cit*., p.216.

[284] Güçlü, *op.cit.,* p. 88

[285] Yel, *op. cit*., p. 48.

[286] Soysal, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 255.

[287] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[288] *Ibid.*, p. 437.

[289] *Ibid.*, p. 447.

based on the principle of *rebus sic stantibus*[290] – changes in international environment requires that changes be made in the provisions of international settlements.[291]

The Mountreux Conference was held with participation of representatives from all the states which had signed the Lausanne Convention, except Italy. Turkey offered a draft, foreseeing the following regulations: merchant ships may enjoy freedom of transit and navigation in war and peace time under the framework of the world-wide regulations of the League of Nations, but there may be some provision in war time; foreign war vessels may enjoy freedom of transit through the Straits subject to the proviso that they do not pose a threat to the littoral states' security and the Straits Commission would be abolished.[292] In the Conference, Britain desired freedom in the Straits and aimed to establish good relations with Turkey to prevent her possible alliance with the Revisionist Group.[293] At the same time, Britain tried to prevent any revision in the Convention which would give more rights to the Black Sea littoral states because of her fear of the Soviet Union.[294] Therefore, she was also opposed to the abolishment of the Straits Commission.[295] On the other hand, the Soviet Union demanded the closure of the Straits to the warships of all non-littoral states, except foreign vessels which aimed to help a littoral state when faced with an attack by another country.[296] In the Conference, conflicting states were Britain and the Soviet Union, while others supported either Britain or the Soviet Union.[297]

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[290] Yel, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[291] Soysal, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 494

[292] Yel, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[293] *Ibid.*

[294] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[295] *Ibid.*

[296] *Ibid.*, pp 102-104.

[297] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

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France supported the Soviet Union; Japan supported Britain; Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece (with some reservations) supported Turkey.[298]

A new Convention was signed on 20 July 1936 on the passage regime of the İstanbul (Bosporus) Straits, Marmara Sea and Çanakkale (Dardanelles) Straits. First of all, according to the new Convention, Turkey regained the right to militarize the Straits region and the International Straits Commission was abolished. The passage regime was re-arranged and its control was given to Turkey.[299] According to the passage regime, as regulated in the Convention, there are three periods of time: peace, war and the period during which Turkey believed herself to be threatened with an imminent danger of war. There were two types of ships – war and merchant and two types of countries – Black Sea littoral and non-littoral.

The basic principle regarding the passage of the Straits is freedom because Article 1 states that "The High Contracting parties recognize and affirm the principle of freedom of transit and navigation by sea in the Straits. The exercise of this freedom shall henceforth be regulated by the provisions of the present Convention."[300] Merchant ships are those which are not warships. In times of peace, merchant vessels can enjoy freedom of transit and navigation in the Straits by day and by night without any formalities except health inspection.[301] In war time, if Turkey is neutral, merchant vessels continue to enjoy freedom of transit and navigation in the Straits subject to the provisions expressed in previous articles. If Turkey is belligerent, any "merchant vessel not belonging to a country at war with Turkey shall enjoy freedom of transit and navigation in the Straits on condition that

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[298] *Ibid.*, pp. 105-116.

[299] Hüseyin Pazarcı, *Uluslararası Hukuk II. Kitap*, 6. Baskı, Turhan Kitapevi: Ankara, 1999. p. 382.

[300] "Convention Regarding the Regime of Straits", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 31, No. 1, Supplement: Official Documents, (Jan., 1937), pp. 2-3.

[301] *Ibid.*, p. 3 and Kudret Özersay, "Montreux Boğazlar Sözleşmesi", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgula2r Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt 1, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınlar, 2001, p. 375.

they do not in any way assist the enemy."[302] Such vessels can enter the Straits by day and their route is determined by the Turkish authorities.[303] If Turkey considers herself to be threatened with imminent danger of war, merchant ships continue to enjoy right of free passage and navigation but their routes are determined by Turkish authorities and these vessels can enter the Straits by day and pilotage may be made obligatory without any fee.[304]

Regarding warships; auxiliary vessels, light surface vessels and minor war vessels of all states may transit the Straits after giving prior notice to Turkey in the peace time and their number was restricted to nine. Article 18 limited the aggregate tonnage of vessels of the non-Black Sea countries in the Black Sea to 30,000 tons. This could be increased up to 45,000 tons if the strongest fleet in the Black Sea exceeded by at least 10,000 tons the tonnage of the strongest fleet in that sea at the date of signing the present Convention.[305] In addition to tonnage limitations, vessels of the non-Black Sea power were permitted to remain in the Black Sea no more than twenty-one days, whatever the aim of their presence there.[306] Regarding other warships (submarines, capital ships and aircraft carriers) there was a distinction between littoral and non-littoral states. The Straits would be open for these vessels of the Black Sea littoral states under certain conditions.[307] Passage of the vessels of non-littoral countries was prohibited. Passage of civil aircraft was assured between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea with certain restrictions, determined by Article 23.[308] The passage of military aircraft during peace time, the passage of warships

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[302] "Convention Regarding the Regime of Straits", (Jan., 1937), *op. cit.* p. 4

[303] *Ibid.*

[304] *Ibid.*

[305] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[306] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[307] Pazarcı, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

[308] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

during war time or if Turkey was belligerent or believed herself to be threatened with imminent danger of war would be left entirely to the discretion of the Turkish Government.[309]

According to Güçlü, the Mountreux Convention was a victory for Russia because they would have the right to send their fleet into the Mediterranean in peace time without any restrictions while the military forces of non-littoral states were limited.[310] The principle of freedom also satisfied the European actors. Güçlü also noted that "for the first time since the beginning of the struggle for the Straits, Turkey, Britain and Russia were at one."[311] The Mountreux Convention constituted a regime that would offer an opportunity for the littoral states to be more influential in the Region, thus it satisfied the littoral countries. Güçlü also pointed out its general impact, explaining that "In principle, it is an ideal system, safeguarding the interest and strategic exigencies of all three parts: the riparian powers, the non-riparian powers and Turkey. It is the best possible system that could be devised for safeguarding peace in this part of the World."[312] With the Convention, an order based on balance of power and balance of interest was constituted in the Region, and this order has been preserved since 1936.

3.3 SECURITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION DURING THE COLD WAR

The aim of this section is to define the security situation of the Black Sea Region in the Cold War period. As expressed in the previous section, there has been order in the Region since 1936. While this order and security were threatened by some specific crises that took place between the regional actors, they had short term effects and did not create structural changes.

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[309] "Convention Regarding the Regime of Straits", (Jan., 1937), *op. cit*. p. 8.

[310] Güçlü, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[311] *Ibid.*

[312] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

The number of military conflicts in the Region, threat perceptions of regional actors towards each other (Romania, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and Turkey), significant increases in military expenditure of states and positions of regional states towards the Western Bloc countries and their policies regarding the Region will be looked into in order to define the security situation in the Black Sea Region.

On the eve of the Cold War, the general environment of the Region was determined by the Soviet efforts to establish the Eastern Bloc with the Eastern and Central European countries. This period began during WW II, when these countries were invaded first by Germany and then by the Soviet Union to end the German occupation. Then, the left-wing coalitions in these countries were replaced by Communist Party governments, other parties and politicians were totally discharged and the economic, social and political systems were re-designed according to the Soviet model.[313] In September 1947, the communist parties of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, France and Italy established the Communist Information Bureau in order to provide direct channels of communication between the Soviet and other Communist parties and to support Communist propaganda in these countries.[314] The formation of the Eastern Bloc was completed in 1949 with the establishment of the COMECON – the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, whose members were the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania – as a reaction to the OECD, the IMF and the World Bank. Since NATO was established in 1949, the Eastern Bloc responded with the Warsaw Pact in 1955. Thus, the Cold War institutions were completed.

In 1947, the US President Truman inaugurated a policy of containment of Soviet expansionism, supported Greece against Communist insurgents and announced the decision to extend American protection to Greece and Turkey. In 1948, the US Congress accepted the European Recovery Task, which was proposed

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[313] Armaoğlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 525-529.

[314] Michael L. Dockrill and Michael F.Hopkins, *The Cold War*, Palgrave, New York: 1983, p. 40.

by Truman to provide the necessary funds to Western European countries, including Turkey. This regional economic aid package to Western Europe was known as the Marshall Plan and in this way the US managed to get financial information from these countries. Thus, the two Blocs were consolidated.

3.3.1 Inter-Bloc Relationship

The Eastern Bloc countries were located in the northern part of the Black Sea and expansion of the NATO Alliance to the Region would take place with the membership of Turkey and Greece in 1952. By the end of the period from 1948 to 1955, both the alliances were established and the spheres of influence were completed. They were preserved till the end of the Cold War and these regions – Black Sea Region, Eastern Europe and Western Europe were defined as the spheres of influences of two superpowers.[315] The borders of these spheres were clear. Therefore, it can be assumed that no major shifts between alliances would occur.

During these years, countries from the different Blocs established political and economic relations; however, none of the superpowers attempted to pursue policies interfering in the relationship within the other Bloc countries through dissidents. One of the basic reasons behind the maintenance of order in the Black Sea Region was that the regional states, except Turkey and Greece, were in the Soviet sphere of influence, the Soviet Union managed to establish an anarchical hierarchic structure in the Region and this hierarchical shelf prevented the United States or other Western Bloc leading countries to intervene in the internal affairs of the Eastern Bloc. Even when the Soviet troops came to Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968, they accepted that this Region was a Soviet sphere of

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[315] Eric Hobsbawn also details this as follows: "(…) The governments of the both superpowers accepted the global distribution of force at the end of the Second World War, which amounted to a highly uneven but essentially unchallenged balance of power. The USSR controlled, or exercised predominant influence in one part of the globe – the zone occupied by the Red Army and/or other communist armed forces at the end of the war, and did not attempt to extend its range of influence further by military force. The USA exercised control and predominance over the rest of the capitalist World as well as the western hemisphere and the oceans, taking over what remained of the old imperial hegemony of the former colonial Powers. In return, it did not intervene in the zone of accepted Soviet hegemony." Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes the Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, Penguin Books, London: 1991, p. 226.

influence and left them under the tutelage of the Soviet Union, the sole power influencing the Region. Even the ostpolitik of Germany (1967) did not challenge the international system; Willy Brandt acted within the given framework. The 1975 Helsinki Act provided the Western countries with an avenue for interfering in domestic politics, particularly human rights issues in the Eastern European countries; however, they did not want to destroy the existing security situation. Until the dissolution of the Eastern Pact and regime change in these countries in 1989, they stayed out of this Region.

The preservation of this order coincided with the interests of Turkey, so the structure that had been established in 1936 continued. Therefore, during the Cold War years, it is possible to note that the US and the European countries did not challenge this status-quo in the Black Sea Region. Friction within the Eastern Bloc member states, such as the Tito-Stalin dichotomy and Romania's friction with the USSR were not serious enough to change this security situation, nor were these Eastern European countries supported by the Western countries to the extent that it would destroy the security situation in Eastern Europe or in the Black Sea Region.

As noted in the previous chapter (Chapter II), besides regional organizations, it is important to display the rank of the dominant state in trade volume and military equipment export of the subordinate states. The following trade and military equipment export tables clearly display the superior place of the Soviet Union in Romania's trade[316] (Figure 1-3) and Romania and Bulgarian arms exports (Figure 6 and 7) and the superior place of the USA and the European countries in Turkey's trade and arms exports. (Figure 4-5 and 8-9)

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[316] While the list prepared by the Corrales of War contained data from Romania, it did not cover the trade values of Bulgaria until 1990.
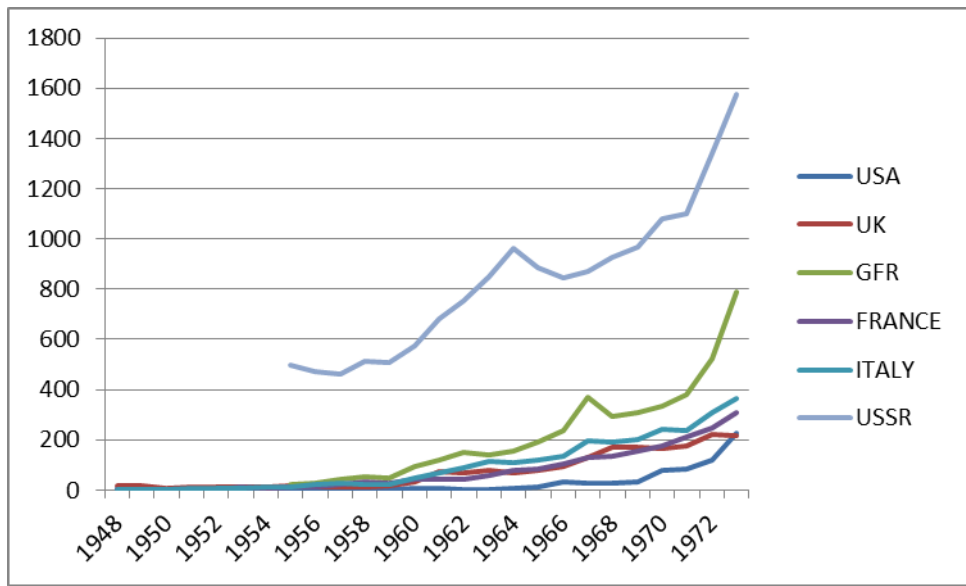
Figure 1: Trade Volume of Romania (1948-1973)
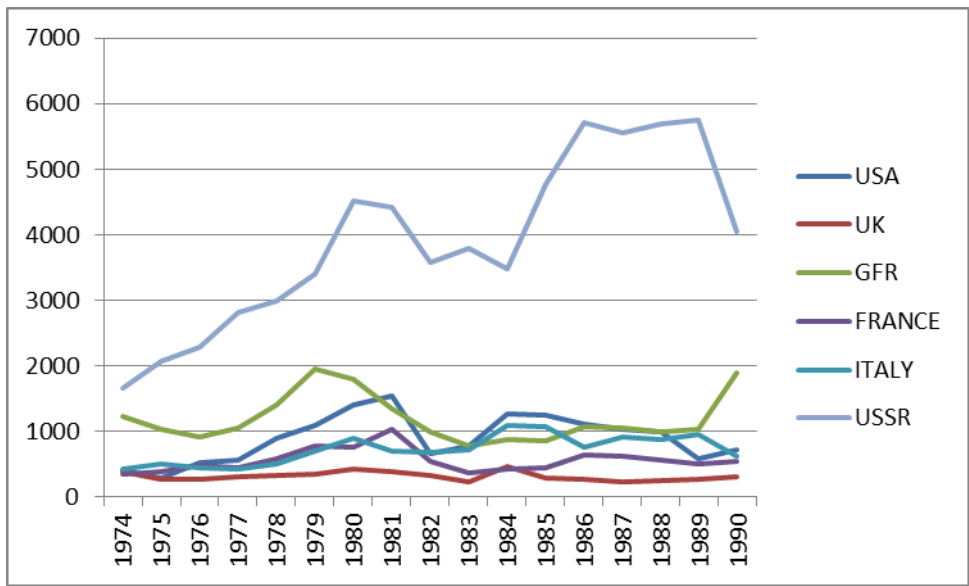
Figure 2: Trade Volume of Romania (1974-1991)
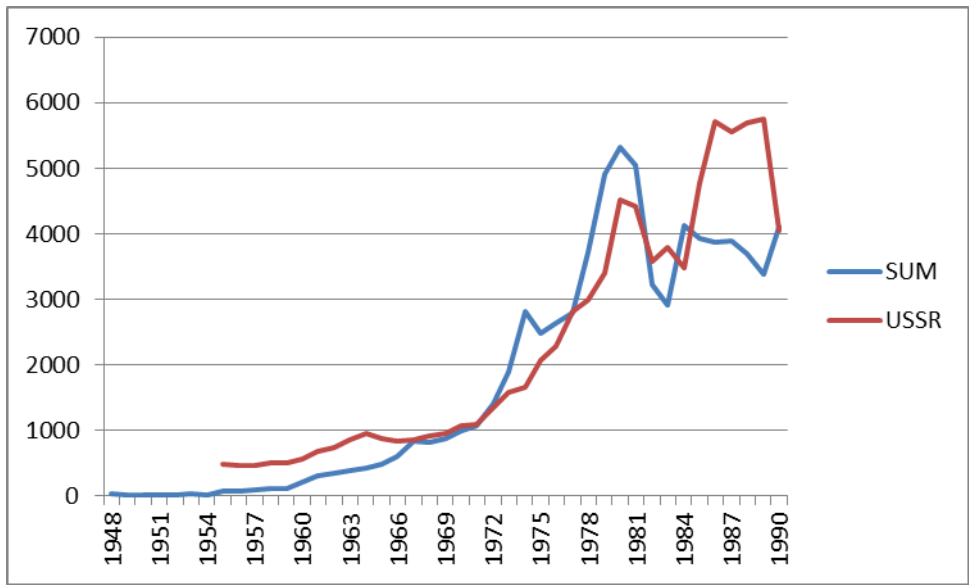
Figure 3: Comparison of Trade Volume of Romania with the USSR and the Sum of Romanian Trade with the USA, France, the GFR, Italy and the UK
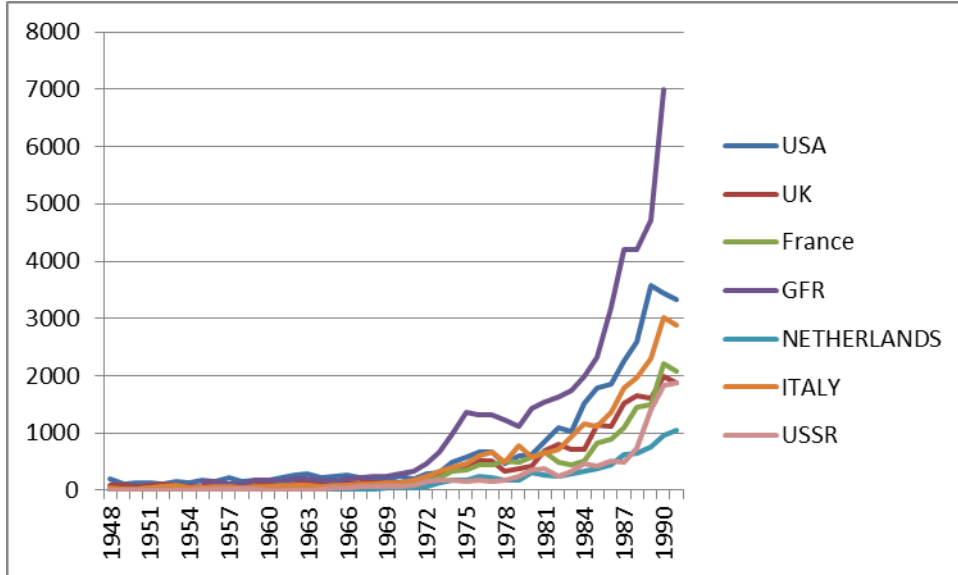
Figure 4: Trade Volume of Turkey (1948-1991) [317]

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[317] Barbieri and Keshk, *op. cit.*
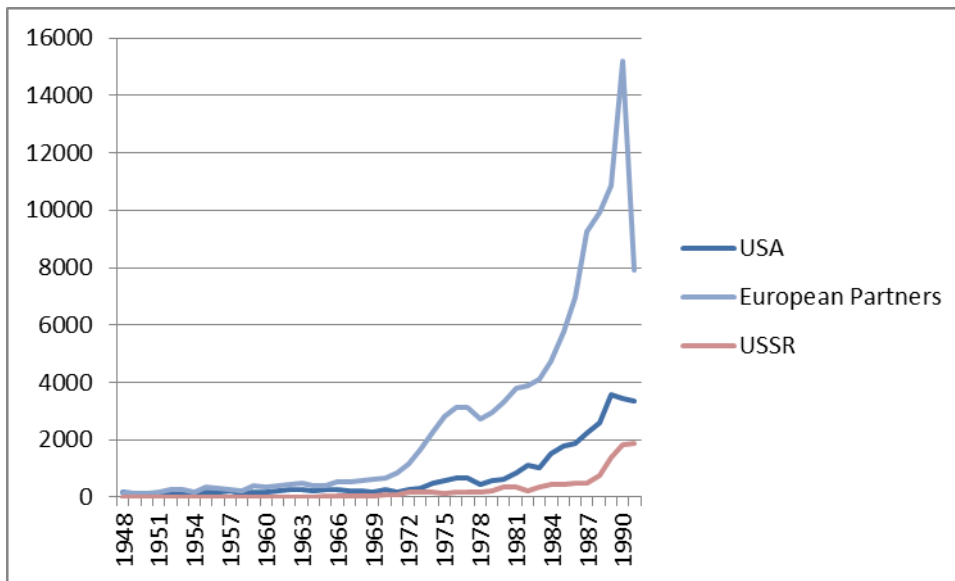
Figure 5: Comparison of Trade Volume of Turkey with the USA, the USSR and Leading European Partners (France, the GFR, the UK, Italy and the Netherlands)

During the Cold War period, the trade volume between Romania and the Soviet Union was very high. From 1955 to 1971 and from 1984 to 1990, Romanian trade volume with the Soviet Union was more than the sum of the other five leading partners. During the 1971-1982 period, Romanian trade with others increased and reached the same amount as her trade volume with the USSR, which may have been affected by Romanian membership in the GATT in 1971.[318] However, increasing debt urged Romania to reduce her exports after 1980.

Although her trade with the Soviet Union increased after 1972, Turkey's trading partners were mainly from the Western Bloc, the leading ones being the European countries. Among these, the highest trade volume was done with Germany.

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[318] "Romania at WTO", http://www.romaniaunog.org/issues/wto.htm, (accessed on 04.02.2013).
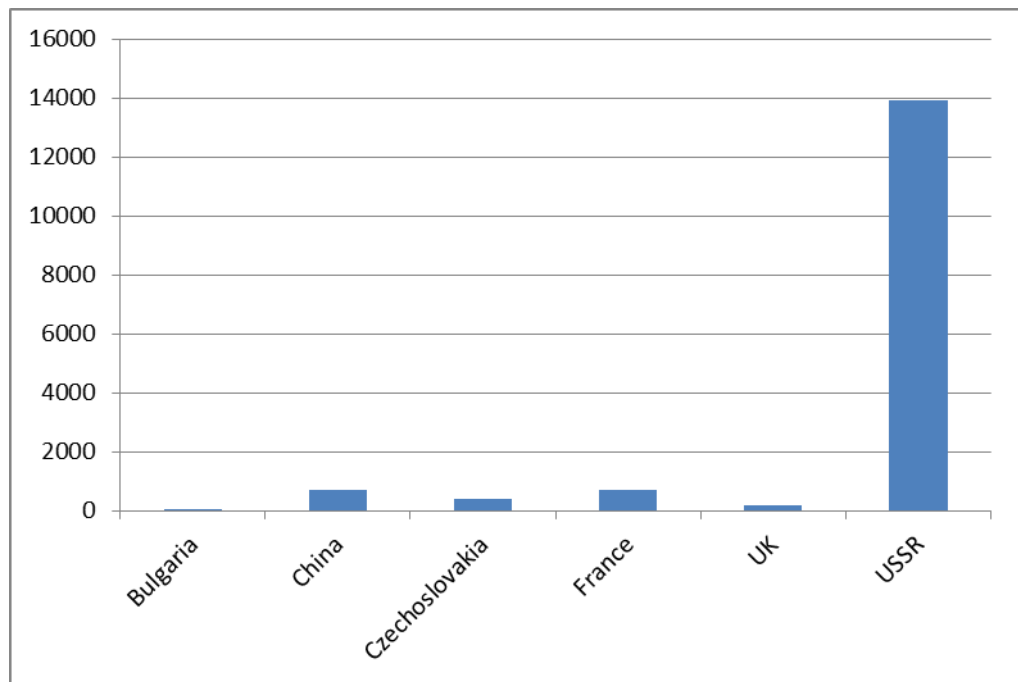
Figure 6: Arms Import Partners of Romania (1950-1991) (US$ million at 1990 prices) [319]

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[319] "Generate Importer/exporter TIV Tables",
http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 25.01.2013).
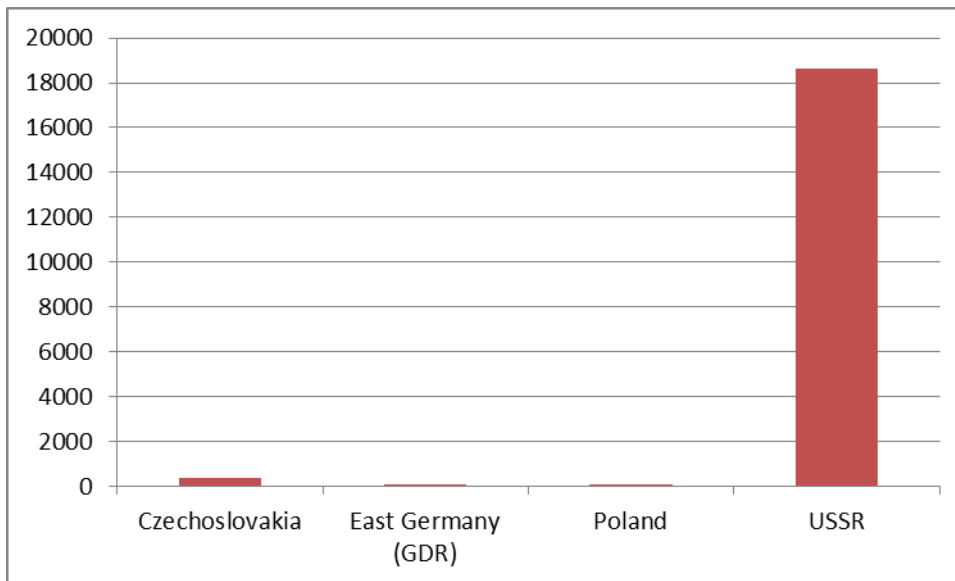
Figure 7: Arms Import Partners of Bulgaria (1950-1991) (US$ million at 1990 prices) [320]

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[320] "Generate Importer/exporter TIV Tables",
http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 25.01.2013).
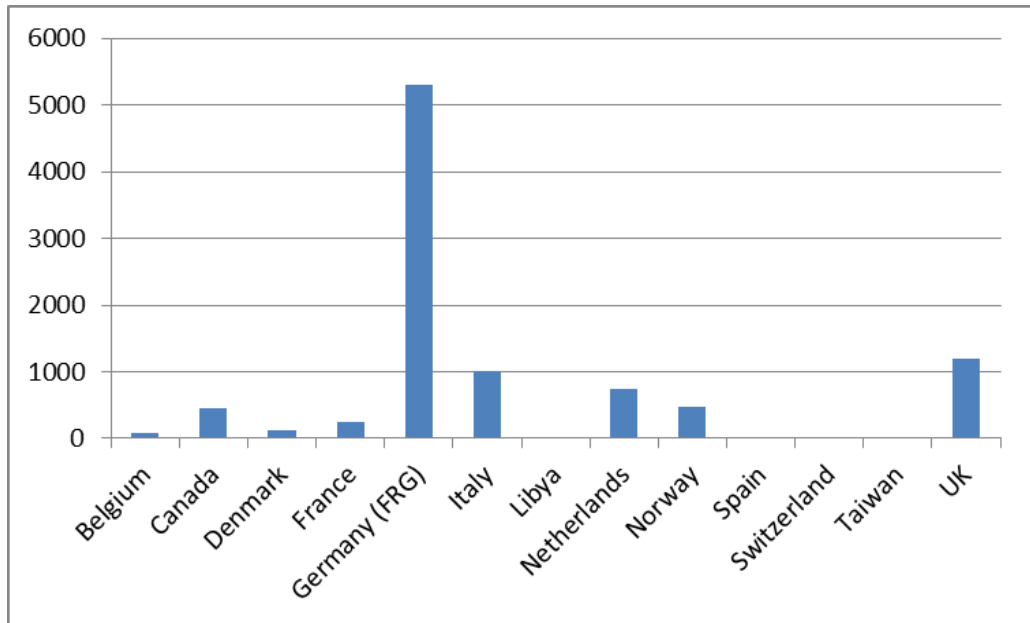
Figure 8: Arms Import Partners of Turkey without part of the USA (1948-1991) (US$ m. at 1990 prices) [321]

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[321] "Generate Importer/exporter TIV Tables", http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php (accessed on 25.01.2013).
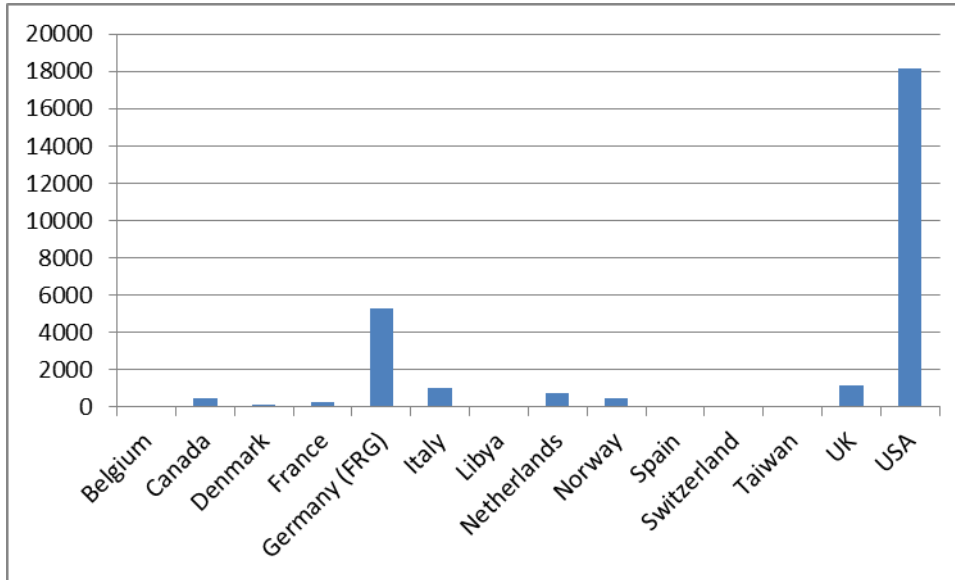
Figure 9: Arms Import Partners of Turkey with part of the USA (1948-1991) (US$ m. at 1990 prices) [322]

The figures showing the leading military equipment suppliers of both Romania and Bulgaria indicate that the leading position belongs to the USSR during the Cold War years. While other military equipment suppliers to Bulgaria were members of the Eastern Bloc, Romania acquired military equipment from France and the UK, but in very insignificant amounts. A similar pattern could be seen in Turkey's exports, her leading military equipment supplier was the USA to extent that she was in a nearly dependent position.

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[322] "Generate Importer/exporter TIV Tables",
http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 25.01.2013).

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3.3.2 Number of Military Conflicts

Given that the Cold War was completed and consolidated, the number of conflicts should be taken into account in order to assess the security situation in the Black Sea Region. According to the document entitled "List of All Wars"[323] prepared by the Correlates of War, two wars occurred during the Cold War (between two separate states, inter-state wars). First one was the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956. Even though this took place in Hungary, one of the partners was the Soviet Union; therefore, it was considered a conflict in the Region. The second was the "Turk-Cypriot War" (Turkey's intervention in Cyprus) in 1974. This conflict did not take place in the Region either, but one of the partners was a regional country-Turkey. Although the Correlates of War did not include the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and of Afghanistan in 1979, they should also be considered as military conflicts. Besides these conflicts, no other conflicts occurred among regional countries. During the period from 1948 to 1991, in other regions, 30 intra-state wars took place,[324] including the wars in Korea and Vietnam, but they were not considered here since they took place in other regions. However, they will be taken up in the following section.

3.3.3 Threat Perceptions of Regional Actors towards Each Other

During the Cold War, in general, these countries were placed in adversary camps within the given framework of the bipolar system. However, on an individual basis, these countries did not regard each other as threats even though there were some crisis points which were short term and were not extensive enough to destroy the existing situation in the Region. There were also long-term problem areas but not to the extent that they could change the existing order in the Region. Therefore, it can be stated that the threat perception of regional actors related to each other was low,

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[323] Meredith Reid Sarkees and Frank Wayman, *Resort to War: A Data Guide to Inter-State, Extra-State, Intra-State Wars1816-2007*, CQ Press, Washington, DC: 2010, http://www.correlatesofwar.org/, (accessed on 18.01.2013).

[324] *Ibid.*

except some specific dates. Relations, including these crises, were divided into five sub-periods (1948-1953: the Stalin period; 1954-1968: the transition period from crisis to détente; 1969-1979: détente; 1979-1985: the 2nd Cold War; and 1986-1991: the Beginning of the End Period) which are parallel to the ones for which the security of the international system will be looked into.

During the period from 1948 to 1953, the threat perception of Turkey was very high because of Soviet demands on the Straits. The Soviet Union firstly proposed a revision in the regime of the Straits in September-October 1939, and then reiterated her demands in the Tahran Conference (28 November-1 December 1943) and then in the Postdam Conference (4-11 February 1945).[325] Great Britain and the USA also agreed on possible amendments in the Mountreux Convention though they did not clarify how it should be[326]. Indeed, Great Britain and the USA were happy with the status of the Straits but refrained from rejecting Stalin's proposals. At that time, Greece was very important for Great Britain, and she was trying to keep this country out of the Soviet sphere of influence. Therefore, Greece was taken up within the context of the Percentage Agreement in 1944, but Turkey was not.[327] This paper also included the positions of Romania, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Bulgaria, which were left in the Soviet sphere of influence. For Eastern Europe, the percentage agreement established a new status-quo that was accepted by Britain and the US and the USSR. Even so, the Soviet Union additionally demanded some lands in Kars and Ardahan from Turkey, rearrangement in the Mountreux Convention and proposed a base around the Straits. That would be a serious challenge to the established security situation that had prevailed since 1936.

On 7 June 1945, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Molotov raised the issue once more and started negotiations with the Turkish Ambassador to Moscow,

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[325] Yel, *op. cit.*, p. 151, 158 and 164.

[326] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[327] Mustafa Aydın, "Yüzdeler Anlaşması", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt 1, İletişim Yayınlar, İstanbul: 2001, p. 471.

Selim Sarper, during which he again mentioned the Soviet demands.[328] The Soviet Union claimed that Turkey had not acted within the given framework of the passage regime of the Mountreux Convention during the WW II years; thus, they demanded a revision of the Convention, hoping that this would provide the USSR with exceptional power in the Straits. Even more importantly, on 8 August and 24 September 1946, the USSR gave two diplomatic notes demanding an adjustment of the passing regime of the Turkish Straits and enhancement of the defence of the Turkish Straits by Turkey and the Soviet Union. This would have meant a return to the 1933 Hunkar Iskelesi Treaty, signed during the Russian and Ottoman Empire period. Here it should be made clear that while in 1945 the USSR insisted on having a base in the Straits, in the following two diplomatic notes in 1946, rearrangement of the passing regime of the Mountreux Convention in favour of the Soviet interest was emphasized more. Turkey rejected all these demands and this led the Turkish policy makers to seek clear support from the Western powers. In 1947, Turkey accepted Marshall Aid and thus entered the Western Bloc. Such a Soviet strategic consideration was to be enhanced as the USSR in 1948 attempted to prevent Turkey's acceptance of Marshall Aid. All these would have tremendous impact on the Turkish policy makers to look for institutionalized military support from the West that would precipitate the entrance of Turkey into the NATO Alliance in 1952. As the Soviet Union no longer reiterated its demands for revision of the Mountreux Convention after 1946, Turkey was able to escape from this security dilemma; thus, the security situation formed by the Mountreux Convention was re-established. Although Turkey was integrating into the Western security structure, she deliberately refrained from opening up the Mountreux Convention to debate throughout the Cold War years, and there was no real challenge that could lead to a radical change in the security situation in the Black Sea Region.

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[328]Erel Tellal, "1945-1960 SSCB'yle İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt 1, İletişim Yayınlar, İstanbul: 2001, p. 501.

The Soviet threat perception that started to be formed with the Marshall Plan and inauguration of the Truman Doctrine, strengthened and reached its peak with the establishment of NATO, membership of Turkey and Greece in the Alliance in 1952 and the Korean War in 1950-53. However as noted above, these perceptions were related to Turkey's accession into the Western Bloc.

After WWII, Romania regained the Transylvania region but left Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union; Southern Dobruja remained in Bulgaria. These countries, after the war, took place in Soviet sphere of influence. The Western world also agreed on leaving them in the Soviet sphere and they entered the Eastern Bloc. As the Soviet Union saw the Western Bloc as a threat, Bulgaria and Romania felt the same way. Besides this, three of Bulgaria's four neighbouring countries – Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia – were not in the Eastern Bloc and had had serious past conflicts with her. Therefore, the threat perception of Bulgaria was very high during the Cold War period. However, Bulgaria's threat perception of was not strengthened nor was it transformed into a conflict, except the 1989 events during which Bulgaria and Turkey experienced severe tension because of Jivkov's policy against the Turkish minority.[329]

From 1954 to 1968, after Stalin's death, the Soviet Union tried to establish good relations with Turkey by giving up all territorial demands and desires regarding the Straits. However, the Soviet Union re-gained its high threat perception when Turkey began to pursue foreign policies in compliance with Western Bloc politics. First of all, Turkey agreed to the establishment of NATO bases on her lands and became a member of the Baghdad Pact (1953-59), which aimed at decoupling the USSR from the Middle East and uniting Middle Eastern countries against the Soviet Union with Britain, Pakistan, Iraq and Iran. However, this initiative ended in dividing the Middle East into three groups: Baghdad Pact countries, opponent countries and neutral ones. One of the opponent countries, Egypt, especially after

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[329] That will be taken up below, pp. 120-121..

the Suez crisis, turned towards the Soviet Union. After that, Turkey announced that she would accept the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957.

The third event that triggered threat perception on both sides was the Syria crisis in 1957, when the socialists became more influential and signed an agreement with the Soviet Union. According to Armaoğlu, following this agreement, Turkey started to feel Soviet pressure from both her Northern and Southern neighbours.[330] It should not be forgotten that Turkey was surrounded by Eastern Bloc countries on her Northern, North-western and Eastern frontiers during the Cold War. Therefore, a socialist Syria would be last chain of containment of Turkey. During the crisis, the US supported Turkey, the USSR supported Syria and threatened Turkey and two countries came close to war, but the actors changed their strategies and preferred to pursue more conciliatory policies after February 1958.[331]

The fourth crisis emerged in 1958 with the Baas coup in Iraq. Turkey again became nervous and decided to intervene militarily into Iraq. However, the Soviet Union opposed this manoeuvre. This crisis also disappeared when both the US and the USSR stopped supporting opponents and Turkey could not intervene. After all these developments, the Soviet Union took on a more active role in the Middle East and Turkey approached the West more, decoupling from the Arab Middle Eastern countries.[332]

The fifth crisis was related to the Soviet-US strategic nuclear competition. Turkey was armed with Jupiter missiles and this transformed into a crisis because of Soviet opposition. After that, the U-2 incident in 1960 and the plane's taking off from Adana İncirlik airport increased the tension between two countries even more.

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[330] Armaoğlu, *op. cit.,* p. 616

[331] On 1 February 1958, Egypt and Syria decided to unite and they formed the United Arab Republic. After its formation, the USA decided to change her strategy not to incur Arab resentment. On 25 February, she recognized it, and Syrian crisis ended. Andrew Gavin Marshall, "Fighting the 'Rising Tide' of Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Syrian Crises", *The People's Book Project*, http://thepeoplesbookproject.com/tag/syrian-crisis/, (accessed on 01.04.2013).

[332] Armaoğlu, *op. cit.,* p. 623-24.

During this period, due to the effects of this chain of events, the Turkish-Soviet relationship was tense and their threat perception was very high because of bloc politics or events in other regions, rather than their relationship with each other or any matter in the Region. Moreover, these events were not directed at the order and properties of the regional structure of the BSR. Furthermore, after the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, recalling the Jupiter missiles from Turkey (1963) affected Turkey's policies and she started to loosen her pro-western policies and establish more friendly relations with the USSR. Therefore, during this time, the general situation was that the threat perception of both countries regarding each other was low at the regional level but high at the global level.

In the Eastern Bloc countries, including Bulgaria and especially Romania, threat perception increased with the Hungarian uprising and Soviet invasion in 1956. However, after the Sino-Soviet split, Romania again started to pursue relatively more independent policies from the Soviet Union. Romania opposed the economic and military integrative policies of the USSR. Romanian leadership visited France, did not directly oppose China and accepted a neutral position between China and the USSR. While opposing the existence of Soviet military personnel in other Eastern Bloc countries, Romania finally established diplomatic relations with West Germany in 1967. Although Romania started to halt her clearly opposing policies after the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the Brezhnev Doctrine in 1968, her threat perception increased tremendously. Romania's military doctrine, which was inaugurated after 1968 by Ceausescu and entitled "War of the Entire People," stated that "the clearest threat was a Soviet or Warsaw Pact intervention in Romania similar to what occurred in Czechoslovakia in 1968."[333] However, Romanian opposition against the USSR did not extend to withdrawing from the Eastern Bloc, so it cannot be defined as a split. Her policies with other Western countries did not provide them an opportunity for pursuing interfering policies towards the Eastern Bloc countries.

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[333] "Evolution of Military Doctrine", *Romania: A Country Study,* edited by Ronald D. Bachman, Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 1989, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-11291.html, (accessed on 26.04.2011).

During the period from 1969 to 1979, Détente, the relationship between the USSR and Turkey was affected by the general environment of détente in international relations. It should be noted that the US weapon embargo was also influential in Soviet-Turkish rapprochement. Erel Tellal asserted that at that time Turkey's relations with Bulgaria and Romania improved and due to the effects of these improvements in relations and developments within the framework of the Helsinki Document, the threat perception of countries in the Region lessened.[334] In 1978, Turkish leadership devised a National Defence and Foreign Policy doctrine which underlined the need to establish good relations with neighbour countries and changed Turkey's threat perception.[335] According to this doctrine, the real threat did not originate from countries on the northern side (the Soviet Union) but on the Western side (Greece) of Turkey.[336]

During the 2nd Cold War period, 1979-1985 and especially after 1980, cool relations between two actors in the Region re-emerged but this situation did not transform into a threat perception. The new government established after the 1980 coup started to pursue multi-dimensional polices and tried to establish good relations with the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries,[337] especially in economic terms.

After 1985, with Gorbachev's policy to initiate a restructuring of Soviet and Eastern European relations, the international system was faced with a second détente period and, according to Tellal, the Turkish- Soviet relationship was also softened.[338]

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[334] Tellal, *op.cit.,* p. 781.

[335] İlhan Uzgel, "Türkiye'de Yeni Ulusal Savunma Doktrini", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 674.

[336] *Ibid.*

[337] Armaoğlu, *op. cit.*, p. 991.

[338] Erel Tellal, "1980-1990 SSCB'yle İlişkiler" *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 165.

During the CFET negotiations, the USSR did not oppose the Turkish reservations concerning her South-Eastern region.[339] Within this framework, Turkey's threat perception became considerably less. However, Turkey perceived the harsh policies of Bulgaria against Turkish minority as a threat and these policies affected the Turkish- Soviet relationship negatively. These issues were short run and were not influential to extent that they led to any military conflict or change in the order and security situation of the Region.

During the Cold War period, Turkey's priority regarding the Black Sea Region was to preserve the status-quo, which had been shaped by the Mountreux Convention. Therefore, Stalin's demands created a very negative effect on her relations with the Soviet Union. After that, except for some crisis points that were caused by Eastern Bloc politics, Turkey's threat perception was reduced while Turkey-Soviet relations improved – especially after the Agreement concerning the delimitation of the continental shelf in the Black Sea in 1978 and the Black Sea FIR (Flight Information Region) agreement in 1988, which will be discussed in detail later.

The Soviet Union was focusing on preserving the status-quo and trying to hold the countries in her sphere of influence together; therefore, she did not perceive any threat from her southern side except for some crisis points. Bulgaria was a staunch ally of the Soviet Union and her foreign policy and threat perception was very similar to that of the Soviet Union. Romania was focusing on pursuing more autonomous policies within the Eastern Bloc rather than getting involved in developments in the Black Sea. Moreover, she had not faced a threat regarding Turkey, since they were not neighbours and had had no ethnic issues[340] or historical problems.

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[339] This issue will be taken up later, pp. 113-114.

[340] İlhan Uzgel, "Türkiye ve Balkanlar İstikrarın Sağlanmasında Türkiye'nin Rolü", *Günümüzde Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası*, edited by Barry Rubin and Kemal Kirişci, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, İstanbul: 2002, p. 103.

In sum, it can be concluded that threat perception of regional countries regarding issues in the Black Sea or threats originating from each other did not reach the extent that they forced the regional countries to increase their military expenditure.

3.3.4 Military Expenditures

A significant increase in military expenditure can clearly display an intensification of threat perception in a country towards a possible threat. Therefore, in this section, military expenditures of the Black Sea littoral states are to be displayed in tables and diagrams to show whether or not a significant increase in military expenditures occurred. An examination of these diagrams indicates that there was a significant increase in Turkey's military expenditures in the period from 1974 to 1977 and from 1979 to the end of the period, as shown in Figure 10: Military Expenditures of Turkey (1947-1991). However, during the first term, the threat perception of decision makers in Turkey originated from the Cyprus issue. During the second term, the arms embargo imposed by the US on Turkey ended in 1979, the same year the Iranian Revolution erupted and the US began to militarize Turkey. Since 1980, decision makers in Turkey have perceived threats from the terrorist organization in the South-eastern part of Turkish territory.

In the Soviet Union, there was a steady increase in military expenditure until 1985, and then clear cuts were seen in 1986, as shown in Figure 13: Military Expenditures of the Soviet Union (1947-1991). There was also a gradual increase in Romania's military expenditure except for the period from 1971 to 1980 (as shown in Figure 12: Military Expenditures of Romania (1947-1991), which may be related to her effort to establish Romanian national arms industry after the 1968 events and intra-Bloc rivalry. In Bulgaria, the same pattern was seen, as shown in Figure 11: Military Expenditures of Bulgaria (1947-1991). In the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, increases in military expenditure of states was not related to military concerns, originating from threats in the Black Sea Region, but that might be related to the inter-Bloc rivalry. It should be also noted that despite all military build-up efforts of

Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria, their military capability even could not be compared with that of the Soviet Union, which was also one of the most important guarantees of the existing status-quo in the Region.
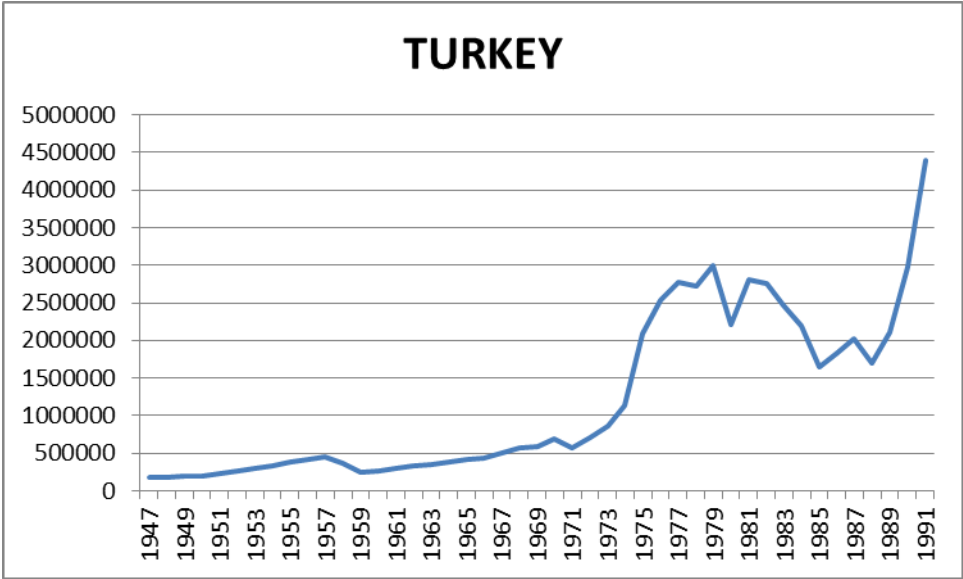
Figure 10: Military Expenditures of Turkey (1947-1991)
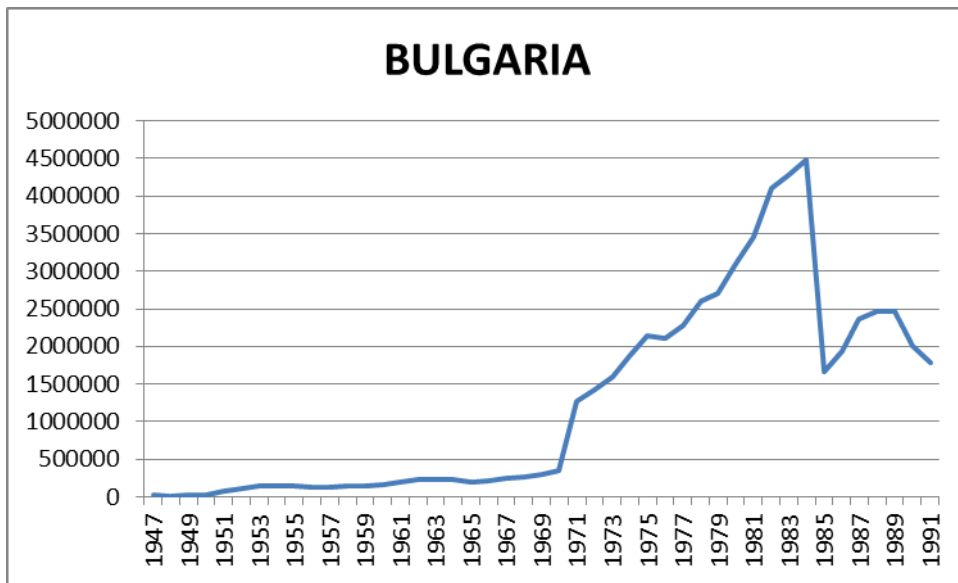
Figure 11: Military Expenditures of Bulgaria (1947-1991)
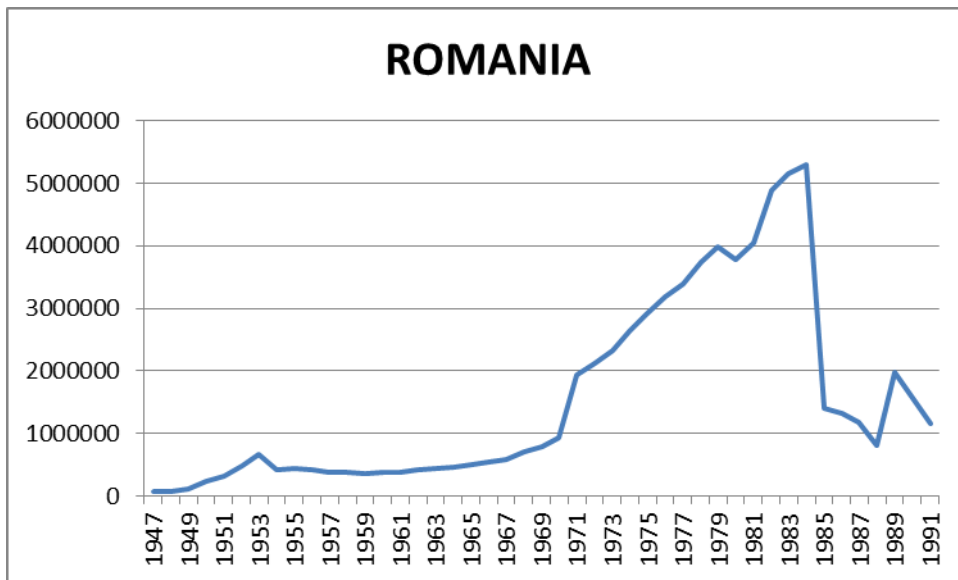
Figure 12: Military Expenditures of Romania (1947-1991)

Figure 13: Military Expenditures of the Soviet Union (1947-1991)

In sum, when it is looked to the number of military conflicts, there were no military conflicts among the Black Sea littoral states. Threat perceptions of the Black Sea actors were high but they did not perceive threat originating from themselves, but from inter-Bloc rivalries, except Romania. She perceived the Soviet Union as a threat against her autonomy, especially after 1968, but it did not transform into an important reaction to the extent that it could destroy the order, stability and security in the Region mostly because the anarchical hierarchic regional structure strictly limited foreign policy choices of Romania and Bulgaria. Significant increases in military expenditure were periodical; there were low level inter-bloc relations and interfering policies towards spheres of influence by Western Bloc countries were not intensive. Therefore, security in the Region based on the preservation of order was ensured and defended.

Indeed, preserving security was mostly caused by the regional structure which the Soviet Union attempted to establish and sustain in Eastern Europe. Romania and Yugoslavia challenged this anarchical hierarchic regional structure.

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Although their challenging polices led to some frictions within the Eastern Bloc, but they did not threaten the existence and safety of the system in the Region. Therefore, Turkey, although she was not in the Eastern Bloc, did not challenge the system the USSR had established in her northern neighbours. Moreover, she defended the order based on the Mountreux regime and did not allow any other regional or non-regional actor to threaten or change the system. Likewise, this system and security in the Black Sea was preserved during the Cold War years.

3.4   SECURITY SITUATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Regional security is not isolated from the security situation of the international system. Therefore, in this section, it is to be explored whether or not regional security was vulnerable to the security situation and threats in the international system and to what extent it was influential on regional security during the Cold War. To do so, it is necessary to first of all define the security situation of the international system. While the Neorealist theory assumes that the bipolar system during the Cold War was the most secure system; there were still serious sources of instability and insecurity. These were military conflicts in which the superpowers were involved or were one of the partners, interfering policies of great powers that aimed at countries in their spheres of influences and the effect of nuclear weapons. Besides these, threat perceptions of the Soviet Union and the United States towards each other were important factors behind in/security of the international system. However, it is accepted that threat perception would be very high during the Cold War. Therefore, in the following sections this item will not be addressed unless it was different (not high or lower than usual).

After defining the sources of this instability and insecurity in the international system, its effect is to be looked at within the widely accepted five periods of the Cold War (1948-1953 – Stalin Period, 1954-1968 – Transition Period from Crises to Détente, 1969-1979 – Détente, 1979-1985 – 2nd Cold War, 1985-1991 – Beginning

of the End Period) in order to compare it with the security situation in the Region and to find out its effect on the security in the Black Sea Region.

3.4.1.   Military Conflicts

During the Cold War, there occurred five wars in which the superpowers were involved or were one of the partners.

1)   The Korean War (1950-1953).

2)   The Hungarian uprising in 1956, during which the USA abstained from intervening in events or supporting Imre Nagy because Eisenhower and Dulles both accepted Hungary as a country in the Soviet sphere of influence.[341]

3)   The Vietnam War, from 1965 to 1975.

4)   The Second Phase of the Laotian War, from 1968 to 1973.

5)   The War of the Communist Coalition, which took place in 1970- 1971 between Vietnam and the coalition of the USA, South Vietnam and Cambodia.

3.4.2.   Challenges in Spheres of Influence

The most important contentions were arising between the two camps occurred because of developments in spheres of influence of the USSR and the USA. While Gaddis argues that the long Cold War stability was provided by obeying some leading rules, such as "Respect Spheres of Influence,"[342] he does not deny that there were defections inside one sphere of influence and some grey areas between the two spheres and he defined them as the regions where relations with a particular sphere of influence were left unclear.[343] He also notes that in some situations these

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[341] Dockrill and Hopkins, *op. cit.,* p. 68.

[342] Gaddis, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[343] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

defections in one sphere of influence or grey areas were exploited by the other side and led to serious problems between the two camps.[344]

During the Cold War, seven events of this kind took place: the Berlin Blockade (1948-1949), the Korean War (1950-1953) and the French-Indonesia Struggle (1951), the American operation in Guatemala in 1954 (the Soviet Union had sent weapons to anti-American units), the struggle between North and South Vietnam (1954-1959) (the Soviet Union helped the North Vietnam leaders), the transformation of the political regime in Cuba into Communism (1959) and establishment of close relations with the Soviet Union in 1960 resulting in Cuban Missile Crises (1962), developments on the Horn of Africa and the Ogaden War in 1977 (a confrontation between two partners who were supported by different great powers, from the 1950s to 1974, the USA has military facilities in Ethiopia and the Soviets supported Eritrea, attempting independence from the former. This event ended with Ethiopia regaining all of its invaded areas.)

3.4.3.   Effect of Nuclear Weapons

During WW II years, the USA had developed the atomic bomb. Soon after, in 1949, the Soviet Union managed to produce an atomic bomb and the USA lost its monopoly over nuclear weapons. Under these conditions, Truman ordered his staff to work on the development of the hydrogen bombs. During the Korean War, the leaders of the US and the USSR considered using nuclear weapons, and this led to increased tensions. However during the first years of the Cold War (1948-1953), both Stalin and Truman hesitated to use atomic bombs and were concerned about their possible devastating results and chain-gang effects of little wars. They could face another world war with these powerful weapons and this might lead to annihilation.

In 1953, the Soviet Union tested a hydrogen bomb and in 1957 launched an Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile before the USA was able to do so. In 1957, the

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[344] *Ibid.*

USSR launched the world's first man-made space satellite, Sputnik I while the US was still experimenting on a pro-type. Following these developments, Eisenhower and NATO adopted the Massive Retaliation Strategy in 1954 and Eisenhower decided to deploy Jupiter missiles in some NATO member countries. Only Italy, the Great Britain and Turkey accepted this. Turkey and the US signed an agreement concerning the deployment of these missiles in 1959. Accordingly, the US started to deploy 15 Jupiter missiles in 1960 and these became ready for use in 1962.[345] According to Çağrı Erhan, these missiles would be the basic reason behind one of the most important crises during the Cold War – the Cuban Missile Crisis.[346] This crisis (1962-1963) signified the peak point of nuclear crises and the USSR and the USA faced a nuclear war. To prevent this, they agreed in October 1963 on the withdrawal of the Jupiter missiles from Turkey in exchange for the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba.[347] This missile crisis was the only development that had a capacity to affect regional security in the Black Sea Region. Turkey was armed with Jupiter missile and it was important because it changed the power balance or status-quo in this Region. The Soviet Union, however, as a defender of the balance of power and status-quo, played a crucial role to revert to the prior situation.

The Cuban Missile Crisis then led to more positive results such as the establishment of a telephone hotline between the two superpowers leaders; the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (in July 1963) and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (in 1968); the emergence of the concept of the Mutual Assured Destruction in 1960s, which foresaw a flexible response instead of massive retaliation.

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[345] Çağrı Erhan, "1945-1960 ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler," *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt I, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 572-573.

[346] *Ibid*., p. 573.

[347] Çağrı Erhan, "1960- 1980 ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt I, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 681.

The USA and the USSR signed important agreements during the Detente period (1969-1979). In 1972, SALT I was signed on strategic nuclear; the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in 1972 and at the same summit, the Joint Declaration on Basic Principles (on a consultation mechanism between the two leaders in order to prevent escalation of tension before military confrontation) were signed. Negotiations on the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction and SALT II were held even though they ended in failure.

After the signing of SALT I, negotiations for further arms limitations continued because of points lacking in the previous agreement. At the end of the talks, the Final Treaty was signed in 1979 at the Brezhnev-Carter summit.[348] The Soviet Union ratified the treaty soon after the Summit.[349] However, in the US, SALT II was not ratified because of the developments in Afghanistan and Iran in 1979. When Reagan came to office, a radical shift started. He increased US military expenditures, aiming at the development of more technological weapons,[350] instead of focusing on military weapon reduction. This increased Soviet threat perception and talks on the Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty - START (began in June 1982) and the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (began in 1981) halted in July 1982. Moreover, Reagan announced the start of the Strategic Defence Initiative programme in 1983. Due to the effects of other tensions, the USSR quit the INF and START talks. The end of the talks on arms limitation and the policies of the US in the opposite direction endured until 1987, when the US and Soviet leaders agreed and signed the INF Treaty (1987), which foresaw the "destruction of all ground launch nuclear missiles with a range of 500-5500 km in Europe and Asia."[351] The Soviet Union itself cut her military expenditures and even reduced her conventional forces. NATO

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[348] Dockrill and Hopkins, *op. cit.,*, p. 131.

[349] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[350] *Ibid.*, p. 136-37.

[351] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

and the Warsaw Pact members also agreed to accept a common ceiling for military forces in 1989.[352]

3.4.4.   Threat Perception

As it was noted above, it is accepted that threat perception was very high in the Soviet Union and the US, and accordingly in the Eastern and Western Blocs. The only exception to this situation was the detente period, which began with the inauguration of Ostpolitik (1969) in Europe. Willy Brandt sought better relations with Germany's eastern neighbours and intensified efforts for détente. Firstly, he signed the NPT in 1969 and the West Germany-USSR Non-aggression Pact in August 1970. Then, Germany signed a frontier agreement with Poland in December 1970, the Berlin agreement in 1971[353] and the Treaty on Bases of Relations between East and West Germany in 1972 (by which they recognized each other).[354] These chains of agreements and the resolution of some of the main problems brought about détente in East-West relations and the threat perception of international actors was reduced.

The Soviet-American Trade Agreement was signed in 1972. The agreements on nuclear weapons, noted above, also contributed to the relaxation of relations between East and West. The last link in the chain of détente was the Helsinki Summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in August 1975.[355] According to William Tompson, with that, post-war frontiers and the inadmissibility of attempts to revise were accepted and it was major achievement for Brezhnev.[356]

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[352] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[353] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[354] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[355] With this third basket of the Final Helsinki document on human rights, all the Eastern European countries faced democratization movements and independent activism, except Bulgaria, Romania and Eastern Germany. Daniel Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect International Norms, Human Rights and the Demise of Communism,* Princeton University Press, Princeton; 2001, p. 186.

[356] William Tompson, *Soviet Union under Brezhnev,* Pearson, London: 2003, p. 48-49.

Even though its follow-up meetings ended in deadlock, this Summit was a high point in the relaxation of relations and in Europe, threat perception of two blocs reduced.

However, after this detente period, threat perceptions of the Soviet Union and the United States regarding each other again reached a high point because of events such as tensions over Poland (1981), flight KAL (Korean Airlines) incident (1983),[357] the inauguration of Star Wars (1983), NATO deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe (1979),[358] Soviet deployment of SS-20 missiles (1976-1988) and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979). This situation endured till 1985, when Gorbachev came to power. Gorbachev agreed to remove the Soviet troops from Afghanistan and completed this in 1989.[359] He also decided to withdraw Soviet troops from all less developed countries.

In 1990, the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (arms reduction treaty) was signed by twenty two nations, including the Soviet Union, the US, Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania. The Convention covered an area, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains.[360] Turkey's Southeast was not included because her south-eastern neighbours were not partners of the Treaty.[361] With this area defined in this treaty, aggregate numbers of five categories of conventional armed forces (Battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, artillery, combat aircraft and combat helicopters) were decided on.[362] Within the area of application, each State Party would limit, if necessary reduce these five items within the 40 months after ratifying the Treaty. The

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[357] Dockrill and Hopkins, *op. cit.,* p. 139.

[358] *Ibid.*, p. 139-40.

[359] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[360] "Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe", p. 3. http://www.osce.org/library/14087, (accessed on 19.01.2012).

[361] "In the case of the Republic of Turkey, the area of application includes the territory of the Republic of Turkey north and west of a line extending from the point of intersection of the Turkish border with the 39th parallel to Muradiye, Patnos, Karayazi, Tekman, Kemaliye, Feke, Ceyhan, Dogankent, Gözne and thence to the Sea." *Ibid.*

[362] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

aggregate numbers were not to exceed 20,000 battle tanks, 30,000 armoured combat vehicles, 20,000 pieces of artillery, 6,800 combat aircraft and 2,000 attack helicopters.[363] The quantities of these items were also re-organized according to country. For Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria, these limitations were 4,700 battle tanks, 5,900 armoured combat vehicles and 6,000 pieces of artillery,[364] while for the Soviet Union (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics west of the Ural Mountains, comprising the Baltic, Byelorussian, Carpathian, Kiev, Moscow and Volga-Ural military districts) 15,300 battle tanks, 24,100 armoured combat vehicles and 14,000 pieces of artillery.[365] However some parts of the Soviet Union (part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics comprising the Leningrad, Odessa, Transcaucasus and North Caucasus Military Districts) were counted as in the flank Region and were subject to same limitations for Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania.[366] An inspection mechanism for ensuring compliance to the Treaty was formed.[367]

Gorbachev ended Soviet support to the Cubans in Angola (1988) and Nicaragua (1989) and the Vietnamese in Cambodia (1989). He also solved the Sino-Soviet tension (1989) and announced the withdrawal of Soviet troops (1989).[368] The Soviet Union adjusted her relations with the Soviet client states (during 1989 events, "Gorbachev made it clear that he would not apply the Brezhnev Doctrine."[369]); accepted German unification and its NATO membership (1990).[370] Thus, East-West

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[363] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

[364] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[365] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[366] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[367] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

[368] Dockrill and Hopkins, *op. cit.,* pp. 150-51.

[369] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[370] *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

tension and threat perception was greatly reduced. Finally, the Soviet Union collapsed, being transformed into the CIS in 1991, thus the Cold War ended.

When the security situation of the international system is looked at in terms of the five periods, as was seen in Table 6, in three periods (1948-1953, 1954-1968 and 1979-1985) sources of insecurity and instability were various while in one period (1985-1991) they were nearly disappearing. During the period from 1969 to 1979, the effect of nuclear weapons was turned into a 'positive' because the NPT, SALT I and the ABM Treaty and the Joint Declaration on Basic Principles were signed and thus the threat perception of the two superpowers was reduced. On the other hand, during this period three wars took place and the Soviet Union continued to supply weapons to foes of the US in these wars.

The security situation of the international system was affected by these sources of instability and insecurity differently in these five periods. However, the security situation in the Region remained secure during the Cold War years, as pointed out above. Therefore, it can be stated that regional security was not vulnerable to the security situation in the international system since the Soviet Union and Turkey exerted great effort to maintain the status-quo.

The only exception, as noted above, was the Cuban and Turkey missile crisis in 1962-1963, when Turkey, the USA and the Soviet Union came to brink of military confrontation, but then a compromise was reached due to mutual efforts. Here it is worth noting that, as a superpower in the Region, the Soviet Union did not allow any change in the balance of power and kept status-quo by preventing any expansion of international tension into the Black Sea Region.

Table 6: Sources of Insecurity and Instability (1948-1991)

Terms	Interfering policies towards countries in the spheres of influence of the two superpowers	Military Conflicts	Threat perception of superpowers	Effect of nuclear weapons
1948-1953	Greek civil war, the Berlin Blockade, the Korean War, the French-Indonesia struggle	the Korean War	High	No agreement
1954-1968	American operation in Guatemala; the struggle between North and South Vietnam, the Cuban crisis	Hungarian Uprising, Vietnam, Phase II of the Laotian War	High	The Limited Test Ban Treaty and the NPT
1969-1979	Soviet supply of weapons to the North Vietnam	Vietnam, Phase II of the Laotian War of the Communist Coalition	Reduced-under the effect of the détente period	The NPT, SALT I, the ABM Treaty and the Joint Declaration on Basic Principles
1979-1985	Horn of Africa and the Ogaden War	None	High	Negotiations halted due to the events in Afghanistan, Iran and the initiation of the SDI
1986-1991	None	The Gulf War but the USSR and the US were partners	Low, the CFET	The INF agreement

3.5 ROLE AND POSITION OF TURKEY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION (1948-1991)

The role of Turkey during the Cold War should be examined in three parts in order to display her pro-status-quo foreign policy and her contribution to the enhancement of security in the Black Sea Region: her relations with the Soviet Union, her relations with Romania and Bulgaria, as these states were littoral states of the Black Sea Region and her position vis-à-vis the USA and the effects of their relationship.

At the end of WWII, Soviet-Turkish relations were shaped by the Soviet demands regarding the revision of the Mountreux Convention and territorial claims as noted in previous section.[371] Due to various reasons, such as Turkish strict resistance and the so-called Western support, the Soviet Union changed her policy and gave up her demands. According to Tellal, with this policy, the Soviet Union almost destroyed bilateral relations.[372] Because of Soviet demands, Turkish policymakers preferred to align with the Western Bloc within the bipolar international system, creating a discourse of "Soviet threat", which overlapped the containment policy of the USA.[373] This process began with the announcement of the Truman Doctrine (1947) and the Marshal Plan (1948) and was completed in 1952 with Turkey's NATO membership.

After the end of the Stalin period in the Soviet Union, Khrushchev wanted to establish good relations with neighbours of the USSR and announced that they would totally give up their demands for the Turkish Straits and territory. However, relations did not improve because of Turkey's pro-Western policies such as allowing American bases in her land and taking part in joint exercises (1947-49), her role in establishing the Balkan Pact (1953) and the Baghdad Pact (1955), the Syria Crisis

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[371] Security Situation in the Black Sea Region

[372] Tellal, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

[373] Mustafa Türkeş, "NATO Bağlamında ABD-Türkiye İlişkililerinde Devamlılık ve Değişim", *Türk Dış Politikasının Analizi*, edited by Faruk Sönmezoğlu, Der Yayınevi, İstanbul: 2004, p. 382-383.

(1952) and Iraqi crisis (1958) and Jupiter missiles (1959-1963) and the U-2 issues (1960) (explored in the previous section) while economic relations increased considerably.

During the period from 1960 to 1980, according to Baskın Oran, Turkish policy makers decided to make a change their firm pro-American line on account of the Cyprus issue, Johnson's letter of 1964 and a more proper international environment (for pursuing an autonomous foreign policy).[374] The US arms embargo against Turkey from 1975 to 1978 intensified this process. According to Aydın, "The Cyprus question stands out as being the most significant factor in bringing about the reappraisal and diversification efforts of Turkish foreign policy [from 1960 to 1980]."[375] During the Cyprus issue, leaders in Cyprus (the Greek Cypriot Administration) tried to establish relations with the Soviet Union. On this occasion, Turkey's minister of foreign affairs visited Moscow and persuaded Soviet leadership not to provide military equipment to the Makarios administration.[376]

During the detente period, the Soviet-Turkish relations began to intensify while American-Turkish relations deteriorated because of the arms embargo. In the 15 year period following the Minister of Foreign Affairs Feridun Cemal Erkin's visit in 1964, 14 high level visits[377] took place between Turkey and the Soviet Union.[378] During the same period, important agreements and documents were signed: the

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[374] According to Oran, from 1960 to 1980, the Western countries were dealing with the oil crisis, the non-aligned movement was founded in 1961, and detente in Europe formed a more positive international environment for Turkey to pursue more autonomous foreign policy. Baskın Oran, "1960-1980 Dönemin Bilançosu", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt I, İletişim Yayınlar, İstanbul: 2001, p. 677.

[375] Mustafa Aydın, "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjunctures during the Cold War", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2000, p. 115.

[376] Erel Tellal, "1960-1980 SSCB'yle İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt I, İletişim Yayınlar, İstanbul: 2001, p. 776.

[377] January 1965, May 1965, August 1965, December 1966, March 1967, September 1967, July 1968, November 1969, April 1972, December 1972, December 1975, in April 1976, March 1977 and June 1978

[378] *Ibid.*, pp. 776-783.

Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement in March 1967, the Declaration of Principle of Good Neighbourhood in 1972, the second Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement in 1975, the establishment of the Inter-governmental Joint Commission in 1976, the 1978 Agreement between the Republic of Turkey and the USSR concerning the delimitation of the continental shelf in the Black Sea and the Economic Agreement for supplying aids and credit to Turkey in 1979.[379]

During this period, economic and political relations significantly improved; however, there occurred four developments that affected relations negatively: the 1968 Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, Turkey's intervention in Cyprus in 1974 (the Soviet Union did not support the second intervention), the re-opening of American bases in Turkey and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 (which Turkey strictly condemned since this invasion forced Turkey to accept thousands of refugees.)[380]

In 1984, Turkey and the Soviet Union signed the Natural Gas agreement which was, according to Tellal, a turning point in their relations because this agreement provided new opportunities in trade and contractor services.[381] In the same year, Turkey and the Soviet Union agreed on a ten year Long Term Program for Promoting Economic Commercial Scientific and Technical Cooperation; the Agreement for Exchange of Goods for the period from 1986 to 1990 and the Cultural and Scientific Exchange Program.[382] In 1988, they solved the 20 year problem by identifying the Black Sea FIR (Flight Information Region) line and the Soviet Union ripped the SS-20 missiles in accordance with the INF agreement[383]. The last

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[379] *Ibid.*, pp. 778-783.

[380] *Ibid.,* p. 781.

[381] Erel Tellal, "1980- 1990 SSCB'yle İlişkiler" *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, pp. 163-64.

[382] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[383] *Ibid.*

agreement that Turkey and the Soviet Union signed was the Treaty on Friendship, Good Neighbourhood and Cooperation in March 1991.[384]

During the Cold War, Turkey pursued pro-status-quo policies and supported stability and cooperation in the Balkans. As a staunch ally of the US at the beginning of the Cold War, she became member of the Balkan Pact in 1953 and signed the Treaty on Cooperation and Friendship with Greece and Yugoslavia in 1954. While Turkey developed her relations with Greece and Yugoslavia, during the same period Bulgaria forced its Turkish minority to immigrate to Turkey in 1951.[385]

From 1960s, Turkey tried to pursue a multi-dimensional foreign policy and to improve her relations with the Balkan countries, except Greece.[386] In 1978, the Bülent Ecevit government devised a new "National Security and Foreign Policy" doctrine,[387] according to which having good relations with all neighbours was prioritised in order to reduce military expenditures but at the same time enhance security.[388]

The real crisis and threat that Turkey faced in this Region was the name-changing campaign in Bulgaria (from 1984 to 1989). During that time, Bulgarian authorities argued that the Turks had, in fact, been Slav-Bulgarians who were forcibly converted to Islam during the Ottoman Empire.[389] During the campaign, people who insisted on speaking Turkish were punished, newspapers and publications in Turkish were banned and the cemeteries in Turkish villages were

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[384] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[385] İhan Uzgel, "1980-1990 Balkanlar'la İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 172.

[386] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

[387] Uzgel, *op. cit. Türkiye'nin Yeni Ulusal Savunma Doktrini*, p. 674.

[388] Uzgel, *op. cit. 1980- 1990 Balkanlar'la İlişkiler*, p. 175.

[389] Birgül Demirtaş Çoşkun, "Turkish-Bulgarian Relations in the Post-Cold War Era: The Exemplary Relationship in the Balkans", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, Vol. 32, 2001, p. 27.

destroyed.[390] Demonstrators were imprisoned or sent to labour camps.[391] To deal with the issue, Turkey offered to sign an emigration agreement with Bulgaria, but they refused it. At the same time, she tried to internationalize the problem and attract other countries' interest in this problem. Neither Turkey's pressure nor isolation nor the possibility of losing the work force in agriculture sector[392] changed these policies till the end of the Jivkov regime in 1989. Meanwhile, 350,000 people were deported from Bulgaria,[393] later on 154,000 of them returned back. During this period, according to Türkeş, Turkey did not use this crisis to destabilize Bulgaria; instead she prevented its escalation which might lead to a regional destabilization.[394] Additionally, Turkey underlined that she was not interested in territorial revision and pursued cautious policies in order to keep the balance established during and after the Lausanne Treaty of 1923.[395]

In the Black Sea Region, Turkey was the only country from the Western Bloc. During the Cold War period, it should be noted that Turkey had an anarchical hierarchic relation with the US similar to the one between the US and the states in her sphere of influence. As expressed in the previous chapter, to define this kind of anarchical hierarchic relation, there is a set of indicators in the economic, political and security sectors which are displayed in Table 7.

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[390] Uzgel, *op. cit. 1980-1990 Balkanlar'la İlişkilier*, p. 179.

[391] Demirtaş Çoşkun, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

[392] Armaoğlu, *op. cit.*, p. 1152.

[393] Demirtaş Coşkun, *op. cit.,* p. 28.

[394] Mustafa Türkeş, "Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Balkans: Quest for Enduring Stability and Security", *Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post- Cold War Era,* edited by İdris Bal, Brown Walker Press, Florida: 2004, p. 199.

[395] *Ibid.*

Table 7: Indicators to Define Ordering Principle (1948-1991)

MILITARY INTERVENTION	
Deployment of Military Forces	NATO military bases, military personnel and Jupiter missiles (1959-1963)
Number of Independent Allies	Western Bloc countries
Security Alliances	NATO member till 1952
Bilateral Military Cooperation, Bilateral Military Agreements	Nine military agreements under NATO; 18 agreements with the USA on security.[396]
Military Aid	Appendix A: U.S. Economic and Military Aid During the Cold War
Arms Sale	Leading military equipment supplier
ECONOMIC INTERVENTION	
Trade Dependence	The leading trade partners: USA, GFR, Italy
Economic Sanctions	Ban on of opium poppies (1971-73)[397]
Customs Union or Common External Tariffs	1963 Ankara Agreement, 1973 Additional Protocols and Economic Protocol with EEC
Punishment in case of disobedience	1975-8 arms embargo[398]
Foreign Direct Investment	France, USA, UK, Switzerland[399]
Economic Aid	USA – Appendix A. EEC – 175 m ECU (1963-1973), 242 m. ECU (1973-1976), 385 m. ECU (1977-1981) [400]
FORM OF ORDERING PRINCIPLE	Near to Tight Anarchical Hierarchy

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[396] USA - Turkey Bilateral Treaties on Defence and Security, Appendix F.

[397] From 1971 to 1973, the Turkish government was forced to stop opium poppy production under the pressure of the US administration and Nihat Erim implemented a complete ban on the production of opium, which had been an important source of legitimate income for many farmers since the Ecevit government had revoked the ban in 1974. William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy since 1774,* 3rd Edition, Routledge, London and New York: 2013, p. 111.

[398] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

[399] Foreign Direct Investment in Turkey- Geographical Breakdown (1980-1991), Appendix G.

[400] Soysal, *op. cit.,* 1983, pp. 548-49.

Military Intervention

After Turkey's entry into NATO, according to William Hale, three quarters of Turkey's land forces were reserved for NATO's Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces Southern Europe and air and naval forces were assigned for the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.[401]

Various NATO bases were constructed: İncirlik Base, İzmir Air Station, the Şile Air Base, the Konya 3rd Main Jet Base Group Command, the Ninth Main Jet Base of the Balıkesir Air Base, the Merzifon Air Base, the Bartın Air Base, the Pirinçlik Air Base (Diyarbakır), the Eskişehir Air Base, the İskenderun Naval Base, the Bandırma Airport , the Afyonkarahisar Air Base, the Sarkışla Air Base in Sivas, Bornova Air Base in İzmir, the Lüleburgaz Air Base in Kırklareli, the Çorlu Air Base in Tekirdağ, Pazar Air Base in Rize, the Erzurum Air Base, the Perşembe Air Base in Ordu, the İzmit Air Base in Kocaeli, the Kütahya Air Base, the Çanakkale Air Base, Combined Air Operations Center-6 (CAOC-6) in Eskişehir, the Air Component Command Headquarters in İzmir and Rapid Deployable Corps-Turkey in İstanbul.[402] There were different numbers of US military personnel in Turkey from 1950 to 1991, which can be seen in Appendix E: The Active Duty US Military Personnel in Turkey 1950 to 1991.

During the Cold War, Turkey received military assistance from the USA (Appendix A: US Economic and Military Aid 1946-1991). As noted in the previous section, during the Cold War, the USA was the leading military equipment supplier to Turkey. Turkey was a staunch ally of the USA and a NATO member; even her disengagement during the 1970s after the US arms embargo (1975-1978) did not divert Turkey's western orientation. Turkey signed nine military agreements from 1951 to 1980 within the framework of NATO membership, including the Status of

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[401] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[402] "NATO's Eastern Anchor 24 NATO Bases in Turkey", *Global Research*, 14 February 2011, http://www.globalresearch.ca/nato-s-eastern-anchor-24-nato-bases-in-turkey/23205, (accessed on 06.05.2013).

Forces Agreement (1952), Military Bases (1954), Agreement for Cooperation on Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defence Purposes (1959) and Agreement Relating to the Introduction of Modern Weapons into NATO Defence Forces in Turkey (1959).[403] She also signed 73 bilateral treaties on a wide range of areas from education to agriculture from 1947 to 1990,[404] including the Defence Cooperation Agreement in 1969,[405] the Agreement relating to a Weapons Production Program in 1960[406] and the Defence and Economic Cooperation Agreement in 1976,[407] in 1980 and in 1988.[408]

Economic Intervention and Cooperation

While the US gave economic assistance to Turkey, it also supported a certain type of development. The procedure of allocating Marshall Aid to European countries was that the European countries first submitted an economic development plan to the Committee for European Economic Co-operation and requested the money they needed. Aid was given after the US government approved that development plan. In 1948, the US government rejected the Turkish Plan because of its statist character.[409] The US economic adviser would then propose development strategies based on private enterprise, agricultural development, infrastructure

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[403] İsmail Soysal, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Siyasal Bağıtları (1945-1990)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 2000, p. vii.

[404] "US Treaties in Force", http://turkey.usembassy.gov/treaty_websites.html, (accessed on 26.03.2013).

[405] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[406] "US Treaties in Force", http://turkey.usembassy.gov/treaty_websites.html, (accessed on 26.03.2013).

[407] Erhan, *op. cit. "1960-1980 ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler"*, p. 708.

[408] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and 121.

[409] Feridun Cemil Özcan, "US Aid and Turkish Macroeconomic Policy: A Narration of the Aid Bargain Process in the 1946-1958 Period", *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations,* Vol. 34, 2003, p. 122-23.

investments and foreign capital.[410] To receive financial aid, Turkey signed the Economic Co-operation Agreement with the US and the ECA (Economic Cooperation Authority) Mission was opened in Turkey with Russell H. Dorr as chief advisor.[411] Whenever the Turkish government failed to follow the proposed development program, the US did not hesitate to refuse further extension of their loans to Turkey.[412] Turkey became a member of the IMF in March 1947 and signed her first agreement with the IMF in 1958, including a de facto devaluation, consecutive stand-by agreements in every year from 1961 to 1970; from 1978 to 1980 and in 1983 and accepted further devaluations according to suggestions by the IMF in 1960 and 1970 as well as nine consecutive devaluations from 1975 to 1977, 1978 and 1980.[413]

Regarding the economic sector, relations between the European communities and Turkey have been more important. On 12 September 1963, Turkey signed the "Agreement Creating an Association between the Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community,"[414] also known as the Ankara Agreement. It sought to integrate Turkey into a customs union with the EEC whilst acknowledging the final goal of membership.[415] In the first stage of this cooperation agreement, Turkey had no responsibilities but the ECC would extend preferential trading conditions and economic aid.[416] After this preliminary stage (1964-1973), the transition period began with an additional Protocol in January 1973, according to which both sides

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[410] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[411] "The Economic Cooperation Authority", http://www.marshallfoundation.org/library/doc_eca.html, (accessed on 08.04.2013)

[412] Özcan, *op. cit.*, p. 125 and 127.

[413] İbrahim Turhan and Lokman Gündüz, *Türkiye- IMF İlişkilerinin Kronolojisi*, MÜSIAD, İstanbul: 2003, pp. 3-13.

[414] Soysal, *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 547.

[415] *Ibid.*, p. 548.

[416] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

would eliminate tariffs and other barriers to trade.[417] Turkey would eliminate all tariffs and barriers to European trade during the next 12 years or at most a 22 year period and would have a customs union by 1996.[418] Indeed, at that time, Turkey pursued incompatible internal and external economic policies: an import substituting industrialization strategy and economic integration with the EC.[419] Moreover, Turkey had frozen Turkish obligations in 1978 and the ECC had suspended relations after the 1980 coup.[420] This process, however, would complete in March 1995; the Customs Union Agreement and the Customs Union between Turkey and the EU would go into effect on 1 January 1996.

As can be seen from all these data, the position of Turkey vis-à-vis the US was not very different from the relations between the Soviet Union and her ally states-Bulgaria and Romania. The USA and Turkey had a near to tight anarchical hierarchic relation during the Cold War years. However, this did not lead to any re-formation of the ordering principle in the regional structure of the Black Sea Region. Under US tutelage, Turkey pursued policies in compliance with Western Bloc politics and became a member of American-initiated regional organizations. Turkey could not refrain from opposing the Soviet Union in global terms within the framework of Bloc politics and the effect of her anarchic hierarchic relations with the USA; however, she managed to keep the Region free from tension by not challenging the Soviet sphere in the Region or Soviet policies towards the regional countries. Indeed, Turkey refrained because the interference of extra-regional actors in regional politics might destroy the existing status-quo. It was the main factor that led Turkey to cooperate with the USSR in the Region, where the Soviet Union and

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[417] *Ibid.*

[418] Soysal, *op. cit.*, 2000, p. 549.

[419] Sevilay Elgün Kahraman, "Rethinking Turkey-European Union Relations in Light of Enlargement", *Turkish Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 2000, p. 3.

[420] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 129-130.

Turkey were in the "lion" position, which Schweller defines as the pro-status-quo power and security maximizers who pursue defensive policies when facing threats.[421]

As seen in the survey of Turkish relations with the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Romania, interests of these regional countries were conflicting and they faced severe tension from time to time however Turkey always respected the territorial integrity of these countries and did not try to use the Turkish minority in Bulgaria or Greece and Turkic people in Caucasus as leverage for getting involved in the internal affairs of these countries. No effort was made to pursue revisionist policies or change the structure, which was also in harmony with Western Bloc policies because during that period the Western countries and the US challenged the supremacy of the Soviet Union and the expansion of the Communist ideology in many regions from the Middle East to the Far East, except the Eastern European countries which were accepted as the countries in the Soviet sphere of influence.

3.6   REGIONAL STRUCTURE AND ITS EFFECT ON MAINTAINING REGIONAL SECURITY

The regional structure is composed of two components: the distribution of capabilities and the ordering principle that the Neorealist theory assumes for international structure. In this period, one of the superpowers of the international system was located in the Region but there was no unipolar regional system because Turkey was there as a NATO member country and an ally of the USA. However, there was great power disparity among the regional powers during the Cold War which was displayed in the Figure 15.

The ordering principle needs to be defined in detail. During the Cold War, the Ukrainian SSR and the Georgian SSR were Soviet Republics and there was a clear hierarchical relationship between the USSR and these republics. Bulgaria and Romania had been independent countries but their relationship with the Soviet Union was complex; however, it may be stated that the Soviet control and intervention in

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[421] Schweller, *op. cit. Bandwagoning for Profit*, pp. 100-101.

the domestic politics of these countries led to the formation of an anarchical hierarchic relations and thus it is worth of explaining a new type of ordering principle between the USSR, Bulgaria and Romania.
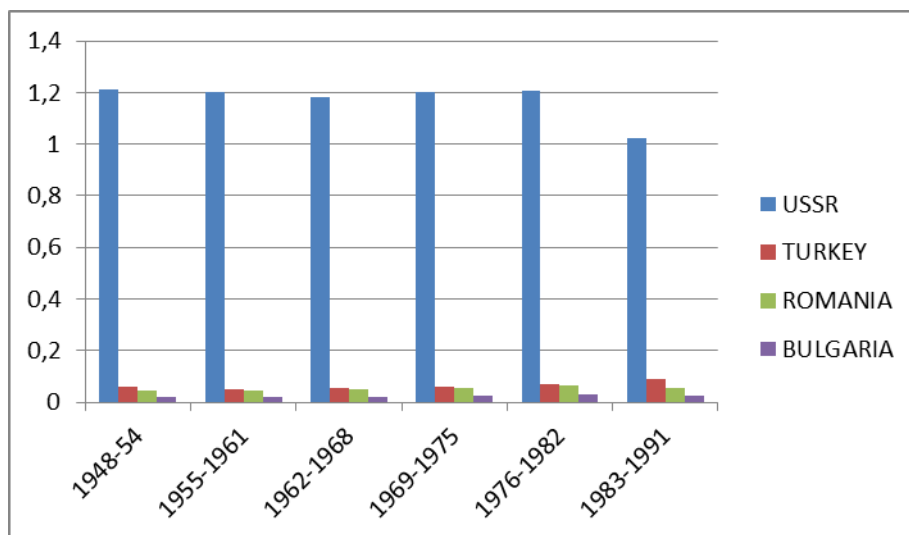
Figure 15: National Material Capabilities of the USSR, Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria 1948-1991[422]

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[422] Singer, Bremer and Stuckey, *op. cit.*
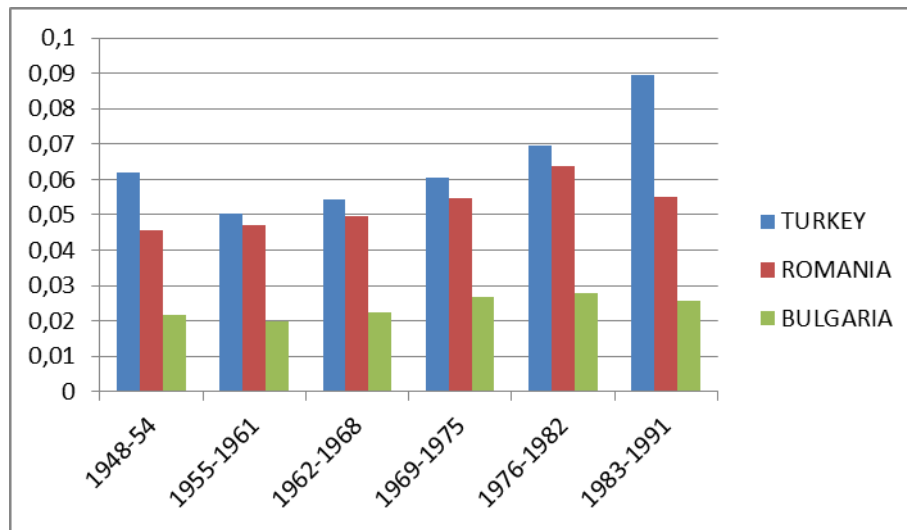
Figure 16: National Material Capabilities of Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria 1948-1991[423]

This new ordering principle is to be defined by exploring Soviet military, economic and political interventions primarily in Bulgaria and Romania and, when necessary, in the other Eastern Bloc countries. All these be taken up in the four sub-periods: 1948-1953 (Stalin period), 1954-1968 (Transition period from crises to détente), 1969-1985 (détente and 2nd Cold War), and 1985-1991 (Beginning of the End period).

3.6.1   1948-1953 Stalin Period

In this section, the military, political and economic interventions of the Soviet Union in Bulgaria and Romania are to be looked into in order to find out whether or not the ordering principle was tight anarchical hierarchy. Table 9-Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure (1948-1953) reflects all of these interventions.

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[423] *Ibid.*

Military Presence and Intervention in Romania and Bulgaria:

The Soviet Union maintained its armed forces in Romania from 1944 to 1958 – the Paris Peace Treaty being the legal basis for this. While there were no Soviet troops in Bulgaria after 1948, they had been there from 1944 to 1947.

During this sub-period, there had been no disobedience in Romania and Bulgaria, but this was not the case for Yugoslavia. Although Yugoslavia could also be considered a part of the Eastern Bloc, friction occurred because of Tito's opposition to Stalin's position in the Cominform and thus Yugoslavia was expelled. Therefore, Yugoslavia cannot be considered as having anarchical hierarchic relations with the USSR; quite the contrary, relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR were based on anarchical relations.

In 1949, the Soviet Union had signed twenty-year bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with Bulgaria and Romania. As pointed out by Glenn E. Curtis, these treaties "prohibited the Eastern European countries from entering into relations with hostile [countries to] the Soviet Union, officially made these countries as Soviet allies"[424] and legitimized Soviet military presence in those countries. After the establishment of Communist Party governments in the Eastern European countries, the armies of these countries adopted an education program which was indeed a Soviet-style indoctrination programme aimed at increasing Communist Party membership among military officers and building a loyal military leadership cadre.[425] Besides this, each Eastern European ministry of defence established a political department by copying the Soviet model of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy.[426] East European military officers were assigned to duties at all levels of East European

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[424] "The Warsaw Pact", *Czechoslovakia: A Country Study*, edited by Glenn E. Curtis, Federal Division of the Library of Congress, Washington DC: 1992, www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/WarPact.html, (accessed on 04.03.2011).

[425] *Ibid.*

[426] *Ibid.*

national command structures and were accepted to Soviet mid-career military institutions.[427] During the Stalin period, Soviet control over East European military was widespread. Mark Kreamer also verified the existence of this situation, by commenting that "the East European armed forces were little more than an extension of the Soviet armed forces"[428] and referring to the assignment of Soviet advisers who were responsible directly to the Soviet High Command and the senior officers who had spent years in the Soviet Union in the Red Army before returning to their own country.

Economic Intervention in Romania and Bulgaria

While it is difficult to reach trade data, nearly 90% of Romania's trade was made with the COMECON countries during the post-war period up to 1959.[429] The Soviet Union was the most important trading partner of Romania and Bulgaria during this period. Therefore, there was considerable trade dependency on the Soviet Union and they had nearly no other trade partners outside of the COMECON. Table 8-Distribution of Imports by Country, inferred from "Bulgaria Country Study", prepared by Curtis, clearly displays the trade dependency of that country during the whole Cold War period. [430]

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[427] *Ibid.*

[428] Mark N. Kramer, "Civil- Military Relations in the Warsaw Pact: The East European Component", *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-),* Vol. 61, No. 1, Winter 1984-1985, p.55.

[429] "Trading Partners", *Romania*, *op. cit.*, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-11206.html, (accessed on 21.03.2011).

[430] "Post War Trade Policy", *Bulgaria Country Study*, edited by Glenn E. Curtis, Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 1992, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1968.html, x"(accessed on 25.03.2011).

Table 8: Bulgaria Distribution of Imports by Country, Selected Years, 1950-88[431]

Country	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
COMECON countries					
Soviet Union	50.2	52.6	52.2	57.3	53.5
East Germany	3.8	11.1	8.6	6.6	5.9
West Germany	3.4	5.9	2.7	4.8	4.9
Other	1.3	7.7	16.5	8.6	10.6

After WW II, during the 1948-1953 period, the political and economic systems of all the Eastern European countries changed and were reconstructed according to the Soviet model, especially the Stalinist pattern. Romania pursued an extensive economic development model and started its socialist economic transformation, closely imitating the Soviet precedent.[432] The manufacturing, mining, banking, insurance and transportation industries were all nationalized, a State Planning Commission was established, and the collectivization of agriculture was begun in 1948 and completed in 1965.[433] According to Walter M. Bacon, the economic priorities of the first decade of Romanian Communist Party rule were typically Stalinist: rapid multilateral industrialization, capital accumulation and the exploitation of labour.[434]

During the period from 1949 to 1953, according to Patrick Moore, three basic components of a socialist economy (but in the Stalinist model) were dictated to Bulgarian Communists: the establishment of the institute for Centralized Planning, the collectivization of agriculture (completed by 1958) and the development of heavy

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[431] "Appendix A Bulgaria Distribution of Imports by Country, Selected Years, 1950-88," http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/bulgaria/bg_appen.html, (accessed on 25.03.2011).

[432] Walter Bacon, "Romania", *Communism in Eastern Europe*, edited by Terasa Rakowska-Harmstone, Indiana University Press, Bloomington: 1984, p. 169.

[433] *Ibid.*

[434] *Ibid.*

industry.[435] The first five year plan was begun in 1949. Industrialization was started despite lack of natural resources, skilled labour and technology in Bulgaria.[436] Natural resources and equipment were come from the Soviet Union, but with a steep price;[437] thus dependency of the country increased with industrialization.

Paul Marer reiterated that the adoption of an extreme version of the Soviet model seemed to have been imposed on the national Communist leaders. He underlined the "decisive role that Soviet advisers and shopping lists played in choosing development strategies in the Eastern Europe during 1948-53 and perhaps beyond."[438] According to Marer, the Soviet Union had a strategy of "supplementing its requirements for investment and strategic goods from the more advanced East European countries and for other products from the less industrialized East European Countries, during the Western embargo."[439]

During this term, the Soviet Union dictated how to reconstruct their economies according to not only the Socialist economic model but also the extreme Soviet model. The similarities between their economic systems were an indicator of Soviet imposition. Not legally but practically, the USSR established an economic zone. Member countries relations with other countries were restricted; they had no right to give market privileges to other countries or enter other economic unions or transactions (States which desired to get Marshall Aid were not allowed by the Soviet Union).

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[435] Patrick Moore, "Bulgaria", *Communism in Eastern Europe*, edited by Terasa Rakowska-Harmstone, Indiana University Press, Bloomington: 1984 p. 203.

[436] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[437] "The First Five Year Plans", *Bulgaria*, *op. cit.*, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1939.html, (accessed on 25.03.2011).

[438] Paul Marer, "East European Economies: Achievements, Problems, Prospects", *Communism in Eastern Europe*, edited by Terasa Rakowska- Harmstone, Indiana University Press, Bloomington: 1984, p. 202.

[439] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Political Intervention in Romania and Bulgaria

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union managed to constitute an international mechanism within the Eastern Bloc which enabled her to intervene in political developments in the Eastern European countries by establishing loyal governments in these countries. Christopher Jones also argued that "Soviet influence in East Europe depends on Soviet control over appointments to the upper echelons of the East European party leadership"[440] and she prevented empowerment of local Communists.[441]

After the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty, other political factions and pre-1945 parties were eliminated.[442] After the Communist triumph in Romania, members not loyal to Moscow, including Ana Pauker and Luca were purged from the Party.[443] Gheorghiu-Dej was a strong Stalinist who held party leadership on the basis of his Stalinism; therefore, Soviet influence during this term was very high in Romania.

In Bulgaria, a People's Republic was declared after WWII, elections were held in 1946 and a new constitution, which was closely modelled on the 1936 Soviet constitution, was adopted in December 1947. After that, the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) was established and it managed to eliminate all institutionalized opposition groups by 1948. In 1949, Valko Chervenkov -"little Stalin"- became the new leader of the BCP and managed to outmanoeuvre local Communists[444] through intense party purges (disqualifying nearly 100,000 of the 460,000 Bulgarian

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[440] Christopher Jones, *Soviet Influence in Eastern Europe Political Autonomy and the Warsaw Pact*, Praeger, New York: 1981, p. 1.

[441]*Ibid.*

[442] Bacon*, op. cit.*, p. 168.

[443] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[444] Moore, *op.cit.,* p. 195.

communists).[445.] In foreign relations, he pursued policies very similar to those of the Soviet Union to the extent that it was claimed that there was no such thing as Bulgarian foreign policy.[446]

As seen in Table 9-Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure 1948-1953, the relationship between the Soviet Union and Romania and Bulgaria was based on tight anarchical hierarchy because military, political and economic intervention took place in their highest form even though there were no Soviet troops located in Bulgaria and there were no military/security organizations. The form of ordering principle was tight anarchical hierarchy.

Table 9: Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure (1948-1953)

	ROMANIA	BULGARIA
Military Intervention		
Deployment of Military Forces	The Soviet Army till 1958	The Soviet Army till 1944
Independent Allies	No allies other than the Soviet Union	No allies other than the Soviet Union
Security Alliances	The 20-year bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance and Soviet intervention in their armies	The 20-year bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance and Soviet intervention in their armies

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[445] "The Early Communist Era", *Bulgaria, op. cit.* http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1979.html, (accessed on 24.03.2011).

[446] Moore, *op.cit.,* p. 206.

Table 9 Continued

Economic Intervention		
Trade Dependence	Nearly 90% of Romania's trade with COMECON countries.[447]	Nearly 95% of Bulgaria's trade with COMECON countries[448]
Imposing Economic System	Economic systems of all Eastern European countries reconstructed according to the Soviet model, especially the Stalinist pattern	Economic systems of all Eastern European countries reconstructed according to the Soviet model, especially the Stalinist pattern
Political Intervention		
Regime change	Similar regimes	Similar regimes
Leadership Change	Gheorghiu-Dej, a strong Stalinist, held party leadership on the basis of his Stalinism	Valko Chervenkov, known as "little Stalin", purged local Communists.[449]
TIGHT ANARCHICAL HIERARCHY		

3.6.2 1954-1968 Transition Period from Crisis to Détente

In this section, the military, political and economic interventions of the Soviet Union in Bulgaria and Romania are to be looked into in order to determine whether or not the ordering principle was "near to tight anarchical hierarchy." Table 12-Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure (1948-1953) reflects these interventions.

Military Presence and Intervention in Bulgaria and Romania

Romania negotiated the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the Soviet military presence was terminated in 1958.[450] In 1962, Romania refused to allow Warsaw Pact

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[447] "Trading Partners", *Romania*, *op. cit.*, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-11206.html, (accessed on 21.03.2011).

[448] "Appendix A. Tables", *Bulgaria, op. cit.*, http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/bulgaria/bg_appen.html#table16, (accessed on 25.03.2011

[449] "The Early Communist Era", *Bulgaria, op. cit.* http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1979.html, (accessed on 24.03.2011)

[450] Bacon, *op. cit.,* p. 173.

ground exercises on Romanian territory.[451] In Bulgaria, even under the Warsaw Pact umbrella, there were no Soviet military forces in the country.[452]

The East European States and the Soviet Union signed the Warsaw Pact treaty- the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance in May 1955, thus their alliance system was institutionalized. The Warsaw Pact was based on "total equality, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for national sovereignty and independence"[453] Curtis, however, asserted that the Soviet Union used the Warsaw Pact as a tool for subordinating the East European states' armies under Soviet control. Having assumed the superior position in the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union assigned Soviet officers and made related decisions. She pointed out this relationship, in detail, stating that

> The putatively supranational military agencies of the Warsaw Pact were completely subordinate to a national agency of the Soviet Union. The Soviet General Staff in Moscow housed the alliance's Joint Command and Joint Staff and, through these organs, controlled the entire military apparatus of the Warsaw Pact as well as the allied armies. Although the highest ranking officers of the alliance were supposed to be selected through the mutual agreement of its member states, the Soviets unilaterally appointed a first deputy Soviet minister of defence and first deputy chief of the Soviet General Staff to serve as Warsaw Pact commander in chief and chief of staff, respectively. While these two Soviet officers ranked below the Soviet minister of defence, they still outranked the ministers of defence in the non-Soviet Warsaw Pact (NSWP) countries. The Soviet General Staff also posted senior colonel generals as resident representatives of the Warsaw Pact commander in chief in all East European capitals. Serving with the "agreement of their host countries," these successors to the wartime and post-war Soviet advisers for the allied armies equated the East European ministers of defence in rank and provided a point of contact for the commander in

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[451] *Ibid.*

[452] Rakowska-Harmstone, *op. cit*, p. 367.

[453] Curtis, *op. cit.*, *Warsaw Pact.*

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chief, Joint Command, and Soviet General Staff inside the national military establishments.[454]

Jones reiterated the Warsaw Pact's mission of enabling the USSR to intervene in the military mechanisms of Eastern European countries, thus preventing the East European states from adopting military strategies different from that of the Soviet Union.[455] Through military exercises (Table 10), integration efforts and training programmes, the Soviet Union aimed to reduce the ability and possibility of the Eastern European armies to conduct military actions independent of Soviet control.[456]

After start of the de-Stalinization process, the indoctrination programmes in the Eastern European countries were ended and the Soviet Union recalled most of its advisers but continued to keep the high command positions in the hands of Soviet officers (defined above). Moreover, after the Hungary Revolution in 1956, Khrushchev tried to strengthen the position of the Soviet Union and began to transform the Warsaw Pact into a military tool, preventing defections in the future.[457]

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[454] *Ibid.*

[455] Jones, *op. cit*., p. 151.

[456] Curtis, *op. cit*., *Warsaw Pact*.; Christopher Jones, (1981) Soviet Influence in Eastern Europe: Political Autonomy and the Warsaw Pact, New York, Praeger cited by Jiri Valentina, "Military Interventions: Doctrines, Motives, Goals and Outcomes", *Dominant Powers and Subordinate States The United States in Latin America and the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe*, edited by Jan F. Triska, Duke University Press, Durham: 1986, p. 295.

[457] Curtis, *op. cit.Warsaw Pact*

Table 10: Warsaw Pact Exercises 1961-79 in which participants were the USSR, Romania and Bulgaria [458]

	Date	Location	Participants
	Spring 1962	Hungary	Hungary, Romania, the USSR
	October 1962	Romania	Romania, Bulgaria, the USSR
Quartet	Fall 1963	Romania	Romania, Bulgaria, the USSR
	Sept. 1964	Bulgaria	Romania, Bulgaria, the USSR
Rodopy	August 1967	Bulgaria, Black Sea	Romania (?), Bulgaria, the USSR
Sky Shield	July- August 1968	WP States	WP States
	August 1968	Czechoslovakia	Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Poland, the USSR
	March 1969	Bulgaria	Romania(?), Bulgaria, the USSR
Zenit	May.69	USSR	Romania(?), Bulgaria, the USSR, Hungary
Zenit	July 1970	WP States	WP States
Brotherhood in Arms	October 1970	GDR	Romania, Bulgaria, USSR, Hungary, GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia
	February 1972	Romania	Romania, Bulgaria, the USSR
	March 1972	Bulgaria	Romania (?), Bulgaria, the USSR
	April 1972	Black Sea	Staff of WP, Bulgaria, the USSR, Romania (?)
	1973	WP States	WP States

[458] Jones, *op. cit*., pp. 301-311.

Table 10 Continued

	February 1973	Romania	Staff of WP, Bulgaria, the USSR, Romania
	Summer 1973	Carpathian Military District USSR	Hungary, Bulgaria, the USSR
	1974	WP States	WP States
	February 1974	Romania	Romania, the USSR
	June 1974	Bulgaria, Romania (?)	Romania (?), Bulgaria, the USSR, Hungary, GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia
Shield 79	May.79	Hungary	Hungary, Bulgaria, the USSR, Czechoslovakia

The Prague spring 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia also showed that one of the missions of the Warsaw Pact was to keep the East European communist party regime in power. After the crisis in Czechoslovakia, as a reaction to it, the Brezhnev doctrine was announced on 12 November 1968, declaring that the East European countries had "limited" sovereignty to be exercised and if the Communism/Socialist Commonwealth was threatened, the Soviet Union had the right to protect and define communism by all means, including intervention.

Within this framework, Bulgaria had a harmonious position with the Soviet Union but Romania pursued policies challenging the Soviet Union. In 1958, Romania demanded the withdrawal of all Soviet troops and advisers from its country; reduced its participation in the Warsaw Pact, including joint exercises, refused to allow Warsaw Pact forces to cross or conduct exercises within its territory and stopped sending its army officers to Soviet military schools for higher education.[459] In all Political Consultative Committee (PCC) meetings, Romania demanded that the East European member states be given a greater role in alliance

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[459] Curtis, *op. cit. Warsaw Pact.*

decision making and leading Warsaw Pact command positions be rotated among the member states.[460] Finally, Romania reasserted full national control over its armed forces and military policies and adopted a territorial defence strategy called "War of the Entire People" in 1968. She also found non-bloc sources of armaments and gradually established her own arms industry.[461]

Economic Intervention in Bulgaria and Romania

Bulgaria: During this term, the economies of the Eastern European countries were also affected by the de-Stalinization process in favour of specialization plans. After Khrushchev came to power in 1956, he inaugurated a new economic program in Eastern Europe aiming at integration through multilateral institutions – COMECON. The COMECON Charter was approved in 1960. This Charter explicitly foresaw a Division of Labour and Co-ordination of Economic Plans as the principal means of successfully developing and extending International Socialist Division of Labour.[462] The charter expressly stated that "interstate specialization implies concentrating production of similar products in one or several socialist countries so as to meet the needs of all interested countries"[463] and foresaw interstate specialization in all industrial and agricultural sectors because of the different industrial infra-structures and soil and climatic conditions in the socialist countries.[464] This interconnection stemming from division of labour necessitated the co-ordination of the economic plans of individual countries. The standing commissions which were established in 1956 in different capitals, indeed implicitly

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[460] *Ibid.*

[461] *Ibid.*

[462] "The COMECON Charter 1960", trans. by R. Nötel (Geneva) from the Russian, German and Hungarian texts in Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, no. 15, 1960 cited by Michael Kaser, *COMECON Integration Problems of the Planned Economies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, Toronto: 1965, p. 190.

[463] *Ibid.*

[464] *Ibid.,* p.193.

displayed these specializations: the Standing Commission of Agriculture in Sofia; the Chemical Industry in Berlin; Coal in Warsaw; Electric Power in Moscow; Engineering in Prague; Ferrous Metal in Moscow; Non-Ferrous Metal in Budapest; Oil and Gas in Bucharest and Foreign Trade in Moscow.[465] This framework made food processing, agriculture, chemical fertilizers and small electrical equipment were given to Bulgaria's responsibility for greater East European trade and Bulgaria had great export obligations to the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in the late 1950s.[466]

Romania: During this term, Romania rejected Moscow's division of labour and economic integration policies, which relegated Romania to the role of supplier of foodstuffs and raw materials for the more industrially developed members.[467] Instead, Romania continued to pursue the Stalinist way of development.[468] The West also supported Romania, supplying technological and economic assistance.[469]

Romanian trade partners began to change and by 1964, nearly 40 percent of Romania's imports and almost one-third of its exports were conducted with the West.[470] When Ceausescu came to power in 1965, the West was supplying almost half of the machinery and technology needed to build a modern industrial base.[471] Despite this, Romanian trade with the COMECON countries remained an important amount till 1980 as was seen in the Table 11.

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[465] *Ibid.*, pp.198-199.

[466] "The First Five Year Plans", *Bulgaria, op. cit.,* http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1939.html, (accessed on 24.03.2011).

[467] "Ronald D. Bachman, ed. *Romania: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1989, http://countrystudies.us/romania/56.htm, accessed on 03.04.2011.

[468] Bacon, *op. cit.,* p. 172

[469] *Ibid.*

[470] Bachman, "*Romania: Country Study", op. cit.*, http://countrystudies.us/romania/56.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2011).

[471] *Ibid.*

Table 11: Trade Partners of Romania, 1960, 1970, and 1980[472]

Type of Partner (in percentages)	1960	1970	1980
COMECON countries	66.8	49.0	33.7
Other socialist countries	6.2	6.8	6.8
Advanced capitalist countries	22.1	35.6	32.8
Developing countries	4.6	8.2	25.2
Other countries	0.3	0.4	1.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Political intervention in Bulgaria and Romania

In Bulgaria, after Stalin's death, Chervenkov was replaced by Zhivkov, especially because of "a shift in Soviet support to Zhivkov (…) Khrushchev's desire to have men in power throughout Eastern Europe who owed their positions to him, not to Stalin."[473] During his term, Stalinist leaders like Chervenkov and Yugov and other politicians were purged from the Communist Party.[474]

Romania still remained in the Eastern Bloc but rejected the de-Stalinization process and looked for more autonomous foreign policy options. Romanian leadership changed the name of the ruling party from "the Romanian Workers Party" to the "Romanian Communist Party." In order to reduce Soviet penetration in domestic affairs, they expelled the Soviet advisors on economic, political and security issues, terminated subordination of Romanian intelligence services to the KGB,[475] liquidated Sovroms and pursued a foreign policy different from that of the

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[472] Based on information from Michael Shafir, *Romania: Politics, Economics, and Society,* Boulder, Colorado, 1985, 49 cited by "Appendix A. Tables", *Romania, op. cit.,* http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/romania/ro_appen.html#table7, (accessed on 24.03.2011).

[473] Moore, *op. cit.,* p. 196

[474] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[475] Bacon. *op. cit.,* p. 173.

Soviet Union,[476] Consequently, the Soviet embassy in Bucharest became a diplomatic mission.[477]

During this second term and thereafter, the Soviet Union allowed Romania to pursue a relatively more autonomous foreign policy within the framework of the Eastern Bloc and did not display reactions similar to those she had shown in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. As for the reasons, Bacon asserted that communist party control was complete in Communist Romania despite its friction with the Soviet Union.[478] Secondly, Romania remained in both the Warsaw Pact and the COMECON although her effectiveness was reduced.[479] Thirdly, she had relatively less geostrategic importance and fourthly, Ceausescu pursued a balanced policy against the USSR according to the international environment.[480]

During this term, the ordering principle was accepted as "near to tight hierarchy" because the forms of intervention were not at their highest, unlike those in the previous sub-period. During that time, all political and economic systems had been imposed on the Eastern European countries; however, during this term economic intervention was transformed into intervention through economic integration and the socialist division of labor. Romania tried to reduce its economic dependence on the Soviet Union. Similarly, political intervention was transformed from imposition of political regime into leadership change. In the military sector, the Soviet troops left Romania and the 20 year bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance were replaced by the Warsaw Pact and joint exercises within its framework.

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[476] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-176.

[477] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[478] *Ibid.*, p. 178

[479] *Ibid.*

[480] *Ibid.*

Even though the USSR was trying to sustain this anarchical hierarchic structure in the Region, Romania resisted and this so-called independent position of Romania was another factor that led to the reduced degree of anarchical hierarchy. However, this friction between Romania and the Soviet Union was not substantial enough to enable a change in the regional structure because there was no splitting or demand to split; rather it was just friction within the Bloc. Turkey's position after the Johnson letter was similar, friction occurred between Turkey and the USA, but that did not lead to any split in the Western Bloc.

Table 12: Ordering Principle of Regional Structure (1954-1968)

	BULGARIA	ROMANIA	EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES
Military Intervention			
Deployment of Military Forces	No Soviet military force	Soviet occupation terminated in 1958[481]	Soviet troops in all Eastern European countries
Independent Allies	No allies other than the USSR and its friend countries	No allies, including the USSR	No allies except USSR and its friend countries
Punishment in Cases of Disobedience		No punishment	3 times Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia
Security Alliances	through the Warsaw Pact	Participation reduced but remained in the Pact and joined its exercises[482]	through the Warsaw Pact
Economic Intervention			
Trade Dependence	84% of trade with COMECON[483]	73% of trade with COMECON[484]	

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[481] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[482] Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-311.

[483] "Appendix A. Tables", *Bulgaria, op. cit.,* http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/bulgaria/bg_appen.html#table16, (accessed on 25.03.2011).

Table 12 Continued

Economic Integration	International Socialist Division of Labour	Refusal to participate the programme	International Socialist Division of Labour
Political Intervention			
Leadership Change	Chervenkov replaced by Zhivkov		3 times: Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia
NEAR TO TIGHT ANARCHICAL HIERARCHY			

3.6.3   1969-1985 Détente and Its Demise

In this section, the military, political and economic interventions of the Soviet Union into Bulgaria and Romania are to be examined in order to find out whether or not the ordering principle was "near to tight anarchical hierarchy." Table 13-Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure (1948-1953) reflects these interventions.

Military Intervention and Presence in Romania and Bulgaria:

While the détente period softened the threat perception from the West within the Warsaw Pact; the end of détente intensified the NATO threat discourse and the USSR demanded an increase in military budget and burden-sharing from its allies. During this term, although the USSR preserved its primacy and its controlling position over the Eastern European allies in the Warsaw Pact, it is difficult to claim existence of an alliance cohesion and integration.[485] According to Curtis, "for the first time, two or more NSWP [non Soviet Warsaw Pact] countries simultaneously challenged the Soviet military and foreign policy preferences within the Alliance".[486]

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[484] "Appendix A. Tables", *Romania*, *op. cit.,* http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/romania/ro_appen.html#table7, (accessed on 24.03.2011).

[485] Curtis, *op. cit. Warsaw Pact*

[486] *Ibid.*

With the exception of East Germany, the allies refused to increase their military budgets.[487] Moreover, Romanian leaders froze their military budget at the 1982 level.[488]

Throughout the 1970s, Romania intensified efforts to increase its independence from the Soviet Union by expanding its relations with China, the West, the Third World and Non-Alignment Movement countries. She clearly opposed Soviet interference in Eastern European domestic and military politics and the domination of the USSR in the Military-Scientific and Technical Council.[489] On the other hand, her severe economic problems and acute need for energy gave the Soviet Union an important tool to keep Romania's assent, or at least silence, in the Warsaw Pact.[490]

Economic Intervention in Romania and Bulgaria

In 1971, the COMECON Member countries except Romania, adopted the Comprehensive Program for Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Further Development of Socialist Economic Integration.[491] This Comprehensive Program aimed at a socialist economic integration by creating a monetary system, exchange rate, joint planning and joint development projects among the member states,[492] rather than a fusion of economies of member states or supranational bodies.

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[487] *Ibid.*

[488] *Ibid.*

[489] *Ibid.*

[490] *Ibid.*

[491] "COMECON- The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance", edited by Glenn E. Curtis, Washington DC: Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, 1992, http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/CMEA.html, (accessed on 12.08.2012).

[492] *Ibid.*

It also foresaw a liberal trade regime, limiting the fixed-quota trade and adjustment of intra-COMECON prices with world market prices.[493]

After the adoption of the Comprehensive Program, the International Investment Bank was established to arrange and finance joint projects in 1970; the Council Committee for Cooperation in Planning was established in 1971 to review the progress plans of member states and the Long Term Target Programs for Cooperation was adopted in 1976.[494] According to the Program, all member states restructured their economies, gave more importance to industry, transportation, communication and material-technical supplies and reduced their funds allocated to the agricultural sector.[495]

During this term, all Eastern European countries were dealing with high debt to the Western institution as a result of trade deficits.[496] Bulgaria managed to eliminate trade deficits and debts with considerable help from the Soviet Union.[497] This provided better leverage for the USSR and made it more influential over East European countries, except Romania.

Romania was among the first countries to establish economic relations with the Western industrial countries. She became a member of Western economic organizations such as the GATT, the International Finance Corporation and the International Monetary Fund.[498] While she managed to develop her own industrial complexes in various sectors, she faced serious balance-of-payments crises in

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[493] *Ibid.*

[494] *Ibid.*

[495] *Ibid.*

[496] *Ibid.*

[497] Marer, *op. cit.,* p. 322.

[498] Vernon V. Aspaturian, "Eastern Europe in World Perspective", ", *Communism in Eastern* Europe, edited by Terasa Rakowska- Harmstone, Indiana University Press, Bloomington: 1984, pp. 30-31.

1981.[499] After 1983, Ceausescu refused to seek additional loans from the IMF or the World Bank and severely curtailed imports and maximized exports, but this led to a serious reduction in the quality of life.[500]

Political Intervention in Romania and Bulgaria

During this term, Romania and Bulgaria had different paths vis-à-vis the USSR. Bulgaria strengthened control of the Communist party and emulated Soviet détente policy during the first years of the 1970s, provided the Third World countries with military and technical support and finally supported the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.[501]

Ceausescu did not hesitate to make public announcements, emphasizing autonomy and pursued various policies, clearly conflicting with Moscow, although the Soviet Union tried to re-constitute her political pressure mechanism by using her high debts. Bachman pointed out that "In 1972 Romania redirected its military defences to counter possible aggression by the Warsaw Pact countries; condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and ignored the Soviet-led boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games."[502]

During this sub-period, the ordering principle was near to tight anarchical hierarchy as it was in previous sub-period and the economic intervention took on another form, transforming from the socialist division of labour into the Comprehensive Program for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Further Development of Socialist Economic Integration. Even though military intervention was sustained in the same form, political intervention had a

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[499] Marer, *op. cit.,* p. 324.

[500] "Retirement of the Foreign Debt**",** *Romania, op. cit.,* http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-11208.html, (accessed on 24.03.2011).

[501] "Foreign Affairs in the 1960s and 1970s", *Bulgaria, op. cit*., http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1894.html, (accessed on 24.11.2011).

[502] "Romania Dynastic Socialism and the Economic Downturn", *Romania, op. cit.,* http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-11135.html, (accessed on 21.04.2011).

tighter form due to the effect of the 1968 Czechoslovakia invasion. Despite the friction that the USSR faced, the ordering principle was "near to tight anarchical hierarchy" because there was no direct challenge to the on-going regional structure.

Table 13: Ordering Principle of Regional Structure (1969-1985)

	BULGARIA	ROMANIA	EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES
Military Intervention			
Deployment of Military Forces	No Soviet troops	No Soviet troops	Existence of Soviet troops
Independent Allies	No allies other than the USSR and its friends	No allies including the USSR	No allies other than the USSR and its friends
Security Alliances	through the WP	non- active member	through the WP
Economic Intervention			
Trade Dependence	76% of Bulgaria's trade with COMECON[503]	56% of Romania's trade with COMECON, then reduced to 40.5%[504]	
Economic Integration Projects	The Comprehensive Program for FEICFDSEI[505]	Romania refused to adopt the Programs but remained in COMECON.	The Comprehensive Program for FEICFDSEI

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[503] "Appendix A. Tables", *Bulgaria, Ibid.,* http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/bulgaria/bg_appen.html#table16, (accessed on 25.03.2011

[504] "Appendix A. Tables", *Romania*, *op. cit.,* http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/romania/ro_appen.html#table7, (accessed on 24.03.2011).

[505] Comprehensive Program for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Further Development of Socialist Economic Integration

Table 13 Continued

Political Intervention			
Aligned Groups	Bulgaria tightened control of the Communist Parties and changed the Constitution in 1971	Ceausescu pursued various policies, clearly conflicting with Moscow's policies.[506]	After 1968, all EEC started to tighten control of the CP and suppressed all democratic movements.
NEAR TO TIGHT ANARCHICAL HIERARCHY			

3.6.4   1985-1991 The Beginning of the End Period

In this section, the military, political and economic interventions of the Soviet Union into Bulgaria and Romania are to be analyzed in order to determine whether the ordering principle was loose anarchical hierarchy.

Military Existence and Intervention in Romania and Bulgaria

After 1989, in all the Eastern European countries, demonstrations and the collapse of the Communist governments (the so-called velvet revolutions) took place, and the USSR did not follow Brezhnev Doctrine policy towards these countries. The Soviet Union did not intervene there as it had in 1956, 1968 and 1981. During this term, Gorbachev announced the end of the Brezhnev doctrine or socialist internationalism regarding his Soviet client states.[507] While all Warsaw member states started to establish non-Communist governments, Moscow did nothing.

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[506] Bachman also noted that "Relations [between Romania and the Soviet Union] were most strained during the Brezhnev era, which witnessed the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Nixon visit to Romania, Soviet accusations of a Romanian plot to organize a pro-Chinese bloc in the Balkans, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.", "Romania Relations with Communist States", *Romania, op. cit.,* http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-11273.html, (accessed on 21.04.2011)

[507] Dockrill and Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 154

The beginning of this term (1985) was the expiration date of the Warsaw Pact agreement and the Pact Treaty was extended for another twenty year term.[508] While the superior position of the Soviet Union was preserved in the Pact; after the collapse of the Communist governments in the Warsaw Pact member states, the Warsaw Treaty Organization of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was dissolved (on 1 July 1991, in Prague) after 36 years.

Economic Intervention in Romania and Bulgaria

Gorbachev decided to use the COMECON to realize his economic plans under the perestroika. According to David Mason, Gorbachev based his economic revitalization plan on high technology and investment in new equipment.[509] In 1985 COMECON Moscow Summit (Extraordinary 41st Council Session), the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technological Progress up to the Year 2000 was adopted and ratified in 1986.[510]

Within the same framework, Gorbachev did not impose economic reforms on the Eastern European states at the beginning. It seemed that "Gorbachev hoped that the East European leaders would follow suit and reform [in] their own countries."[511] However, after 1987, according to Mason, "Soviet encouragement of reforms in Eastern Europe was made more explicit with Gorbachev's visits to Prague and Bucharest in the spring of 1987."[512] In both of his visits, he underlined the necessity for economic reforms. Mason explained that "Contrary to its earlier behaviour, Moscow was now calling on the East Europeans to consider

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[508] Curtis, *op. cit. Warsaw Pact*

[509] David S. Mason, "Glasnost, Perestroika and Eastern Europe", *International Affairs Royal Institute of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, No. 3, Summer 1988, p. 432

[510] Curtis, COMECON, *op.cit*.

[511] Anatolii Cherniaev, "Gorbachev and the Reunification of Germany: Personal Recollections", *Soviet Foreign Policy 1917-1991 a Retrospective*, edited by Gabriel Gorodetsky, Frank Cass, Portland and London: 1994, p. 158.

[512] Mason, *op.cit*., p. 434.

reforms as well."[513] Among the Eastern European countries, Mason asserted that "Bulgaria and (surprisingly) Czechoslovakia have accepted the Soviet challenge and have begun their own process of reform. The East Germany and Romania have, for different reasons, resisted the pressure to initiate domestic reform."[514] Romania was the main exception, resisting the introduction of Gorbachev style reforms[515] until Ceausescu was forcibly removed from the office in 1989. The economic reform and restructuring process and implementation of long-term Program was ended with 1989 revolutions in the Eastern European countries and in 1991 the COMECON dissolved.

Political Intervention in Romania and Bulgaria

During this sub-period, till 1986, many leaders managed to preserve their position in their countries; this means that the Soviet Union leadership had pro-Soviet leaders in the Eastern European countries. However, the leader in the USSR changed and started to carry out new policies in economy and political arena. At the beginning of the reform process, he also declared that "the principle of equality would henceforth govern relations between Russia and the East European states, and that outside interference in their affairs would not be tolerated."[516] According to Mason, Gorbachev reiterated this stance towards the East European states at the 27th Party Congress.[517] Gorbachev emphasized "unconditional respect in international practice for the right of every people to choose the paths and forms of its development."[518] In many speeches, Gorbachev underlined the importance of principles like independence, sovereignty of every state, indispensable right of all

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[513] *Ibid.*

[514] *Ibid.*, p. 437.

[515] *Ibid*, p. 445.

[516] Cherniaev, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[517] Mason, *op.cit.*, p. 435

[518] *Ibid.*

states "to make decisions on the choice of paths of social development" and the "impermissibility of interference in internal affairs under any pretext whatsoever."[519] These speeches gave the East European countries communist parties a clear message – relations between the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries were to be restructured. There was no longer any Soviet tank factor[520] or Soviet financial support in order to prevent a change in the political system.

After this speech, the Communist parties started to form coalition governments that included non-Communists in the Cabinet. However, this would not solve the growing tension in the Eastern European countries. Due to sudden and huge street demonstrations, the coalition governments failed to survive. During that period, Moscow preferred not to interfere into the domestic politics of the Eastern European countries, which led to the swift collapse of regimes in these countries in 1989.

During this sub-period, the most important difference from the previous term was the end of the Brezhnev doctrine. The Soviet Union relaxed its political control over the Eastern European countries by lessening its intervention and announcing that there would no longer be any Soviet tank factor, thus he tried to base their relations on more anarchical affairs. During this term, the ordering principle was transformed into loose anarchical hierarchy. Finally, this process ended with a challenge against the Soviet supremacy and the Eastern Bloc was dissolved. During this process, there were no US interventions or support; leadership in the US preferred to pursue a wait and see strategy, just expressing their political support.

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[519] Karen Dawisha, *Eastern Europe Gorbachev and Reform: The Great Challenge*, the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, New York: 1990, p. 220.

[520] According to Tom G. Palmer, in Gorbachev period, "the communist leaders in Central Europe were told that they would get no further support from Soviet tanks and soldiers.", Tom Palmer, "Why Socialism Collapsed in Eastern Europe", CATO Institute Commentary, http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/why-socialism-collapsed-eastern-europe, (accessed on 05.07.2013).

Table 14: Ordering Principle of Regional Structure (1985-1991)

	BULGARIA	ROMANIA
Military Intervention		
Independent Allies	While East-West relationship intensified, no allies other than the USSR.	While East-West relationship intensified, no allies other than the USSR.
Management of Internal Crises	End of Brezhnev doctrine	End of Brezhnev doctrine
Security Alliances	WP agreement was extended in 1985, but dissolved in 1991.	WP agreement was extended in 1985, but dissolved in 1991.
Economic Intervention		
Trade Dependence	76% of trade with COMECON countries[521]	23% of trade with the USSR in 1986[522]
Economic Integration Projects and pressure for reform	the CPforSTP[523] was adopted and ratified in 1986	Romania have resisted the pressure to initiate domestic reform
LOOSE ANARCHICAL HIERARCHY		

3.6.5 Regional Structure, Regional Security and Role of the Soviet Union, Romania and Bulgaria

During the Cold War, there was great power disparity among the regional powers, but it cannot be considered as unipolar because Turkey was in the Region as a NATO member country and an ally of the USA. The ordering principle was anarchical hierarchy; however, it existed in three different forms: tight anarchical hierarchy during the period from 1947 to 1953, near to tight anarchical hierarchy during the 1954-1968 and 1969-1985 periods and loose anarchical hierarchy during the period from 1985 to 1991.

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[521] "Appendix A. Tables", *Bulgaria, Ibid.,* http://www.country-data.com/frd/cs/bulgaria/bg_appen.html#table16, (accessed on 25.03.2011).

[522] Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

[523] Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technological Progress

Within this regional structure, there has been relative security in the Black Sea Region based on the preservation of status-quo and order in the Region. During the whole Cold War years until Gorbachev, within the given framework of the regional structure, the Soviet Union tried to preserve the status-quo in three different ways: one of them was targeting internal challenges and two of them focused on external challenges. Firstly, the Soviet Union tried to prevent efforts of regional countries to change the status-quo, even through military interventions such as ones in Hungary in 1956 or in Poland in 1981. To achieve this, the Soviet Union used her anarchical hierarchic relations in the military sector. By ending the Brezhnev doctrine, Gorbachev decided not to fulfill this task and allowed changes in regional countries with other Eastern Bloc states.

During the Cold War, the most complicated case in the Black Sea Region was Romania. After 1953, this country clearly pursued policies which opposed the demands of the Soviet Union. However, her policies could not be perceived as a split. She attempted to pursue relatively independent policies but they had no chance of splitting from the Soviet Union, leaving the Warsaw Pact or joining another alliance. While she tried to differentiate her trading partners, most Romanian trade and arms transfer were realized within the Socialist Bloc countries and ideologically while she was splitting from the Soviet way of socialism, leadership in Romania maintained a Stalinist -socialist political and economic regime.

Secondly, the USSR tried to limit the effect of policies of the potential extra-regional powers who might have interest in the Black Sea region – the USA (one of the superpowers) or the European countries who might have a traditional interest – in order to prevent any intervention or any support by these countries for changing this situation. Russia has used her anarchical hierarchic relationship in the political, economic and (to lesser extent) security sectors. Using her strict control mechanism, the Soviet Union did not let them get economic aid from Western Bloc countries, especially from the USA. Militarization of the Eastern European countries was

developed according to the framework and criteria determined within the Warsaw Pact as was also done within NATO.

The third way that the Soviet Union used to preserve the status-quo is that she preserved the Region from negative effects of insecurity in the whole international system. To realize this, Russia used her anarchical hierarchic relationship in the security sector. During this term, her anarchical hierarchic relationship in the North, North western and North eastern countries of the Black Sea and Turkey's acceptance were the key factors that diminished vulnerability in the Region towards the insecurity, competition and tension emerging from nuclear deterrence in the international system.

As regards the role of subordinate states, as was supposed in Chapter II, when the ordering principle of the regional structure was tight or near to tight anarchical hierarchy and there was great power disparity in the Region, countries under the strict control of a dominant country such as the Eastern Bloc countries, including Bulgaria, had no security problem. They did not have to strive for their survival because providing security was the task of dominant country, and they made no effort to regain their autonomy because of unbalanced power differences between the USSR and them. After 1953, Romania attempted to pursue policies different from the USSR but she could not escape from the Soviet system. While she sought to pursue a relatively autonomous foreign policy within the framework of bipolar international system, she never attempted to destroy the given security framework. The threat perception of the USSR and the Eastern Bloc states towards each other was very low within the anarchical hierarchic structure. In some periods, especially after 1956 and 1968, the threat perception of the Eastern Bloc states increased against the USSR because of military interventions; however, the strict anarchical hierarchic structure prevented them from pursuing policies which could destroy the regional structure and order. Finally, as Walt points out, balancing or any other similar attempts were unwise for these countries because the Soviet Union was geographically very close, had more offensive capabilities than the sum of the

capabilities of all of the Eastern Bloc states, was significantly more powerful than them and had the capacity and control system to make them obey.[524] Therefore, they could only pursue bandwagoning policies with the Soviet Union. As expressed above, other great powers did not attempt to support these states, including Romania, and this created a more secure regional system and led to the preservation of the status-quo in the Region.

When the ordering principle was transformed into loose anarchical hierarchy in the regional structure, the Soviet Union, in accordance with her policies of new thinking, glasnost and perestroika and under the effect of her diminishing power, untightened her strict control over the Eastern Bloc countries. Therefore, the dissolution of this Bloc originated from inside. The Soviet Union lost its will to hold these countries under the Soviet tutelage and let them to choose their own way in their political and economic system because during the same term the Soviet Union was revising the Soviet political and economic system. The political leaders changed in Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania and the Soviet Union did not use force or threats to use force avert this process and did not act as it had done in 1956 and 1968. In those years from 1985 to 1991, all states in the Eastern Bloc, including the Soviet Union, were unsatisfied with what they had. In this way, the Soviet system and this anarchical hierarchic structure was challenged and then dissolved.

3.7   CONCLUSION

During the Cold War, there was a relatively secure regional system in the Black Sea Region with an order and status-quo that had been created as early as the introduction of the Mountreux Convention and had been sustained by both Soviet and Turkish policies. There were differences in the sense that the Soviet Union produced anarchical hierarchic relations within the defined spaces of her influence areas and thus acted as the single actor in the northern part of the Black Sea region

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[524] Walt, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

until the Gorbachev period. Turkey, despite being in the Western Camp, contributed to preserving this status-quo at least by not allowing or encouraging Western powers to interfere in the security related issues in the Black Sea Region. The regime of the Mountreux Convention appears to be the common denominator for sustaining this status quo in the Black Sea Region. Although during the Gorbachev era, the anarchical hierarchic relations in the Northern and North-western parts of the Black Sea region were restructured, leading to more of anarchical relations in the final analysis but this also did not change the established status-quo in the Black Sea Region.

The preservation of security in the Region was directly affected by the regional structure which had a decisive effect on sensitivity of the Region to tension existing in the outer world and more importantly on the role played by the regional great power (the Soviet Union; at the same time, a global superpower); subordinate states in her sphere of influence (Bulgaria and Romania), non-regional great powers (the USA – the distant hegemon), their partners in the Region (Turkey).

The regional great power, the Soviet Union had strict control over her sphere of influence during the Stalin period and was able to transform the economic, military and political systems in the Eastern European countries. After this period, the sphere of influence and control mechanism were re-produced in various forms until 1985 and then reformulated by Gorbachev. During all the Cold War years until Gorbachev, the Soviet Union tried to preserve the status-quo in three different ways: by preventing efforts of regional countries to change the status-quo until the 1985 Gorbachev period, by limiting the effects of policies of the potential extra-regional powers who might have interest in the Black Sea region and by preserving the Region from negative effects of insecurity in the whole international system.

At that stage, the US and Western European countries could not interfere in the internal affairs of the Eastern Bloc, which was under the effect of anarchical hierarchic regional structure. In the Region, there was only one country from the

Western Bloc, Turkey, which had a similar role to that played by the Soviet Union in order to preserve the status-quo in the Black Sea Region.

Regarding the role of subordinate states, when the ordering principle of the regional structure was tight or near to tight anarchical hierarchy and there was a great power disparity in the Region, Bulgaria did not strive for survival and autonomy. Romania attempted to pursue a relatively autonomous foreign policy; however, she did not attempt to destroy the given security framework within the regional structure. Therefore, Eastern Bloc countries could only pursue bandwagoning policies with the Soviet Union and this created a more secure regional system and led to the preservation of the status-quo in the Region.

When the ordering principle was transformed into loose anarchical hierarchy in the regional structure with the restructuring of the Soviet-Eastern Bloc relationships, all political leaders changed in the Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union did not use force or threaten to use force to avert this process.

Regional security was able to be preserved during the period from 1986 to 1991 even though the ordering principle was transformed just because of the points, explained above: the Soviet Union was in favour of change, the Eastern Bloc countries were focusing on internal rather than external changes and the Soviet Union let them reform their own system. An additional factor might have been that the other non-regional countries were still refraining from pursuing intervening or any similar policies towards this Region. However, this process led to reformation of regional system, changes in distribution of capabilities and the ordering principle both in regional and international structure and this transitional process caused to the emergence of some instabilities and military confrontations in the Region, which will be taken up in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER IV

SECURITY AND CHANGING FORMS OF ANARCHICAL HIERARCHY AFTER THE COLD WAR IN THE BLACK SEA REGION: PERIOD OF RESTRICTED COOPERATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

With the demise of the Soviet Union, great instability arose in the international system, while the threat of nuclear competition transformed. In the Black Sea Region, three different states – the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Georgia – emerged and the political regimes and economic system in these countries were transformed from the socialist system into capitalism as was the case in Romania and Bulgaria. During this internal economic and political transition process, the regional countries were in an attempt of regulating their relations vis-à-vis their former ally countries and the Western powers. Among them, the Russian Federation was trying to reproduce her anarchical hierarchic relations with the post-Soviet states, excluding Baltic States while her relations with the former Warsaw Pact countries was anarchic. During this term, unlike the Cold War, intense relationship started to be established between the Western countries and regional states which may affect the status-quo in the Region. After the demise of the Soviet Union, the Region also suffered a short term instability period till 1996. After that date, security and stability were re-established in the Region although certain security concerns continued in Ukraine and Russia until 1997. In this chapter, how security was reconstituted and then sustained within this new framework is to be explored.

To do this, first of all, it is necessary to define the sphere of influence of the Russian Federation and the relationships between regional countries and non-regional great powers. Then, the security situation in the Black Sea Region during the period from 1991 to 2000 will be looked into. In the third section, since the effect of the state-of-affairs of security in the international system on the security of the Black Sea Region has been limited to the EU and US relationship with the Russian Federation, whether or not Russian relations with the Western countries affected regional security is to be explored. The role of Turkey and its effect on regional security will also be looked into. After that, the regional structures will be defined by exploring the distribution of capability and the ordering principle in the Black Sea Region. In this section, role and effect of the Russian Federation and other regional states will be analysed. In the final section, some conclusions will be made.

4.2 DEFINING SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN THE BLACK SEA REGION 1991-1999

In this section, it is necessary to begin with definition of the Russian sphere of influence after the demise of the USSR and the Eastern Bloc. While during the Cold War period, the USSR had been dominant power in the Eastern Bloc; after the demise of the bipolar international system the Russian Federation limited itself to the post-Soviet states, excluding the Baltic States; rather than whole of the former Warsaw Pact countries. To be clear, it may be said that the Russian sphere of influence was limited with what it was called as the Near Abroad. Secondly, with the end of the Cold War, the Western countries established relations with all of these countries. As noted in Chapter II, the interfering policies of non-regional great powers in the regional power's sphere of influence may have the capacity to affect the maintenance of security and stability. Therefore, it is necessary to explore whether or not relationships between regional states and Western powers were able to affect security in the Black Sea Region during this period.

To do this, firstly the policies of the USA, the EU and the NATO regarding the Black Sea countries during the first decade after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc

need to be summarized, and then the policies of the regional countries towards the Western powers are to be looked into. To measure the intensity of their relationships, data on trade relations, military equipment supply and regional organizations are to be examined. After commenting on the states which have remained within the Russian sphere of influence, the effect of relationships between regional countries and Western countries on regional security will be explained.

4.2.1   Policies of the United States of America regarding the Black Sea Region

When President George Herbert Walker Bush took office, he faced a very different and unstable world, especially in the Black Sea Region. No one had a clear regional approach in the early 1990s. The US focused, firstly, on transformation in the post-Soviet and the post-Warsaw Pact countries and cautiously supported them. Secondly, Bush tried to continue cooperative relations between the USA and the Russian Federation, established during the Gorbachev presidency on nuclear and conventional arms reduction issues and focused on persuading Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus to remove the nuclear weapons which had been constructed inside their territory[525] and signed the START II with Yeltsin on January 3, 1993.[526]

During Clinton's presidency, the En-En Strategy – the National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement – which was formulated by Anthony Lake (the national security advisor) and his team was accepted. Engagement meant that the US would not adopt isolationism after the end of the Cold War and she would follow policies based on cooperation, assistance and negotiation towards the post-Socialist states.[527] Enlargement meant that the US would promote democracy, an open market

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[525] Peter Rutland and Gregory Dubinsky, "US Foreign Policy in Russia", *US Foreign Policy*, edited by Michael Cox and Doug Stokes, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 2008, p. 260.

[526] The US Senate ratified the START II in1996, but it was not accepted by the Russian DUMA until 2000 with qualifications. *Ibid.*

[527] Daniel S. Papp, Loch K. Johnson and John E. Endicott, *American Foreign Policy History, Politics and Policy*, Pearson, Longma: 2005, p. 204.

economy and other Western values.[528] It was known that the US under Clinton presidency used this En-En strategy in transition process of these post-Soviet countries, including the Russian Federation from socialist economy to capitalist economy and their integration process into the world capitalist system.

Clinton also gave importance to the issues of non-proliferation, reduction in weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons in the newly independent states such as Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Bush had started negotiations on the issue and these countries pledged to return their weapons to Yeltsin and Clinton further cooperated with Russia on dismantling nuclear weapons and missiles, purchasing Russian fissionable material, improving security at nuclear sites and paying Russian scientists and engineers not to immigrate to other countries, especially to Iraq and Iran.[529] Although he supported the 1996 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, it was not to be ratified by the Congress; nevertheless, he succeeded the ratification of the Chemical Weapon Convention in 1997.

The US-Russian cooperation was not limited to the reduction and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Indeed, the US chose to follow a 'strategy of cooperation' that had three steps: firstly ensuring the involvement of Russia (such as the integration of Russian forces in IFOR or SFOR after the Bosnian war or leaving Pristina airport to Russian forces after the 1999 NATO intervention in Kosovo[530]), secondly persuading her (for example, on NATO enlargement) and finally, controlling her.[531] Clinton also supported the integration of the former Socialist and post-Soviet states into the Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Among them, NATO's relationship with the Central and Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union started with the London Declaration by the Heads of

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[528] *Ibid.*

[529] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

[530] Türkeş, *op. cit. NATO Bağlamında ABD- Türkiye İlişkilerinde…*, p. 389.

[531] *Ibid.,* p. 399.

State and Government of NATO members in July 1990. With this announcement, NATO invited the governments of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania "not just to visit, but to establish regular diplomatic liaison with NATO."[532] In December 1991 with the Rome declaration, NATO announced the adoption of a new Strategic Concept which envisaged a broader security understanding and invited these countries to broaden their relations and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) was established to serve as a forum for further cooperation and dialogue.[533]

In 1994, NATO under US leadership launched the Partnership for Peace Program (PfP) which has been a major programme of bilateral cooperation between NATO and individual partner countries.[534] The PfP foresaw joint military activities and peacekeeping field exercises to provide interoperability and military cooperation among the military forces of NATO and the partner countries.[535] Almost every Central and Eastern European county and former Soviet republics joined the programme.

In 1997, NATO decided to intensify its relationship with the Russian Federation and Ukraine and at the same year, the NATO-Russia Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security was signed, the Permanent Joint Council was established to foster bilateral relations,[536] the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership with Ukraine was signed and the NATO-Ukraine Commission was

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[532] "London Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance", http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/49-95/c900706a.htm, (accessed on 15.02.2012).

[533] "Partnership for Peace Program", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50349.htm, (accessed on 24.09.2013).

[534] *Ibid.*

[535] "Declaration Head of State and Government participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council, the Brussels Summit Declaration", 11 January 1994, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-73364D74-3144351F/natolive/official_texts_24470.htm?mode=pressrelease, (accessed on 31.08.2012)

[536] "NATO's Relations with Russia", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50090.htm?, (accessed on 24.09.2013).

established.[537] Finally, in 1999 at the Washington Summit, the operational dimension of PfP was strengthened with the adoption of "Operational Capabilities Concept".[538] Additionally, during this Summit, Membership Action Plans (MAP) was signed with Bulgaria and Romania and accepted Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic as member states. To persuade Russia, NATO made some commitments and the Western countries gave some concessions that will be held in the following section.

Within this framework, the US established relations with the former Warsaw Pact and the post-Soviet states and pursued a strategy of integrating them into the world capitalist system. While doing this, she preferred to pursue a balancing strategy and tried to cooperate with Russia rather than to undermine her position in her sphere of influence, thus refrained from provoking Russia during this important transition process. Therefore, she limited her engagement with regional countries and left a free manoeuvre space for Russia in the former post-Soviet geography and did not interfere in her effort to re-constitute her anarchical hierarchic relations with these countries but kept Russian influence under control on some issues (such as her monopoly over transportation of natural resources and NATO enlargement towards the Baltic states). Furthermore, she supported Turkey on the construction of the BTC pipeline and Baltic countries' membership in NATO, which will be realized in 2004.

4.2.2 *Policies of the European Union towards the Black Sea Region*

After the end of the Cold War, the European countries were engaged in the transformation of the European Economic Community into the European Union and signed the Treaty on European Union – the Maastricht Treaty – in December 1991. Article 49 of this Treaty recognized that all states that satisfied two conditions have right to apply for the EU membership; which are to be a European state and to

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[537] "NATO's Relations with Ukraine", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_37750.htm?, (accessed on 24.09.2013).

[538] "Partnership for Peace Program", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50349.htm, (accessed on 24.09.2013).

respect "human dignity, liberty, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including minorities."[539]

After the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, their non-Soviet members, including Bulgaria and Romania, applied for EU membership. After their application, the EU Council decided to launch an enlargement process. In 1993, the EU announced the Copenhagen criteria for full membership.

Regarding the post-Soviet countries (including the Russian Federation), the EU tried to manage relations through bilateral Partnership and Cooperation Agreements which were to be legal frameworks, based on the respect of democratic principles and human rights, setting out the political, economic and trade relationship between the EU and its partner countries.[540] The PCAs with Ukraine were put into force in 1998, with Russia in 1997 and with Georgia in 1999.

The other tool the EU used for regulating its relationships with them was TACIS-Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States. It included economic assistance to the CIS countries and Mongolia and technical assistance for economic reform and recovery in these countries.[541] They were enforced according to the attainment of objectives in the PCA agreements and controlled according the national indicative and action programmes.[542] The first action plan was prepared for Ukraine in 2004 and for Georgia in 2006.

Indeed, the EU put the integration of the Central European countries on its agenda during the first decade of the post-Cold War period; of the Eastern European

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[539] "Accession of New Member States to the European Union", http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/member_states_accession_en.htm, (accessed on 24.06.2013)

[540] "Partnership and Cooperation Agreements", http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/ceeca/pca/index.htm, (accessed on 05.06.2007)

[541] "Council Regulations (EC, Euratom) No. 99/2000", 29 December 1999, p. 1, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000R0099:EN:NOT, (accessed on 13.10.2013)

[542] *Ibid.*

countries during the second decade rather than the former Soviet Union republics. As was seen in Table 15, in the Bulgaria and Romania cases, the number of treaties that the EU signed with regional countries displayed this change in its policies. In the Ukraine, Georgia and Russia cases; the number of treaties between 1991 and 1999 is greater than the number of treaties from 2000 to 2010. Most of the first decade treaties were multilateral in the context of the international system, while bilateral treaties accounted for more than half in the second decade. While numbers of bilateral treaties between the EU and Bulgaria and Romania were 1 during the first decade, it increased to 37 with Bulgaria and to 42 with Romania which reflected increased importance of these two countries in the EU agenda.

Table 15: Number of Treaties between EU and Black Sea Countries (1991-2011)

	1991-1999		2000-2011		TOTAL
	Bilateral	Multilateral	Bilateral	Multilateral	
UKRAINE[543]	35		28		63
	5	30	18	10	
GEORGIA[544]	20		17		37
	1	19	9	8	
RUSSIA[545]	30		28		58
	4	26	17	11	

[543] "List of Treaties by Country: Ukraine", http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/searchByCountryAndContinent.do?countryId=3856&countryName=Ukraine, (accessed on 21.02.2012)

[544] "List of Treaties by Country: Georgia", http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/searchByCountryAndContinent.do?countryId=3860&countryName=Georgia, (accessed on 21.02.2012).

[545] "List of Treaties by Country: Russia", http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/searchByCountryAndContinent.do?countryId=3853&countryName=Russia, (accessed on 21.02.2012).

Table 15 Continued

BULGARIA[546]	33		65		98
	1	32	37	28	
ROMANIA[547]	31		69		100
	1	30	42	27	
TURKEY[548]	29		25		54
	3	26	8	17	

4.2.3   Policies of the Regional Countries towards the West

With the end of the Cold War, there appeared an overlapping demand in the Warsaw Pact and post-Soviet countries as well as the Western countries on their integration process into capitalist economic system and the Euro-Atlantic structures. In line with this analysis, it would be appropriate to examine policies of Ukraine, Georgia, Romania and Bulgaria towards the Western countries. Turkey has been in the Western sphere of influence; therefore, this section does not include Turkey.

4.2.3.1   UKRAINE

During the period from her independence (24 August 1991) to the mid-1990s, under Leonid M. Kravchuk presidency Ukraine neglected the European choice mostly because of her special position among the post-Soviet states, her attention to the sovereignty issue and his desire to keep nuclear weapons within her territory.

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[546] "List of Treaties by Country: Bulgaria", http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/searchByCountryAndContinent.do?countryId=3840&countryName=Bulgaria, (accessed on 21.02.2012)

[547] "List of Treaties by Country: Romania", http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/searchByCountryAndContinent.do?countryId=3839&countryName=Romania, (accessed on 21.02.2012)

[548] "List of Treaties by Country: Turkey", http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/searchByCountryAndContinent.do?countryId=5745&countryName=Turkey, (accessed on 21.02.2012)

After 1994, although President Leonid Kuchma was known as pro-Russian, he adopted multi-vector foreign policies due to the threat perception regarding border issues with Russia. Therefore, he announced "The Strategy of Ukraine's Integration into the European Union."[549] Although this was not a radical departure from its mainstream foreign policy, it may be noted that this was a policy modification that took place under his administration. In line with this policy modification, in May 1994, the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) with the EU was signed and put into effect in 1998. Participating in the TACIS programme, Ukraine was accepted as a full member in the Council of Europe in 1995.[550] These were Ukraine's first connections with the Western world and they at least earned a European dimension to Ukrainian foreign policy.

Furthermore, in the same period, the Kuchma administration became interested in the Euro-Atlantic security structure and thus Ukraine became a participant in the NATO PfP program in 1994[551] and the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine was signed in 1997. The NATO-Ukraine Commission was established on 9 July 1997. Ukraine put "the State Program of Ukraine-NATO Cooperation" into force in 1998. By this Charter, Ukraine accepted joint military manoeuvres on her own territory, as well as consultation with NATO experts on arms exports and the proliferation of weapon technologies and military reform.[552] Ukraine participated in the NATO-led marine manoeuvres "Sea Breeze-97", "Sea Breeze-98", "Sea Breeze-99" in the Black Sea (in which Russia refused to

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[549] Olga Alexandrova, "The Premises of Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy", *Between Russia and the West: Foreign and Security Policy of Independent Ukraine*, edited by Kurt R. Spillman, Andreas Wenger and Derek Müller, Peter Lang, Bern: 1999, p. 48.

[550] *Ibid.*, p. 47

[551] *Ibid.*

[552] Oeksander Potekhin, "The NATO-Ukraine Partnership: Problems, Achievements and Perspectives", *Between Russia and the West: Foreign and Security Policy of Independent Ukraine*, edited by Kurt R. Spillmann, Andreas Wenger and Derek Müller, Peter Lang: Bern, 1999, p. 146-147.

participate)[553] and took part in the NATO-led peacekeeping forces in Bosnia in 1996 and in Kosovo in 1999.[554] Although Ukraine took part in these Western initiated programmes and Ukrainian leadership would like to depart from Russian dominance, these cannot be seen as a split or a challenge from the Russian sphere of influence because the Russian Federation itself took part in similar programs both with the EU and the NATO.

4.2.3.2   GEORGIA

During the first decade after independence, Georgia would like to establish relations with the Western countries and institutions and signed the PCA with the EU in 1996 and put into effect in 1999. On 21 April 1999, she became member in the Council of Europe, a PfP partner in 1994 and a member of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in 1997. She joined the Planning and Review Process of NATO in 1999.[555]

As compared with the EU, the US was much interested in Georgia but her policy toward the Region was limited to her support for the establishment of the BSEC and the so-called Caspian oil policy and the BTC pipeline, which was the first important project of the West involving these countries and by-passing Russia to get what they wanted in spite of Russian opposition. As it was seen Figure 14 and 15, both in the first decade and the second decade, Georgia was receiving important amount of economic and military aids, especially in the second term. Georgia was the first largest per capita recipient of American aid among the regional countries. (Appendix J- US Military and Economic Aid to Black Sea Countries)

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[553] "Sea Breeze", *Global Security*, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/sea-breeze.htm, (accessed on 14.02.2010)

[554] "NATO's Relations with Ukraine", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_37750.htm?, (accessed on 14.02.2010).

[555] "NATO-Georgia Partnership Mechanism", http://www.mod.gov.ge/?page=-10&Id=19&lang=1, (accessed on 07.06.2012).

Indeed, both the USA and the EU in this region would like to establish relations however Georgia was in turmoil and dealing her armed conflict with the separatist regions. Till 2003, leaders in Georgia could not succeed in maintaining stability within the country. Therefore, Western countries policies were limited with economic and technical aid. During the Georgian-Abkhazian and South Ossetia conflicts, the Western countries did not involve in order to prevent Russian reaction; only the OSCE took part in peacekeeping and negotiations. In the beginning of her independence, Georgia would like to re-provide territorial integrity and preserve its sovereignty, thus denied to be part of the CIS and may see establishing relations with the Western countries as a way of reducing Russian dominance over her country, however Russian anarchical hierarchic relations with this country strengthened during this term because of turmoil and military conflicts.
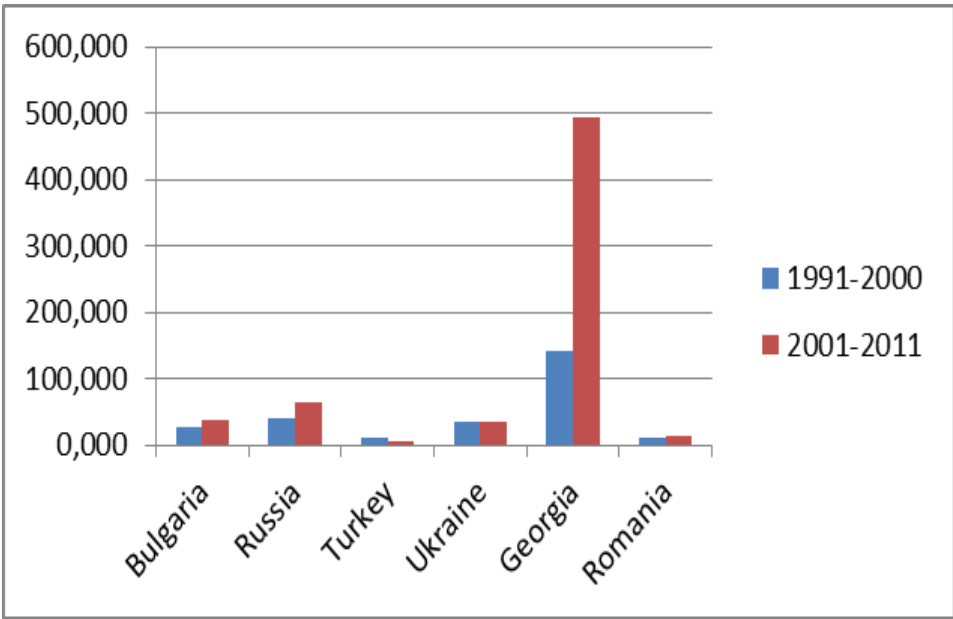
Figure 14: US Economic Aids to Black Sea Countries per Capita (1991-2011) (Historical $US)

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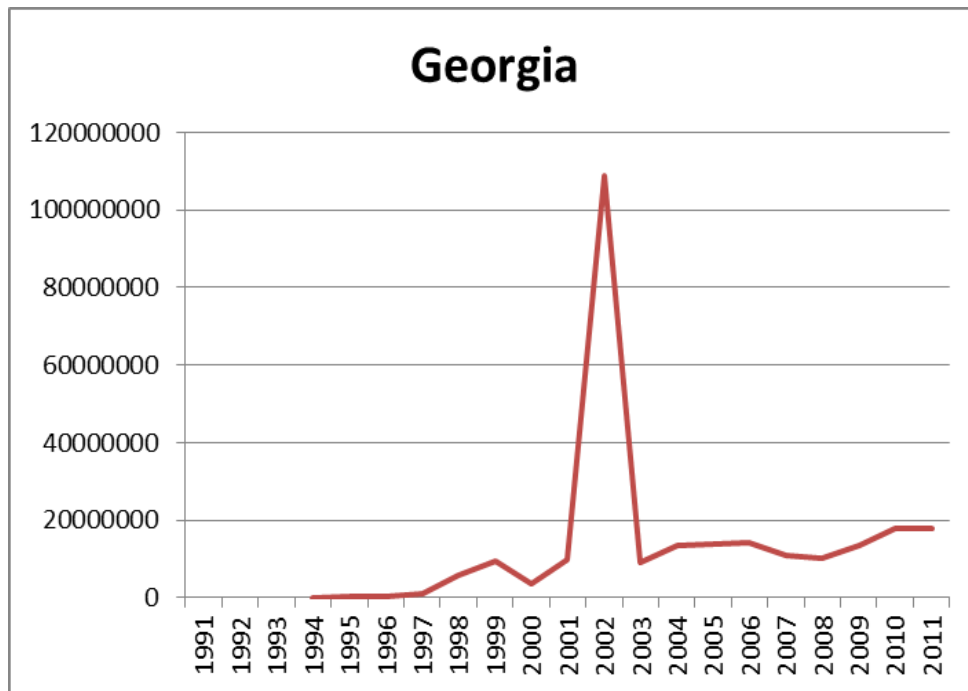
Figure 15: US Military Aid to Georgia (1991-2011)

4.2.3.3   ROMANIA

Romania signed a trade and cooperation agreement with European countries in 1990, an association agreement with the EU in 1993, and formally applied for membership in 1995. When the first group of candidates was evaluated in 1997, the EU did not invite Romania, but she was invited with four other countries to begin negotiations in 1999. The National Salvation Front which ruled Romania till 1997 gave more importance to relations with the US and became a member of the NATO PfP in 1994, signed the "Status of Forces Agreement" between NATO members and other PfP participants in 1995, allowed NATO's aircraft usage of the country's air space for possible military action against Yugoslavia in 1999 and in turn NATO presented a Membership Action Plan (MAP) to Romania in 1999.[556] Indeed, Russian

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[556] "Romania-NATO Chronology of Key Events",
http://www.nato.int/invitees2004/romania/chronology.htm, (accessed on 07.02.2012).

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influence in Romania was more limited than it was in other former Warsaw Pact members. After the end of the Cold War, Romania would like to intensify her relations with the West more but the EU and the USA were pursing more cautious policies but it should be noted that Romania could transform her friction with the USSR into a split from Russian sphere of influence during this term.

4.2.3.4   BULGARIA

Like all post-Warsaw Pact countries, Bulgaria began to establish relations with Western countries. However, during the 1990-1996 period, since she could not properly define her foreign policy priorities, she tried to develop her relations with the West while taking care to keep her ties with the Russian Federation.[557] Within this framework, Bulgaria signed trade agreements with European countries in 1990, then the EU association treaty in 1993, a Free Trade Agreement with EFTA countries (except Austria, Sweden and Finland)[558] in 1994 and formally applied for the EU membership in 1995.

According to the Europa World Plus Bulgaria Report, relationships between Bulgaria and the EU did not develop till 1997, when the Kostov government was established.[559] This government relaxed the policy of closeness with Russia, solved Bulgaria's disputes with Macedonia and Romania, and tried to strengthen Bulgaria's ties with the EU. Bulgaria has been placed on the list of applicants invited to begin membership talks at the meeting of EU leaders in Helsinki in 1999. Then the

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[557] Mustafa Türkeş, "Geçiş Sürecinde Dış Politika Öncelikleri: Bulgaristan Örneği", *Türkiye'nin Komşuları*, edited by Mustafa Türkeş and İlhan Uzgel, İmge Yayınları, Ankara: 2002, pp. 192-193.

[558]"Agreement between the EFTA States and the Republic of Bulgaria", http://www.worldtradelaw.net/fta/agreements/eftabulfta.pdf, (accessed on 06.02.2012).

[559] Richard Crampton, History (Bulgaria), *Europa World Plus*, Routledge, London: 02 February 2012, http://www.europaworld.com/eng/bg.hi, (accessed on 06.02.2012)

Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was signed in 1999.[560]

Regarding relations with NATO, the Bulgarian government, unlike Romania, had a "Gorbachevian vision of European security"[561] and preferred to preserve close relations with the Russian Federation and to take Russian concerns regarding the NATO enlargement into consideration. However, after the establishment of the NATO Russia Permanent Council in 1997, Russia reduced its opposition against NATO enlargement[562] and in December 1997 Russia clearly expressed a positive attitude towards Bulgarian NATO membership.[563] After that date, the Kostov government tried to strengthen Bulgaria's relations with NATO, adopted the National Programme for Preparation and Accession to NATO on 17 March 1997 and participated in Stabilization Forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1997 and in KFOR in 1999.[564] NATO proposed a Membership Action Plan (MAP) to Bulgaria in April 1999, and Bulgaria presented the first Annual National programme 1999-2000 under the Membership Action Plan in October 1999.[565] Although Bulgarian population was pro-Russian, government tended to give impetus for incorporating Bulgaria into the Euro-Atlantic structures and Russia, as noted above, gave green light for this, at least did not prevent. All these shows the fact that in actual term Russian influence in Bulgaria started to decline after 1997.

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[560] Türkeş, *op. cit. Geçiş Sürecinde...*, p. 207.

[561] Dimitar Bechev, "From Policy-Takers to Policy Makers? Observations on Bulgarian and Romanian Foreign Policy before and after EU Accession", *Perspective on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 26 June 2009, p. 213.

[562] Türkeş, *op. cit. Geçiş Sürecinde...*, p. 199.

[563] "Are Russia and Bulgaria Finally Starting to Look at Each Other as Equal Partners", *The Sofia Echo*, 12-18 February 1999 cited from *Ibid.*

[564] "Bulgaria- NATO Chronology of Key Events," http://www.nato.int/invitees2004/bulgaria/chronology.htm, (accessed on 22.04.2013).

[565] *Ibid.*

4.2.4   *Contested Regional Organizations*

During the period from 1991 to 1999, Russia, the EU, the US and regional countries initiated or established 16 regional organizations. These organizations, initiated by Russia and the Western countries were contested because they were reflection of effort of Russia to re-establish and sustain her dominance and efforts of the Western countries to undermine Russian sphere of influence and integrate regional countries into the Euro-Atlantic security and economic structures. However, organizations established by any country other than Russia are categorized according to membership of Russia because there are many organizations, encompassing Russia or was backed by Russia. Large scale organizations such as the UN, OSCE, the European Council, NATO and WTO are excluded.

List of regional and multilateral initiatives

1. 1989 – CEI (Central European Initiative) was established by Italy, Austria, Hungary and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) for promoting regional cooperation among Central and Eastern European countries.[566] From the Black Sea Region, Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine became member states in 1996.

2. 1991 – CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) members were Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

3. 1992 – Black Sea Commission against pollution in the Black Sea (Turkey initiated), included the Russian Federation.

4. 1992 – Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (Turkey initiated), backed the Russian Federation.

5. 1992 – CST (Collective Security Treaty) was signed by Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Azerbaijan signed the treaty on 24 September 1993, Georgia on 9 December 1993 and

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[566] "Member States", Central European Initiative, http://www.ceinet.org/content/about-us, (accessed on 13.08.2012).

Belarus on 31 December 1993. The treaty went into effect on 20 April 1994. The current members were Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan; Azerbaijan and Georgia withdrew in 1999.

6. 1993 – TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe Caucasus – Asia), which was EU initiated, and the Steering Group on Transport (EU commission initiated), includes the Russian Federation.

7. 1993 – Black Sea Environment Program (EU and UN initiated) included the Russian Federation.

8. 1994 – NATO Pfp was launched for bilateral cooperation between NATO and partner countries including the Russian Federation. Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, established in 1997, replaced the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) for the development of relationships between NATO and the PfP partners.

9. 1995 – Black Sea Regional Energy Center (BSREC), which was EU Commission initiated, includes the Russian Federation.

10. 1995 – INOGATE (Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe) was EU initiated, and in 1999 an umbrella agreement was signed by all BSEC member states, except Russia

11. 1996 – GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova) established at the NATO 50th Anniversary Summit.[567] Uzbekistan became a member of GUAM in 1999, but withdrew in 2005.

12. 1996 – South East European Co-operation Process (SEECP) was launched on Bulgaria's initiative for diplomatic and political dialogue.[568] From the Black Sea Region, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey were members, it did not include Russia.

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[567] According to Thomas De Waal, this was an attempt to form an informal alliance of CIS countries who wanted to resist Russian influence collectively. Thomas De Waal, "Georgia and its Distant Neighbours", *Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution*, edited by Bruno Coppieters and Robert Legvold, the MIT Press, Cambridge: 1996, p. 329.

[568] "About RSPC SEE", Regional Secretariat for Parliamentary Cooperation in South-East Europe, http://rspcsee.org/en/pages/read/about-seecp, (accessed on 13.08.2012)

13. 1999 – SEEBRIG The South-Eastern Europe Brigade (SEEBRIG) consisted of seven NATO and Partnership for Peace (PfP) nations, including Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey (from the Black Sea Region). The Ministers of Defence of these countries signed an Agreement on Multinational Peace Force South-Eastern Europe (MPFSEE) on September 26, 1998[569].

14. 1999 – South East Cooperation Initiative was founded with the purpose of conducting joint investigations, training sessions and strategic analysis concerning the most sensitive criminal areas in the South Eastern European region. From the Black Sea Region, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey were members, but the Russian Federation was not included.[570]

15. 1999 – Steering Group was established to carry out transportation projects by six littoral countries with Moldova, Greece and the EU Commission.[571]

16. 1999 – Stability Pact for devising conflict prevention strategy for the countries of South Eastern Europe.[572] Turkey, Russia, Bulgaria and Romania were partners.

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[569] "South Eastern Europe Brigade SEEBRIG", www.seebrig.org, (accessed on 13.08.2012)

[570] "About SELEC"I Southeast European Law Enforcement Center, http://www.secicenter.org/m105/Home, (accessed on 13.08.2012)

[571] Mustafa Aydın, "Regional Cooperation in the Black Sea and the Role of Institutions", *Perception*, Autumn 2005, p. 68.

[572] "About the Stability Pact", Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, http://www.stabilitypact.org/, (accessed on 13.08.2012).

Table 16: Regional Organizations in the Black Sea Region (1989-1999)

Regional Organizations, initiated by the Russian Federation (2)	Regional Organizations, initiated by states, other than Russian Federation (14)	
	Organizations, include or backed by Russia (8)	Organizations, exclude Russia (6)
CIS (1991) CST Collective Security Treaty (1992)	Black Sea Commission (1992) BSEC (1992) TRACECA (1993) Black Sea Environment Program (1993) NACC (1994) The BSREC (1995) The Stability Pact (1999) The Steering Group (1999)	CEI Central European Initiative (1989) INOGATE (1995) GUAM (1996) SEECP (1996) SEEBRIG (1999) South East Cooperation Initiative (1999)

Table 17: Regional Organizations, excluding Russia

Organization	Initiator	Members
Central European Initiative	Italy, Austria, Hungary , and SFRY	Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine (from the BSR)
INOGATE*	EU	Georgia, Ukraine, Turkey, Belarus, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, five Central Asian countries
GUAM**		Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova
SEECP	Bulgaria	Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey(from the BSR)
SEEBRIG	NATO	Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey(from the BSR)
SECI	The US[573]	Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey, (from the BSR)

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[573] Erhard Busek, "SECI Center Bukarest- A Success Story",
http://www.secicenter.org/p478/Comments+about+SECI+Center, (accessed on 23.02.2012)

As can be seen in the tables, the Russian-led organizations encompassed the ex-Soviet Union countries rather than all the countries in the Region. Bulgaria and Romania became members of five regional organizations in which Russia was not a member and were initiated by Western countries. In all the other organizations, Russia was also a member state. Ukraine and Georgia were members of the INOGATE and the GUAM. Additionally, Ukraine has been a member of the CEI. Reflected in the tables, it proves that competition between Russian and the West was materialized through regional organization and it could be noted that the effect of other great powers in the Region was limited in Georgia and Ukraine but they started to be influential in Romania and Bulgaria.

4.2.5   *Trading Partners*[574]

As assumed in Chapter II, being leading trading partner of a country may provide the powerful state with important leverages such as being influential in economy of that country. Therefore, top trading partners of regional countries are to be looked into by displaying their trade volume with their leading trade partner countries.

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[574] COW International Trade 1870-2009 database will be used to identify top trading partners. Instead of EU trade, leading countries (Germany, UK and France) were examined. Barbieri, Katherine and Omar Keshk, 2008, Correlates of War Project Trade Data Set Codebook, Version .03, http://correlatesofwar.org, (accessed on 02.05.2013)
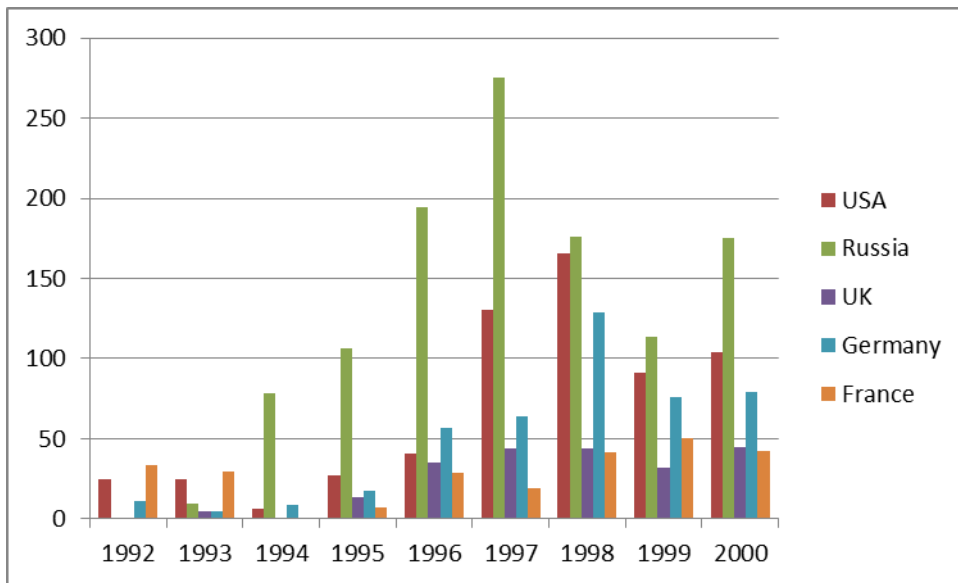
Figure 16: Trading Partners of Georgia (1991- 2000) (in current $US Million)
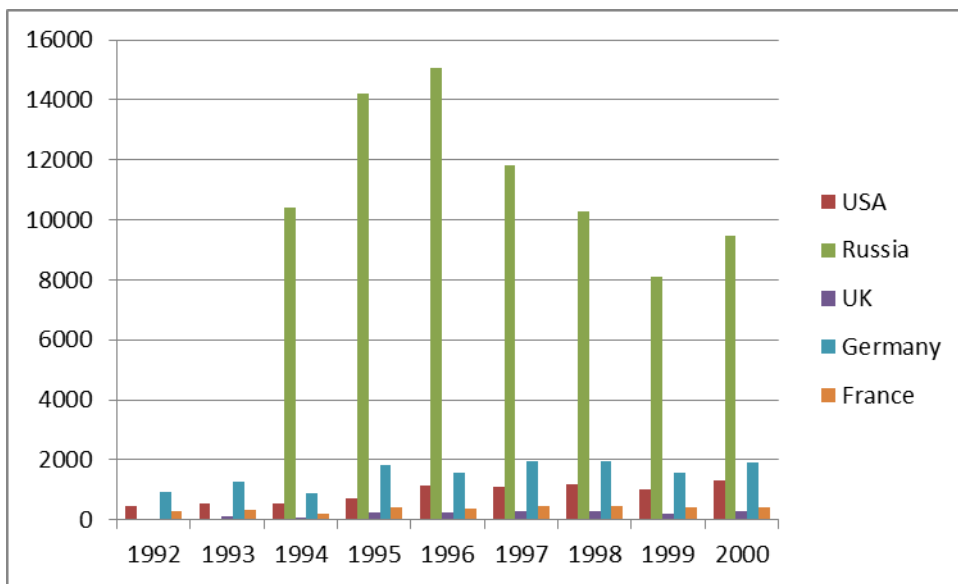
Figure 17: Trading Partners of Ukraine (1991- 2000) (in current $US Million)
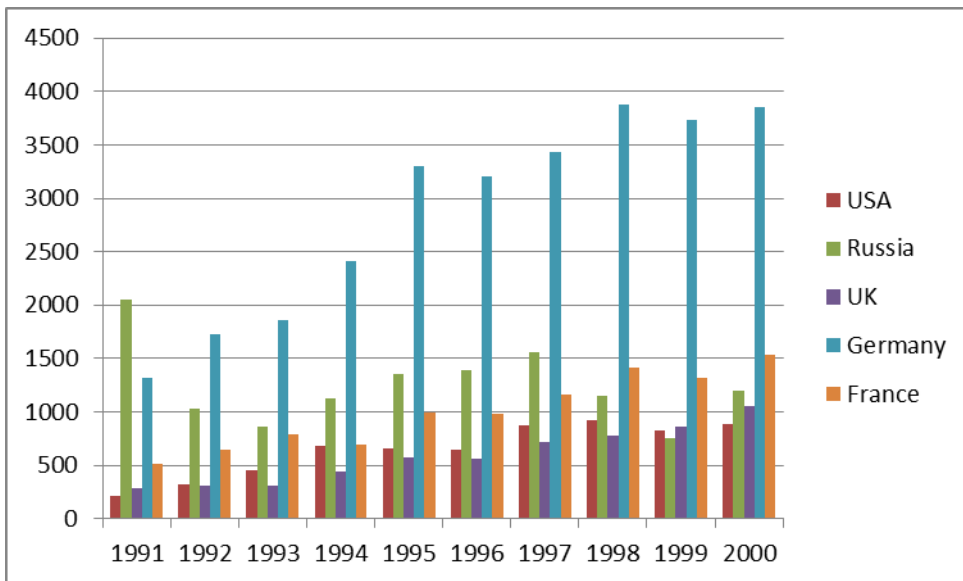
Figure 18: Trading Partners of Romania (1991- 2000) (in current $US Million)
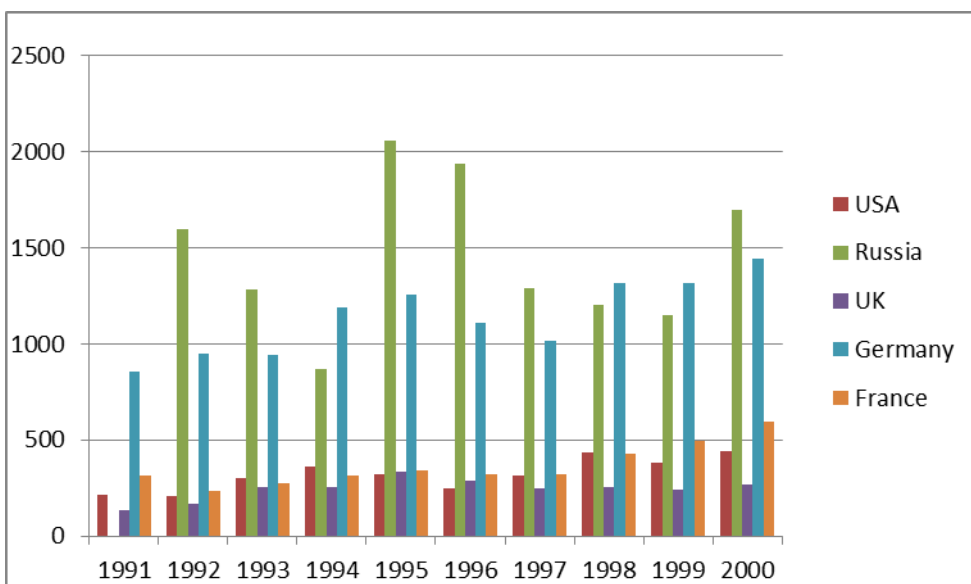
Figure 19: Trading Partners of Bulgaria (1991- 2000) (in current $US Million)

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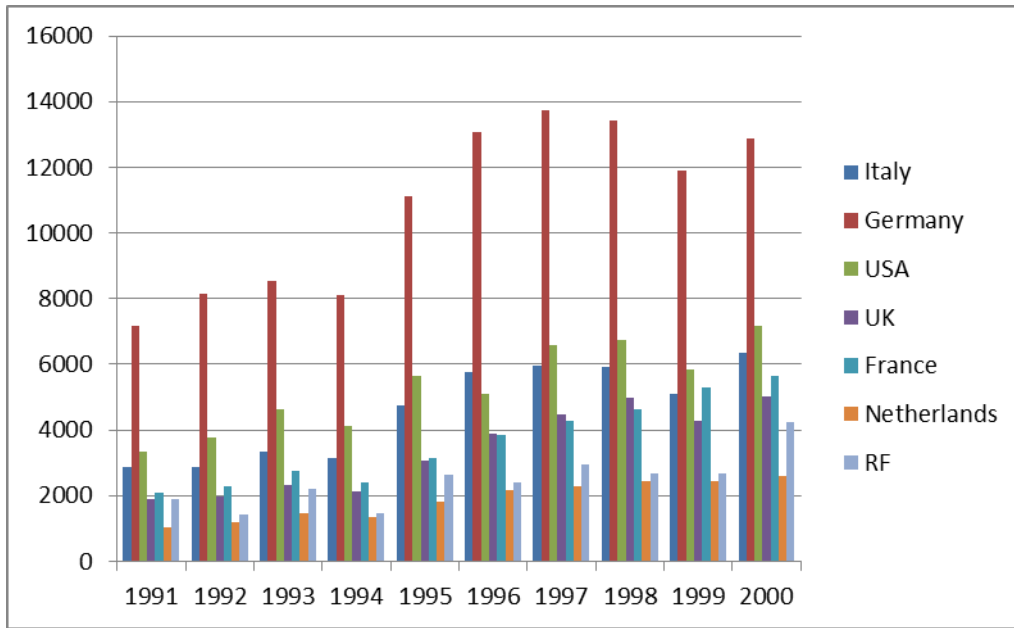
Figure 20: Trading Partners of Turkey (1991- 2000) (in current $US Million)

As seen in the diagrams, Russia was the top trading partner for Ukraine and Georgia, while in Bulgaria Russia shared this top ranking with Germany. Romania managed to change her main trading partner from the Russian Federation to Germany, whereas Turkey's top trading partners were Germany and the USA. As was seen in trade partners' diagrams, the Russian Federation could sustain her economic relations with Georgia, Ukraine and partly Bulgaria while she developed her trade relations with Turkey. Although the USA and the EU were in an attempt of establishing relations with countries within Russian sphere of influence and providing economic and technical assistance; at that stage, their engagement was not backed up with economic and trade policies.

4.2.6   *Military Equipment Supplier*

In this part, the top military equipment suppliers of Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania and Georgia were looked into[575] because it provides to the supplier country an important leverage into military affairs of recipient country and it can be assumed as one of the most important indicators of being a dominant country. Since Ukraine is one of largest arms exporter, its import data could not be reached.

Table 18: Arms Exports to Bulgaria in $US m. at constant (1990) prices[576]

	1991	1992	1993/1994/1995	1996	1997/1998	1999	2000	Total
Russia		45	3	122		3		169
USSR	339							339
USA							4	4
Italy							3	3

Table 19: Arms Exports to Romania in $US m. at constant (1990) prices[577]

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Total
Bulgaria	6	5									11
France	18	12	12	7							49
Israel						6	10	9	11	18	54
Moldova		12									12
Russia		154	3	22	3	15	33	1	1	1	233
Switzerland								117	117		234
UK	8	1									9
USA						18	18	48	15	3	103

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[575]"General Top TIV Tables", SIPRI Database,
http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 13.08.2012)

[576] "TIV of arms exports to Bulgaria, 1991-2000",
http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 04.07.2013)

[577] "TIV of arms exports to Romania, 1991-2000",
http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 15.04.2013)

Table 20: Arms Exports to Georgia in \$US m. at constant (1990) prices[578]

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Total
Czech Republic										6	6
Germany								4			4
Russia			4								4
Turkey								3			3
Ukraine							7	20	24		51

Table 21: Arms Exports to Turkey in \$US m. at constant (1990) prices[579]

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Total
China								6	6	6	18
France	1	1	25	50	124	123	34	125	163	156	801
Germany	255	104	253	350	559	493	123	596	237	303	3273
Italy	1	4	4	10	23	37	36	10	5	10	140
Netherlands	39	25	10	10	14	5	19	22	13	22	179
Norway	3	5	15	5							29
Russia			24	7	44	95					169
Spain		25	49	49	74	74	82	74			426
Switzerland						5	23	23	23	23	95
UK				28	43	55	55	178	163	150	672
USA	917	1680	1929	1374	725	613	1170	1610	1140	498	11656
Total	1216	1844	2309	1884	1605	1499	1541	2643	1750	1167	17457

As was seen in the tables, Russia was among the leading military equipment suppliers for Romania, who had managed to buy from other suppliers as well. Russia was the leading military equipment supplier for Bulgaria. Georgia, however, bought a relatively small amount of military equipment from Russia (only \$3 million) but

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[578] "TIV of arms exports to Georgia, 1991-2000",
http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 15.04.2013)

[579] "TIV of arms exports to Turkey, 1991-2000,"
http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 15.04.2013)

her top supplier was Ukraine, one of the CIS countries. In Turkey, the USA preserved its first rank position among all the arms exporters.

It can be concluded that Russia could establish and sustain her dominance over Georgia and Ukraine. While her sphere of influence were tried to be undermined, these tables showed that Russia had leverage in economic and military relations with these countries and the Western countries could not change the situation during these years. Romania was out of this sphere; Bulgaria was located somewhere between these two. Although Bulgaria applied for full membership in the EU, their situation did not advance much. Rather than developing relations with the West, the Bulgarian government gave more importance to their relationship with the Russian Federation. Until 1997, Bulgaria was considerably under Russian influence. However, in the case of Bulgaria, as will be seen in the following chapter (Regional Structure), the first condition of sphere of influence – a kind of dependent relationship – did not exist. Russia was no longer capable of shaping domestic politics in Bulgaria; therefore, her position was defined as 'somewhere between these-neither in nor out of the sphere of influence'.

As noted above, the USA and the EU gave more importance to the integration process of the Central and Eastern European countries. Russia opposed their membership, but not because of the fact that they were states within her sphere of influence. Indeed, Russian priorities had shifted from the ex-Warsaw Pact region to the CIS area. In her two security concepts, the Eastern and Central European countries were not included; instead, integration and cooperation within the CIS was underlined.[580] Stephen Larrabee reiterated this assumption regarding the Russian stance, pointing out that "Under Boris Yeltsin, Russia adopted a policy of benign neglect toward most of the former Eastern Bloc, except for a vocal and ultimately

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[580] "In the matter of maintaining peace and security; (…) Russian Federation will cooperate within the Commonwealth of Independent States with its members in resolving problems of collective defence and security and agreeing military policy and defence organizational development. This dimension of cooperation is the priority for the Russian Federation. *The Basic Provision of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation,* 1993.

unsuccessful effort to stop the first round of NATO enlargement, largely ignored the Region."[581]

The review of the Western and regional countries' relations shows the Western countries establish relations with the post-Soviet and the former Warsaw Pact countries with an aspiration of undermining Russian sphere of influence but during this term, this aspiration was not backed in the post-Soviet Region by actual policies. The USA mostly preferred to cooperate and control the Russian Federation and leave her a free manoeuvre space in the post-Soviet Region. All programs of NATO or the EU (such as PfPs and PCAs, respectively) were launched for all post-Soviet and the post-Warsaw Pact countries, including Russia. Ukraine and Georgia also joined these programs with the Russian Federation, which had more intense relations with both of these institutions. The NATO Ukraine Commission was set up (9 July 1997) after the Permanent Joint Council was established (27 May 1997); as a sign of desire of NATO to encompass Russia, not to decouple while intensifying relations with one of countries in her sphere of influence. Unlike Bulgaria and Romania, Ukraine did not apply for full membership in the EU and NATO. Bulgaria also expected for applying for the EU membership till 1995, for the NATO membership till 1997. In sum, while the Western countries did not hesitate to establish close and intense relations with the ex-Warsaw Pact members states, Russian anarchical hierarchic relations with Georgia and Ukraine and their internal problems limited Western influence in this part of the Region, which remained in the Russian sphere of influence. Thus, Russia was able to re-constitute security here according her interests and did not follow any reactive policy.

4.3 SECURITY SITUATION IN THE BLACK SEA REGION

The aim of this section is to define the state-of-affairs of security in the Black Sea Region. In line with the assumption in this thesis,[582] it is assumed that with the

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[581] Stephen Larrabee, "Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, Number 6, November/December 2006, p. 127.

1936 Mountreux Convention, the signatory partners had constructed an order in which security had been based on the balance of interest of the related actors in the Region. As long as this status-quo was preserved, the regional system is assumed to be a secure one.

To define the security situation in the Black Sea Region, the number of military conflicts in the Region, the threat perceptions of regional actors towards each other and their military expenditures need to be pointed out. It may be noted that the positions of regional states with regard to the Western countries and their policies are another important aspects that has been explored in the previous section.

4.3.1   Military Conflicts

For any region, security is related to the absence of aggression and military conflict. There may be instability in a region but to assess this region as secure there should not be any on-going conflict between the actors. During this period from 1991 to 1999, there were five wars in the Region, according to the document, "List of All Wars"[583] which was prepared by the Correlates of War. These are

1. The Georgia War (1991-1992)[584]
2. The Abkhazia Revolt (1993-1994)[585]
3. The First Chechnya War (1994-1996)[586]

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[582] That was given in the previous chapter, pp. 72 and 80-83.

[583] Sarkees and Wayman, *op. cit.*

[584] In 1989, South Ossetia, an autonomous republic within Georgia, sought to gain full independence in 1990. Georgian leadership abolished these regions'autonomy. In response, Georgian and Ossetian forces were involved in military clashes until the ceasefire proclaimed in June 1992 by the Sochi Agreement under Russian mediation. "War in Georgia", http://www.crisisgroup.be/tests/georgia_sep08/georgia_pres.html, (accessed on 19.04.2013)

[585] Abkhazian leadership declared independence in 1992; however, it was not recognized by the central government. In 1992, Georgian forces were involved in another military conflict with the Abkhazian forces until May 1994, when Russian forces were deployed between the conflicting groups. "War in Georgia", http://www.crisisgroup.be/tests/georgia_sep08/georgia_pres.html, (accessed on 19.04.2013)

4. The Second Chechnya War (1999-2003/2004)[587]
5. The Second Turkish-PKK Conflict (1991-1999)[588]

Around the Region, the Dniestrian Independence War of 1991-1992, the Nagorno-Karabakh War of 1991-1993 and the Azeri-Armenian War of 1993-1994 also took place. The Correlates of War considered Turkey as one of the participants of the Kosovo War in 1999 because Turkey joined this as one of the NATO member countries; but this war was not classified as a regional war.

All of these wars are intra-state wars except the 1993-1994 Azeri-Armenian war. According to Neorealist theory, only inter-state wars, which "take place between or among the recognized states,"[589] are taken into account. During the period under analysis, especially during the first five years, so many intra-state conflicts took place that the state-of-affairs of security in the Region was destroyed

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[586] Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the National Congress of the Chechen People declared independence in 1991. In 1994, the Russian Federation invaded Chechnya to end the separatist movement, thus starting the first phase of the war that continued until the Hasavyurt Agreement in August 1996. Matthew N. Janeczko, "The Russian Counterinsurgency Operation in Chechnya Part 1: Winning the Battle, Losing the War, 1994-1996", *Small Wars Journal*, 30 October 2012, http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-russian-counterinsurgency-operation-in-chechnya-part-1-winning-the-battle-losing-the-wa, (accessed on 24.04.2013)

[587] Peace between the Russian Federation and Chechnya was sustained for three years. In 1999, Shamil Besaev attacked neighbouring Dagestan in order to establish an Islamic Republic in the Caucasus. (*Ibid.*) Russia invaded Chechnya but this time, especially after 9/11, she had international support as a state fighting in the worldwide counter-terrorism campaign. While end date of the second Chechen conflict was given as 2003 or 2004 (Matthew N. Janeczko, "The Russian Counterinsurgency Operation in Chechnya Part 2: Success, But at What Cost? 1999-2004", *Small Wars Journal* 2 November 2012, http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-russian-counterinsurgency-operation-in-chechnya-part-2-success-but-at-what-cost-1999-%E2%80%93-, accessed on 22.08.2013) it may be noted that Russian combat against violent activities of Chechen groups still continues.

[588] In 1984, the PKK (the Kurdistan Workers Party) began an armed campaign for the independence of the Kurdish people. This issue has an international dimension since Kurdish people live in Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria. Turkey has endured a counter-terrorist campaign since that date, for nearly 30 years. In 1999, the PKK leader was captured and during the post-9/11 process, the US and the EU recognized the PKK as a terrorist organization. After the Gulf War in 1990 and the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 Turkey hesitated to face the emergence of an independent Kurdish state and supported the territorial integrity of Iraq. Karen Kaya, "A Different War on Terrorism: The US, Turkey and PKK", *Small Wars Journal*, 2 May 2012, http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/a-different-war-on-terrorism-the-us-turkey-and-the-pkk, (accessed on 24.04.2012)

[589] Sarkees and Wayman, *op. cit.*

due to the increased nation-to-state imbalance and the emergence and prevalence of weak and nationally incongruent states, and this in turn raised the war-proneness of the Region.[590]

4.3.2   *Threat Perception of Regional Countries*

This section looks into the threat perceptions of regional countries – the Russian Federation, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Georgia and Turkey – towards each other. To define the threat perception of these countries, their security and military doctrines and related second hand resources are to be reviewed. It is assumed that in a specific period, if sources of threats which states define in her security or military doctrine are found, it is accepted that this state's threat perception is high.[591] To measure their threat perceptions, whether a significant increase took place in military expenditure, the ratio of military expenditure to the GDP and arms imports is to be looked into. To access these data, "Correlates of War Composite Index of National Capability Index,"[592] the SIPRI Military Expenditure Database,[593] and "the SIPRI Arms Transfer Database"[594] are used respectively. Making use of these databases, tables and diagrams have been prepared.

4.3.2.1   UKRAINE

In the first half of the 1990s, Ukraine identified security threats as "interference in Ukraine's internal affairs, territorial and other claims on state

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[590] Concepts of 'State-to-Nation Imbalance', 'national incongruent states', 'war-proneness' are terms borrowed from Miller, *op. cit.*

[591] That was given in the Chapter II, Theoretical Framework, pp. 67-68.

[592] Singer, Bremer and Stuckey, *op. cit.*

[593] "The Sipri Military Expenditure Database", http://milexdata.sipri.org/result.php4, (accessed on 23.02.2012)

[594] "The Sipri Arms Transfer Database Trade Register", http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/values.php, (accessed on 23.02.2012).

sovereignty, political and military instability and violent conflicts in neighbouring states and separatist tendencies in some regions [especially Donbas and Crimea]."[595]

During this term, Ukrainian policy makers mostly refrained from any external military threats, especially those posed by the Russian Federation though official documents did not clearly identify Russia as a main source of threat.[596] There were four major security issues on which Ukraine and Russia had contentious positions: border delimitation, the status of the Commonwealth of Independent States (Ukraine resisted the centralization of the CIS and abstained from signing the 1993 Commonwealth Charter. Therefore, Ukraine de facto participated in the CIS meetings.), the dismantling of Soviet nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory and status of Crimea, Donbas and the Black Sea Fleet.[597]

Ukraine had a high threat perception of the Russian Federation till the end of her border problems regarding the Republic of Crimea in May 1997 with the Russian Federation-Ukraine Border Treaty. They signed the Friendship, Cooperation and Partnerships Treaty in the same month.[598]

Ukraine also had border disputes with Romania, Poland and Hungary. Her dispute with Hungary was resolved by the 1991 Treaty on the Principles of Good Neighbourhood and Cooperation between Hungary and Ukraine,[599] with Poland by the Joint Statement on Mutual Reconciliation with Poland in 1997 and with Romania by the Treaty on Good Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation with Romania in

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[595] Alexandrova, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[596] *Ibid.*

[597] Gerard Snel, "At the Border of European Security: The Case of Ukraine", *Rising Tension in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by David Cariton, Paul Ingram and Giancario Tenaglia, Dartmouth, Aldershot and Brookfield: 1996, p. 113.

[598] Alexandrova, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

[599] Iris Kempe, "The European Union and Ukraine: Interests and Strategies", *Between Russia and the West: Foreign and Security Policy of Independent Ukraine*, edited by Kurt R. Spillmann, Andreas Wenger and Derek Müller, Peter Lang, Bern: 1999, p. 183.

1997[600] and finally with Moldova by the Agreement between Moldova and Ukraine on state borders in 1999.[601]

The most challenging issue Ukraine faced was nuclear weapons because this had led to the isolation of Ukraine by both Russia and Western countries because she still refused to transfer tactical nuclear weapons to the Russian Federation a year after Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan signed the Agreement of Minsk on nuclear weapons in 1991.[602] Regarding this issue, the West supported the RF because they wanted to decrease the number of nuclear states. Finally, Ukraine could not stand the isolation and pressure and agreed to sign the Trilateral agreement promising to join the NPT, to eliminate all her nuclear weapons and to transport 200 nuclear warheads within 10 months.[603] At the December 1994 OSCE Summit, she signed the NPT, took security guarantees from other nuclear powers and the US, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan exchanged the START I ratification documents.[604]

The Black Sea Fleet also led to severe tension between Russia and Ukraine because Russia refused to accept Ukrainian authority over the Black Sea Fleet. However, they agreed in principle on the fleet's division in June 1993[605] and signed the Partition Treaty in 1997, which envisaged the existence of two independent national fleets and the division of armaments and bases between the two countries. With this agreement Ukraine agreed to lease major parts of bases to the Russian Black Sea Fleet until 2017.

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[600] Alexandrova, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

[601] Taras Kuzio, "Why are Ukraine and Moldova Unable to Resolve Their Border Dispute", *RFERL Newsline*, Vol. 7, No. 17, 28 January 2003.

[602] Snel, *op. cit.,* p. 116.

[603] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[604] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[605] *Ibid.*, p. 121

In the second half of the1990s, Ukraine revised her security policies and adopted a new Concept for National Security for Ukraine in 1997.[606] In this new concept, the following items were expressed as the main military threats for Ukraine:

1. The build-up of troops and weapons near the borders of Ukraine likely to trouble the existing balance of power,
2. Large global supplies of nuclear weapons and the growing number of states which produce nuclear weapons, the possible use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction,
3. Military conflicts liable to infringe upon Ukraine's national interest and security,
4. Military and political instability or conflicts in neighbouring states with the possibility of ethnic violence spreading to the territory of Ukraine or involving the country in an ethnic conflict,
5. Deteriorating combat readiness of Ukrainian military structures and politicizing of the so-called "power structures" (armed forces, police, troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and security service.)[607]

Thus, possible threats were focused mostly in this new concept, such as military build-up and ethnic violence in the surrounding environment, rather than sovereignty-related issues or separatist movements inside the country. It can be noted that her threat perception was high until 1997, after which it was reduced gradually. This found its reflection in Ukraine's military expenditures. The ratio of military expenditures to GDP significantly increased, then decreased as was seen in Table 22 and Figure 21.

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[606] Alexandrova, *op. cit.,* p. 41.

[607] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Table 22: Military Expenditures of Ukraine (1991-2000)

YEARS	Military expenditures (USD million)	Military Exp/GDP	YEARS	Military expenditures (USD million)	Military Exp/GDP
1991	4530000		1996	1286000	3,30
1992	5300000		1997	1324000	4,10
1993	1445000	0,50	1998	1415000	3,40
1994	1098000	2,50	1999	1437000	3,00
1995	1005000	2,80	2000	5100000	3,60
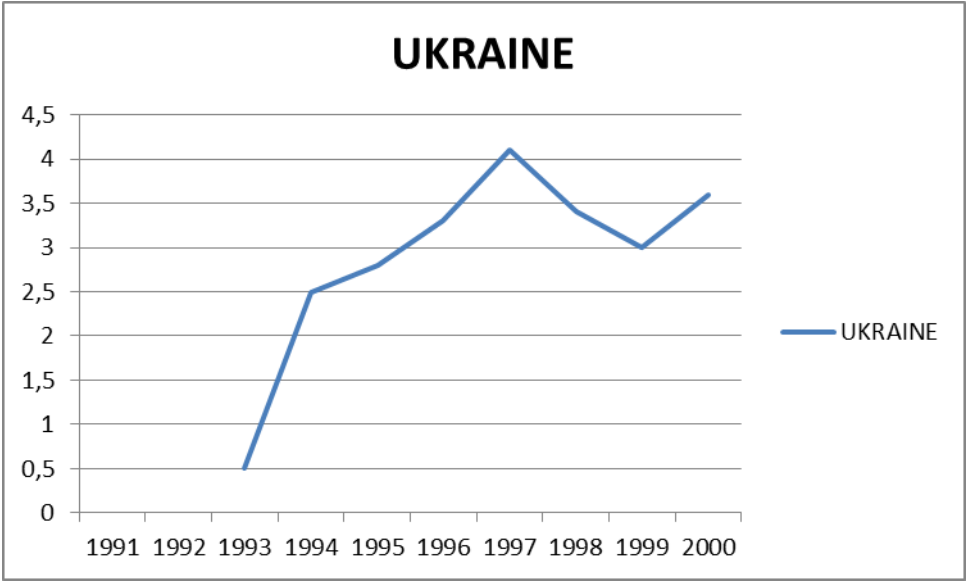
Figure 21: Ratio of Military Expenditure to GDP (1991-2000)

4.3.2.2 GEORGIA

During the 1991-2000 period, the Georgian parliament adopted only one resolution on military doctrine in 1997. According to David Darchiashvili, this document was a copy of the Russian military doctrine announced in 1993, so it did not express any specific threats or risks for Georgia.[608] After that, many different drafts were prepared but a new version was not accepted. Therefore, regarding Georgian security perception, second hand resources are to be benefitted from.

Just after its independence in 1991, Georgia had to deal with secessionist movements in Abkhazia and the South Ossetia. Military conflicts took place between Abkhazian and Georgian armed forces and continued till the Agreement on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces in June 1994, which foresaw the deployment of Russian peace-keepers at the border.[609]

In 1992, another autonomous region, South Ossetia declared their demand for secession from Georgia and integration with the North Ossetia Autonomous Republic within the Russian Federation. In the same year, the Georgian government found itself in a military conflict with South Ossetia till the July 1992 ceasefire, and the OSCE South Ossetia Mission was established in 1993.

Besides these conflicts, Georgia had many ethnic minorities inside Georgian territory, including Ajarans in the Ajara Autonomous Republic, Armenians in Javakheti and Azerbaijanis in Kvemo Kartli.[610] These nations have not made any demands for independency, but make up the majority in these regions. Therefore, according to Ghia Nodia, fragmentation, territorial integrity, state weakness,

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[608] David Darchiashvili, "Georgian Defence Policy and Military Reform", *Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution*, edited by Bruno Coppieters and Robert Legvold, the MIT Press, Cambridge: 2005, p.140.

[609] Christopher Zürcher, "Georgia Times's of Troubles 1989-1993", *Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution*, edited by Bruno Coppieters and Robert Legvold, the MIT Press, Cambridge: 2005, p.96.

[610] Ghia Nodia, "Georgia: Dimensions of Insecurity", *Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution*, edited by Bruno Coppieters and Robert Legvold, the MIT Press, Cambridge: 2005, p. 57

institutional incapacity and the lack of legitimacy for the exercise of power are the most challenging security problem in Georgia. [611]

In addition to these conflicts, there has been tension between Georgia and the Russian Federation, partly originating from these problems. According to Jaba Devdariani, there were two major factors behind the deterioration of relations between Russia and Georgia: the identity crisis of two countries and the security pressures that they face.[612] He asserted that Georgian national identity was constructed on Russian opposition – an example of "resistance identity."[613] On the other hand, Russia perceived losing the Southern Caucasus as threatening because of their close link with the Northern Caucasus.[614] Therefore, Georgia has perceived threat from both outside (the Russian Federation) and inside (separatist movements). Its threat perception regarding the Russian Federation was very high during the period from 1991 to 1994. The situation continued until 1999 even though a relative improvement was achieved in relations with Russia. Although data on percentage of the GDP for military expenditures from 1991 to 1994 was not available, it can be noted that Georgian threat perception, originating from internal and external factors, was high till 1994. Then, at least the former one reduced, it was reflected in military expenditures. (Table 23: Military Expenditure of Georgia 1991-2000 and Figure 22: Ratio of Military Expenditure of to GDP 1991-2000)

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[611] *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

[612] Jaba Devdariani, "Georgia and Russia: The Troubled Road to Accommodation", *Statehood and Security: Georgia after the Rose Revolution*, edited by Bruno Coppieters and Robert Legvold, the MIT Press, Cambridge: 2005, p. 153-54.

[613] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

[614] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

Table 23: Military expenditure of Georgia (1991-2000)

YEARS	Military expenditure (US$ million)	Military Exp./GDP	Arms Transfer (US$ million)	YEARS	Military expenditure (US$ million)	Military Exp./GDP	Arms Transfer (US$ million)
1991				1996	110000	2,20	
1992	850000			1997	109000	1,30	7
1993			4	1998	112000	1,10	27
1994	108000			1999	111000	0,90	24
1995	106000			2000	290000	0,60	6
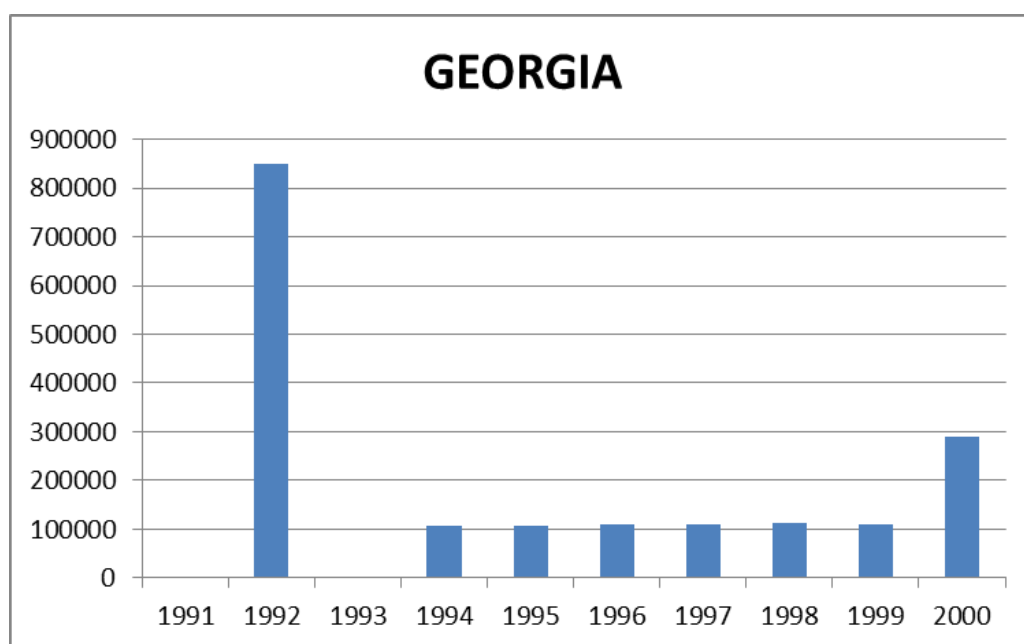
Figure 22: Military expenditure of Georgia (1991-2000)
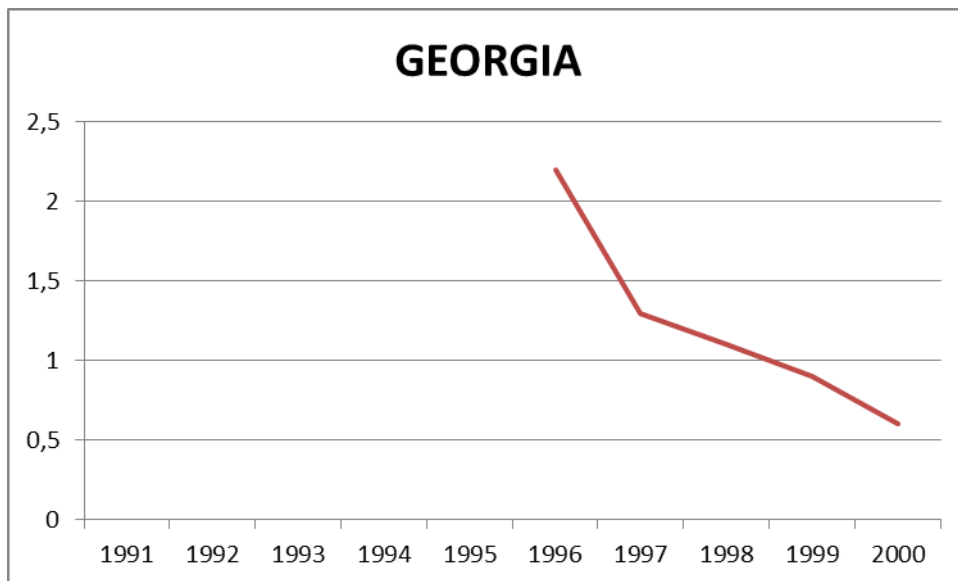
Figure 23: Ratio of Military Expenditure to GDP (1991-2000)

4.3.2.3   RUSSIAN FEDERATION

On 2 November 1993, the Russian Federation published a security document entitled "The Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation." This document listed the following points as existing and potential sources of external military danger for the Russian Federation:

1. the territorial claims of other states on the Russian Federation and its allies;
2. existing and potential local wars and armed conflicts, particularly those in the immediate vicinity of the Russian borders;
3. possibility of using (including the unsanctioned use) of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction which a number of states have in service;
4. the proliferation of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction, their delivery systems, and the latest military production techniques in conjunction with the attempts by certain countries, organizations, and terrorist groups to realize their military and political aspirations;

5. the possibility of strategic stability being undermined as a result of the violation of international accords in the sphere of arms limitation and reduction and of the qualitative and quantitative build-up of armaments by other countries;
6. attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of and destabilize the internal political situation in the Russian Federation;
7. the suppression of the rights, freedoms, and legitimate interests of citizens of the Russian Federation in foreign states;
8. attacks on military installations of the Russian Federation Armed Forces sited on the territory of foreign states;
9. *the expansion of military blocs and alliances* [the NATO Alliance] *to the detriment of the interests of the Russian Federation's military security*; (emphasis in italics added)
10. international terrorism[615]

As seen in the documents, in the first years of independence the Russian Federation focused especially on five issues: local wars and armed conflict in her surrounding environment, nuclear weapons, Russian minorities in the former Soviet Republics, the expansion of a military alliance excluding Russia (NATO) and internal instabilities. All of these were reinforced by incidents that took place after the collapse of the USSR, including ethnic conflicts in Caucasus and Moldova, Ukrainian refusal to re-deploy nuclear weapons in Russian territory, problems of Russians in other post-Soviet republics and Chechnya separatist movements.

Russia managed to solve these issues up to 1997. After the ceasefire in Moldavia in 1992, ceasefires in Georgia in 1992 and 1994, instability in her surrounding neighbours ended; the 1997 agreement with Ukraine resolved border, nuclear weapon and the Black Sea Fleet issues; Russia and Chechnya signed the

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[615] The Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation", http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/russia-mil-doc.html, (accessed on 25.01.2012).

Hasavyurt Agreement in August 1996.[616] According to this agreement, all issues on the legal status of Chechnya would be decided within a five year period.[617]

In her second "National Security Concept of Russian Federation" in 1997, the territorial claims of other states on the Russian Federation and its allies, the proliferation of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction and international terrorism were reiterated as national security threats.[618] "Existing and potential local wars and armed conflicts, particularly those in the immediate vicinity of the Russian borders" was replaced with "emergence or escalation of conflicts…"[619]; the item of "the expansion of military blocs and alliances to the detriment of the interests of the Russian Federation's military security" was repeated, clearly adding "NATO's eastward expansion."[620] The issue of Russian citizens abroad was not noted as a security threat, but under the headline of "active foreign policy." The threat of being under nuclear attack and violation of international accords on arms limitation, attempts at interference in Russian internal affairs and attacks on Russian military installations abroad were removed.[621] Instead, four different items were added: desire/attempts of individual states and intergovernmental organizations to diminish the role of existing mechanisms for ensuring international security, above all the UN and the OSCE; the danger/risk of weakening the political, economic and military influence of Russia in the world; the possibility of stationing of foreign military bases and large military contingents at

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[616] Mitat Çelikpala, "Kuzey Kafkasya'da Anlaşmazlıklar, Çatışmalar ve Türkiye", *Beş Deniz Havzasında Türkiye*, edited by Mustafa Aydın ve Çağrı Erhan, Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara: 2006, p. 93.

[617] Robert H. Donaldson and Joseph Nogee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia Changing Systems and Enduring Interests*, 3. Edition, M.E: Sharpe, New York and London: 2005, p. 244.

[618] КОНЦЕПЦИЯ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ, (Russian Federation National Security Concept), 17 December 1997, http://www.scrf.gov.ru/documents/1.html, (accessed on 14.10.2013)

[619] *Ibid.*

[620] *Ibid.*

[621] *Ibid.*

points/states close to Russian borders (related to NATO expansion); weakening of the integration processes in the Commonwealth of Independent States.[622]

These differences showed that the source of threat perception of the Russian Federation in international sphere had expanded from near abroad to far abroad – under the effect of the dominant Eurasianist viewpoint in Ministry of Foreign Affairs following appointment of Yevgenii Primakov as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this new approach, the preservation of Russian influence in world affairs was underlined and the enhancement of integration in the CIS region was aimed at. The other two points (installation of foreign military bases and diminishing role of existing security mechanisms) were a reaction to new developments in world affairs, especially NATO expansion and Bosnian intervention, rather than developments in the Region.

On her concerns regarding Turkey, during this period, the Russian Federation and Turkey faced four crisis points which had short-run effects:

1. The Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, originating from Russian support for Armenia and Turkey's support for Azerbaijan

2. Russian concerns about Turkey's active policy towards Caucasus and Central Asian countries

3. Rivalry over the BTC pipeline

4. Turkish arrangements regarding transportation through the Straits [623]

5. PKK-Öcalan crises, Russian concerns about so-called Turkish support for Chechnya

6. As regards instability in the Caucasus, the Russian Federation demanded revision in the CFE treaty, but Turkey strongly opposed any change in the Treaty.

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[622] *Ibid.*

[623] That will be given in the following section, pp. 224-226.

Russia's concerns regarding these issues were eliminated one by one: firstly her anxiety over possible Turkish influence was relieved because Turkey could not sustain her active foreign policy regarding the post-Soviet countries in Central Asia. The Armenian-Azerbaijan war ended in 1994. The Chechnya conflict was resolved in 1996. As for the CFET, revision was made in favour of Russia. However, construction of the BTC pipeline could not be prevented.

In the first years of the post-Cold War period, the Russian Federation's security perception seemed to be high because of the existence of threats which were identified as a security threat in 1993, the 1997 Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, severe instability within the country and the near neighbourhood and Turkey's active foreign policy towards the Caucasus and Central Asian countries; after 1994 her threat perception reduced gradually, which reflected in military expenditures as was seen Table 24 and Figure 24.

Table 24: Military Expenditure of the Russian Federation (1991-2000)

YEARS	Military Expenditures (USD million)	Military Exp./GDP	Arms Transfer (USD million)
1991	133700000		
1992	47220000	5,50	86
1993	29120000	5,30	50
1994	96693000	5,90	40
1995	82000000	4,40	40
1996	73990000	4,10	
1997	64000000	4,50	
1998	57107000	3,30	
1999	56800000	3,40	
2000	52000000	3,70	
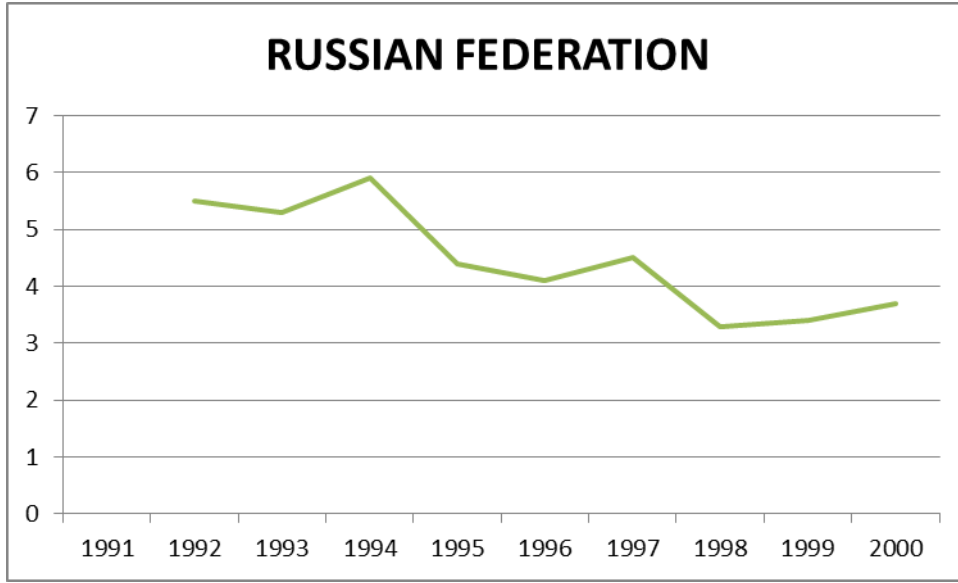
Figure 24: Ratio of Military Expenditure to GDP (1991-2000)

4.3.2.4 TURKEY

During the Cold War, Turkey's security strategy was designed to cope with the Soviet threat. After the collapse of the USSR, Turkey's security strategy was re-shaped according to the new international environment. The 1992 and 1997 Turkish National Security Policy Documents noted PKK terrorism and the reactionary Islam (irtica) (added in 1997) as internal and Syria and Greece as external threats.[624]

Regarding relations with the Russian Federation, Turkey's threat perception emanating from this country diminished. However, Turkey's ties with the Turkic Republics and the emergence of "Turkish model" discourse, rivalry over the transportation of Caspian Sea resources, mutual accusations of support for ethnic separatism during the1990s and Russia's military superiority and presence in the

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[624]Fikret Bila, "Yeni Siyaset Belgesi", Milliyet, 06.11.1997, p. 16, http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/Milli%20G%C3%BCvenlik%20Siyaset%20Belgesi/, (accessed on 14.10.2013) and "İşte Tarihi Değişiklikler", *Hürriyet*, 4.11.1997, http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/1997/11/04/328922.asp, (accessed on 01.02.2012).

Caucasus region were basic problematic issues between two countries.[625] In the mid-1990s, it became clear that Turkey was not able to create a sphere of influence in the Caucasus or Central Asia; thus, the issue regarding that issue diminished.

Turkey and Russia had conflicting interests on the revision of the CFE Treaty in favour of Russian demands, but Turkey finally accepted them at the 1999 Istanbul OSCE Summit where Russia dropped its objection to the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline project.[626] The issue arising from proposed sales of S-300 missiles to Greek Cypriots was resolved when the missiles were diverted first to Crete and then sold to Greece in 2007.[627]

Despite these issues, as can be seen in the military expenditure tables, there was no significant increase in Turkey's military expenditures. (Table 25 and Figure 25) Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether Turkey had high threat perception from the Region. During this term, there were internal developments in her agenda, rather than external ones.

Table 25: Military Expenditures of Turkey (1991- 2000)

YEARS	Military Expenditures (USD million)	Military Exp/GDP	Arms Transfer
1991	4400000	3,80	1206
1992	4140000	3,90	1824
1993	7075000	3,90	2307
1994	4600000	4,10	1833
1995	6606000	3,90	1603
1996	7674000	4,10	1478

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[625] Lerna K. Yanık, "Allies or Partners? An Appraisal of Turkey's Ties to Russia 1991-2007", *East European Quarterly*, XLI, No. 3, September 2007, p. 351.

[626] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[627]"S300 Füzeleri Resmen Yunanistan'ın", *Haber 10*, 19 December 2007, http://www.haber10.com/haber/104814/, (accessed on 20.05.2012)

Table 25 Continued

1997	7792000	4,10	1511
1998	8955000	3,30	2624
1999	9717000	4,00	1744
2000	9994000	3,70	1161
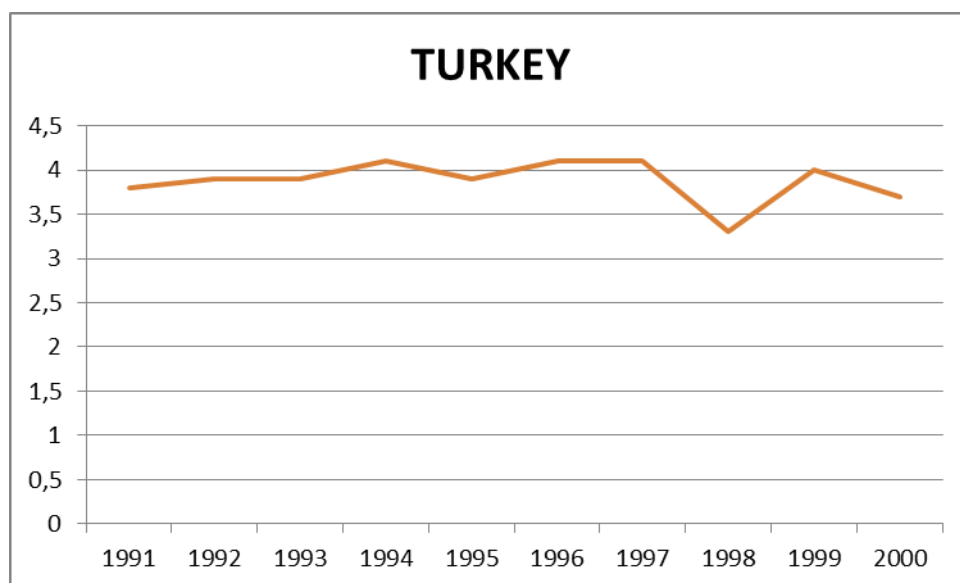
Figure 25: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (1991-2000)

4.3.2.5 ROMANIA

After the end of the Cold War, Romania faced three main security problems. The first originated from military conflicts, especially the Yugoslavia crises. This also reinvigorated Romania's fears of her Hungarian and Moldavian minorities. Regarding the former, Romania was anxious about Hungary's possible involvement

in her minority issues and the fact that it might open up border re-arrangement debates.[628]

Regarding the Moldova issue, in late 1990 Transdniestria (the eastern part of Moldavia heavily populated by Russian speaking residents) declared its independence. Romania supported territorial integrity of Moldavia because independence of Transdniestria, may prompt demands of Hungarian minority within Romania. In 1992, with the ceasefire between Moldovan and Transdniestrian forces without resolving the conflict, this issue had been removed from the security agenda of Romania. As a country, located in a region where many conflicts arise; Romania suffered from a lack of military forces or a formal military alliance to cope with her security requirements.[629] Therefore, according to Simona Soare, the 1994 Integrated Concept regarding Romania's National Security had adopted a three layered approach for addressing these threats: "systemic (alignment with NATO and the US), regional (good relations with the neighbours) and sub-regional (a special relationship with the Republic of Moldova)."[630] Within this guideline, she signed a treaty with Hungary in September 1996 and participated in the NATO Partnership for Peace program in January 1994. Romania's threat perception remained high until 1992 because of the Transdniestrian issue and then reduced, especially after the 1996 Treaty as reflected in her military expenditure. (Table 26 and Figure 26)

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[628] Stephen Larrabee, *Eastern European Changing Security after the Cold War*, RAND, Santa Monica: 1993, p. 49.

[629] Ioan Mircea Pascu, "A Romanian Perspective on Security", *Rising Tension in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union,* edited by David Carlton, Paul Ingram and Giancarlo Tenaglia, Dartmouth, Aldershot and Brookfield: 1996, p. 161.

[630] Simona Soare, "Romania's National Security Strategy- a Critical Approach of Transformational Politics", *Monitor Strategic*, Nr. 1-2, 2008, p. 57.

Table 26: Military Expenditure of Romania (1991-2000)

YEARS	Military Expenditures (USD million)	Military Exp./GDP	Arms Transfer (USD million)
1991	1150000	4,80	60
1992	1700000	4,30	184
1993	834000	2,70	15
1994	729000	3,10	29
1995	872000	2,80	3
1996	762000	2,50	39
1997	793000	3,00	61
1998	905000	3,00	175
1999	607000	1,90	144
2000	940000	1,80	22
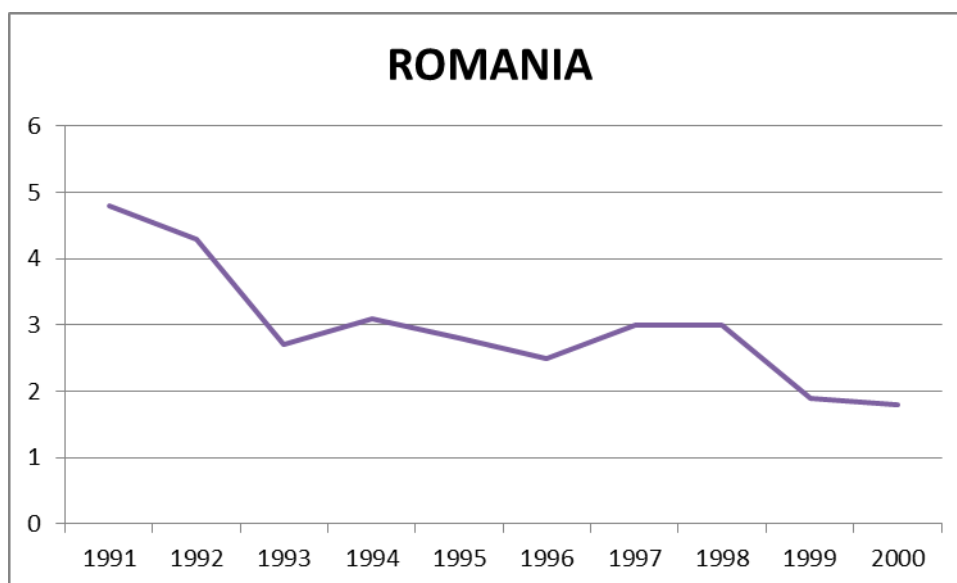
Figure 26: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (1991-2000)

4.3.2.6   BULGARIA

After the end of the Cold War, the most significant issue for Bulgaria was disappearance of her nearly 45-year security framework with the end of the Warsaw Pact. Bulgarian security engagement had been totally parallel with the Soviet Union. Bulgaria first had to face three prominent security challenging countries: Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria's National Security Concept defined the most significant challenges to national security, noting that

> The traditional, specifically, regional, hard-core threats-regional civil wars and their spill-over potential, historical conflicts among some Balkan states, serious asymmetry of institutional security guarantees among states, demands for territorial changes and the emergence of new states after Yugoslavia's disintegration[631]

Due to its loose military build-up and within the framework of her Westernization attempts, Bulgaria gave importance to establishing good relationships with her neighbour states and she signed Treaties of Friendship, Good Neighbourliness, Cooperation and Security with Turkey, Greece, Macedonia, Romania and Albania.[632] After the Dayton agreement (1995), her concerns regarding former Yugoslavia and its possible spreading effect to Macedonia also ended. Therefore, it could be expressed that her threat perception was high till 1995, than significantly reduced as it was seen in her military expenditures. (Table 27 and Figure 27)

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[631] Blagovest Tashev, "In Search of Security: Bulgaria's Security Policy in Transition", *Papeles del Este*, No. 8, 2004, p. 6-7.

[632] Philip Shasko, "In Search of Bulgaria's New Identity. The Role of Diplomacy, 1989-2005", *War and Change in the Balkans Nationalism Conflict and Cooperation*, edited by Brad K. Blitz, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2006, p. 211.

Table 27: Military Expenditure of Bulgaria (1991-2000)

YEARS	Military Expenditures (USD million)	MilitaryExp./GDP	Arms Transfer (USD million)
1991	1790000	3,00	338
1992	1310000	3,00	44
1993	589900	2,60	1
1994	586400	4,00	1
1995	417000	2,90	1
1996	373000	2,40	122
1997	339000	2,40	
1998	406000	2,50	
1999	392000	2,70	7
2000	343000	2,70	
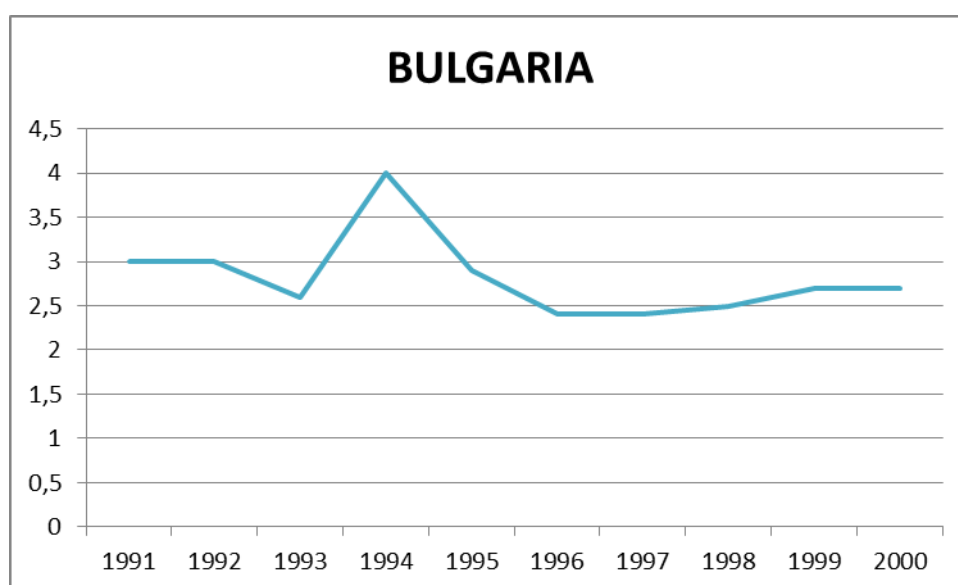
Figure 27: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (1991-2000)

4.3.3   *Relations of Regional States with the Great Powers*

As noted in the previous section, all regional countries (including the Russian Federation) were developing relations with the Western countries and they joined the initiated programmes such as the PfP, signed various multilateral agreements – such as environmental agreements with the EU – and became members of Western initiated regional organizations.

Despite intense relations, it is difficult to claim that these relations led to any instability or insecurity in the Region. It was partly because the Central and Eastern European countries were of great concern to the Western countries and of little concern to the Russian Federation, which mostly cared about re-establishing and then preserving her influence among the post-Soviet states. These newly independent states were mostly focusing on completing their economic and political transition, preserving their sovereignty and, as in the case of Georgia, dealing with ethnic conflicts. The Western powers helped these transition processes through economic and advisory support but refrained from intervening in their relations with Russia or their ethnic and then frozen conflicts.

4.3.4   *Conclusion*

After the end of the Cold War, regional structure, including ordering principle and distribution of capabilities changed and a reconstruction period began. It is difficult to define its end date; however, this reconstruction and, internal conflicts in the Region and in the Balkans led to an escalation of security concerns in all the regional countries.

Until 1994-1995, except for the Chechnya issue of the Russian Federation, none of the conflicts in the Region had been resolved, just frozen. In the Balkans, the first round of the Yugoslavia war ended. Its effects were different in each of the regional countries. Russia, Ukraine and Georgia were affected by these conflicts, Romania and Bulgaria attached their importance to developments in Balkans and Turkey was affected at a minimum level.

Despite the existence of various threat perceptions, when their military expenditures are reviewed, in Ukraine ratio of military expenditure to GDP rose until 1997 and then was reduced, while in Georgia it declined after 1992-1993. In Romania, it reduced after 1992, except for 1994 and 1997, when it increased but not significantly. In Bulgaria it increased in 1994 and then decreased. Russia's ratio of expenditures reduced gradually, except in 1994 and 1997, when the increase was not significant. Turkey's expenditures remained almost the same.

Regarding interference by other great powers in the Region, it seems that there was a minimum effect because they refrained from intervention in ethnic conflicts. They established cooperative relations and initiated new programs for the post-Soviet countries, while not de-coupling the Russian Federation. They had started to establish more intense relations with Bulgaria and Romania, but this did not lead to trouble in their relations with Russia. Although Russia had to face some problems with the Western countries during the 1990s, they did not originate from issues related to its sphere influence in the Black Sea Region.

Up to 1996, the Region cannot be defined as secure because of military conflicts and uncertainty. 1996 may be considered the end of the reconstruction period because Abkhazia conflict – the last ethnic military conflict around the Russian Federation – was resolved in 1994, the Russian-Chechen war ended in 1996. The Dayton agreement in the Balkans was also signed in 1995 to end the military conflict in Bosnia, which had also created great concerns in regional countries. Before the Ukrainian-Russian agreement was signed in 1997, Ukraine had great threat perception from Russia. However, it was unlikely that this confrontation would have been transformed into a military conflict. Therefore, it can be noted that security in the Region was re-assured after 1996.

Indeed, this was partly a result of the regional structure which the Russian Federation attempted to establish and sustain over the post-Soviet countries. After ensuring stability within the country, Russia was the sole power that froze the intrastate and interstate conflicts in and around the Region. Georgia and Ukraine at

first challenged and then, after a leadership change, accepted this anarchical hierarchic regional structure. Bulgaria and Romania were dealing with rearranging their relations with the West, so they did not challenge the system. Turkey, during the first years of the post-Cold War era attempted to challenge Russian dominance in the Caucasus and Central Asia but then gave up this policy. Moreover, the Western countries did not pursue any challenging or interfering policies concerning the Region. Likewise, this system and security in the Black Sea were re-constituted and preserved during the 1996-2000 period.

4.4 RUSSIA AND THE WEST

In this section, it is to be explored whether or not regional security was vulnerable to the tensions in Russian-Western relationship and to what extent it was influential on regional security during the 1991-2000 period.

After the end of the Cold War, Russia attached importance to rapid and extensive economic reform and global integration through political and economic incorporation with the West. Therefore, Russia sought membership in many Western-sponsored institutions. Russia's efforts were responded with economic aid from Western countries, led by the US and Germany through the IMF, the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, various G-8 mechanisms and bilateral programs[633] as part of their strategy of helping Russia for her integration into capitalist structures. In response, Russia conducted a cooperative policy regarding many contentious foreign policy areas. However, as Russia realized that she was not allowed to play an efficient role in the Euro Atlantic centred system and economic and social crises within her country deepened, her dominant foreign policy approach changed (from Euro-Atlanticism to Eurasianism) which found its reflection in change of minister of foreign affairs from Andrei Kozyrev to Yevganii

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[633] Coit D. Blacker, "Russia and the West", *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, edited by Michael Mandelbaum, Council on Foreign Relations Book, New York: 1998, p. 172.

Primakov and she continued to deal with current issues in Europe but could not maintain this cooperative line in her relations with the West.

Russia had five contentious issues with the Western countries during the 1990s: the Yugoslavia issue, the dispute between Russia and the Baltic States, NATO expansion and her demands on the CFET and EU criticism of the Chechnya issue. (After the invasion of Chechnya, the EU postponed signing the interim agreement of the partnership and cooperation and the Council of Europe froze the Russian application till 1996.[634])

During the war in Yugoslavia, the US supported the Bosnians and the Russian Federation was historical ally of the Serbs.[635] However, during the first phase of the Yugoslavia war (between Serbs and Bosnian until the 1995 Dayton agreement), Russia avoided a complete break from the US and the Western world stance and did not veto the UN Security Council decision on imposing strict sanctions against Yugoslavia (30 May 1992- the UNSC Resolution No. 757)[636] and its expulsion from the UN despite strong internal opposition.[637] However, Yeltsin started to oppose the Western policy against the Bosnian Serbs when NATO forces conducted military operations against the Serbs' military installations without any consultation with Moscow. At the same time, Yeltsin was unable to persuade the Bosnian Serbs not to conduct military actions that provoked the NATO leaders.[638]

[634] Donaldson and Nogee, *op. cit.*, p. 265-66.

[635] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[636] This resolution was adopted unanimously with abstention of China and Zimbabwe, United Nations Security Council Resolution 757 (1992), 30 May 1992, http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/011/16/IMG/NR001116.pdf?OpenElement, (accessed on 24.04.2013)

[637] Donaldson and Nogee, *op. cit*., p. 235.

[638] *Ibid.*,, p. 249

Despite all her opposition, after the peace agreement Russia participated in IFOR with 1600 troops.[639]

Russia faced a difficult situation in the 1998 Serbia-Kosovo Liberation Army conflict. Russia was again in a position contrasting to international opinion and was strongly opposed to the NATO assault but was ignored and could not persuade Milosevic to accept the proposed peace plans or to stop suppression against Kosovo's Albanians. On the eve of the NATO air campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 24 March 1999, Russia withdrew its mission and halted participation in the Permanent Joint Council. Upon all these futile diplomatic manoeuvres and announcements, Yeltsin finally changed tactics and assigned Victor Chernomyrdin as Russia's special representative for Kosovo issue.[640] Chernomyrdin and Martti Ahtisaari (the OSCE representative) persuaded Milosevic to accept the Western plan and Russian military forces participated in KFOR in 1999.[641] Indeed, it was a general foreign policy pattern: the Russian Federation supported the Western effort in a regional crisis and military conflict till military intervention or solution, conducted by the Western powers. This pattern can also be observed in the 1998 Iraqi operation of the US upon Saddam Hussein's refusal to cooperate with UN inspectors. It would be seen again in the 2003 Iraqi operation and the NATO interference in Libya; however it will be seen whether or not this pattern will continue in the on-going Syria issue.

With the Baltic States, Russia had two contentious issues: Russian troops in these countries' territories and the political rights of the Russian-speaking population there. All the Baltic States, at the beginning of their independence, refused to recognize the citizenship rights of all residents. However, due to external pressure on the Baltic States and Russia, the latter accepted to withdraw their troops from

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[639] *Ibid.*,, p. 251.

[640] *Ibid.*,, p. 275-76.

[641] "Agreed Points on Russian Participation in KFOR", NATO's Role in Kosovo, 18 June 1999, http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/a990618a.htm, (accessed on 24.04.2013).

Lithuania in August 1993 and agreed on the transit issue to Kalingrad over Lithuanian territory in 1995; Russia signed an agreement with Latvia in April 1994 though neither side was satisfied with the terms of the agreement.[642] Russia also signed an agreement with Estonia in July 1994 and Estonia gave up its territorial demands over Russia in 1999.[643] However, the most significant problem between them was NATO expansion towards these three countries.

In the 1993 and 1997 security concepts, NATO expansion was included among the national threats. Russia wanted to prevent especially Baltic States to join NATO because these states were post-Soviet republics. Instead of NATO enlargement, Russia preferred to strengthen existing structures such as the CSCE or the NACC.[644] On the other hand, NATO needed a new mission and raison d'etre following the end of the Cold War, and the US and the East European countries supported NATO enlargement. Despite this, in order to persuade Russia for NATO enlargement; in December 1994, the CSCE was strengthened, permanent institutions for it were designed and its name was changed to the OSCE.

Russia was also concerned about the stationing of nuclear weapons and their supporting infrastructure in the territories of new member states, which meant an eastward movement of NATO military infrastructure.[645] In the 1997 National Security Concept, Russia underlined this issue, objecting to "the possibility of stationing of foreign military bases and large military contingents at points/states close to Russian borders" and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. To dissipate her concerns, NATO members devised the three no's formula, which meant that "NATO had no intention, no plan and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of

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[642] Donaldson and Nogee, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.

[643]*Ibid.,* p. 226.

[644] Martin A. Smith, "A Bumpy Road to an Unknown Destination? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002", *Realignments in Russian Foreign Policy*, edited by Rick Fawn, Frank Cass, London and Portland: 2003, p. 61.

[645] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

new members nor any need to change any aspect of NATO's nuclear posture or nuclear policy."[646]

Russia also demanded a special relationship with the Alliance more than the PfP. NATO accepted this demand, devising a program called "Areas for Pursuance of a Broad Enhanced NATO Russia Dialogue and Cooperation," which gave Russia a voice but no veto power over NATO decisions.[647] This was followed by the Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation in 1997 and a NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council was created.[648] NATO also tried to eliminate Russian opposition by giving some concessions to Russia on another contentious issue – the CFE Treaty. The CFE Flank Accord was prepared and put into force in May 1996.[649] Finally, NATO invited Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland to join in 1997 and other Eastern European countries, Slovakia and the Baltics were promised future candidateship.

As noted above, another constraining issue was the CFE treaty, signed in 1990. It was prepared according to Cold War situations and military limitations were set not for states but for members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Flank zones were formed and these regions were subject to specific limitations, as noted in Chapter III. After the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, the Russian Federation had to share the military allocations designed for this region with Romania, Bulgaria and

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[646] *Ibid.*

[647] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

[648] Regarding the signing of the Founding Act, it was claimed that the economic interests of Russia affected Yeltsin's decision. During an interview with Andrei Kortunov, a Russian foreign policy analyst, a Gazprom executive asked "Why are you guys so concerned about the enlargement of NATO to the East?", and then commented 'I can assure you that the enlargement of NATO to the East will be more than compensated for by the enlargement of Gazprom to the West." According to David Hoffman, this stance of Gazprom can explain Yeltsin's decision to sign a Founding Act with NATO. David Hoffman, "For Yeltsin, Business Prospects Outweighed NATO Threat", *The Washington Post*, 27 May 1997, http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-727536.html, (accessed on 01.03.2012)

[649] "CFE Flank Accord Enters into Force; Senate Warns Russia on Deployment", *Arms Control Association*, May 1997, http://www.armscontrol.org/print/199, (accessed on 5 March 2012)

the newly independent post-Soviet States.[650] Moreover, the Russian Federation could not reduce its military forces according to the limitations foreseen in the agreement because of instability in the Caucasus and Moldova.

Therefore, in 1993, Yeltsin sent a letter to CFET partners and raised his concerns regarding the Treaty. After long consultations and negotiations and despite Turkey's objections, this issue was resolved during the first CFE Review Conference (15-31 May 1996), relaxing the strict flank limits. Limitations of Ukraine and Russian Federation in the flank region were adjusted (for the Russian Federation, 1,897 battle tanks, 4,397 armoured combat vehicles and 2,422 pieces of artillery; for Ukraine 400 battle tanks, 400 armoured combat vehicles and 350 pieces of artillery).[651] Some regions of the Russian Federation (the Pskov oblast; the Volgograd oblast; the Astrakhan oblast; that part of the Rostov oblast east of the line extending from Kushchevskaya to Volgodonsk to the Volgograd oblast border, including Volgodonsk; while Kushchevskaya and a narrow corridor in Krasnodar kray leading to Kushchevskaya) and Ukraine (Odessa) were excluded from the flank region.[652]

After the CFET in 1990, an additional military limitation agreement was signed in 1992 – the Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. According to this document, the aggregate number of military personnel in partner states was determined. This number was 530.000 for Turkey, 104.000 for Bulgaria, 230.000 for Romania, 40.000 for Georgia, 450.000 for Ukraine and 1.450.000 for the Russian Federation.[653] After 1992 and

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[650] Ambrossia, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[651] *Final Document of the First Conference to Review the Operation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personal Strength*, 15-31 May 1996, p. 7, http://www.osce.org/library/14099, (accessed on 26.04.2013).

[652] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[653] *Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe*, 10 July 1992, p. 5, http://www.osce.org/library/14093, (accessed on 26.04.2013).

1996, an additional adjustment was made on 19 November 1999 and the Agreement on Adaptation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe was signed. In this new agreement, instead of bloc limits, a national ceiling (for the military equipment of a state) and a territorial ceiling (for the military equipment belonging to that state and others which she permitted) were determined.[654]

Another issue for the international community was nuclear weapons during 1990s. At the time of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Soviet nuclear assets were found in the Russian Federation, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine and some other republics also had facilities which enabled them to initiate a nuclear program.[655] Besides emergence of new nuclear states, the international community faced the danger of loss of control over nuclear assets, the possible inability of new states to provide safety for them, spreading of nuclear weapons or their components and know-how.

From the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 to the resolution of the problem in 1994, various steps were taken. In December 1991, Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus signed the agreement between the member states of CIS

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[654] *Agreement on Adaption of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe*, 19 November 1999, p.5-7. http://www.osce.org/library/14108, (accessed on 26.04.2013) National ceilings for Bulgaria were 1,475 battle tanks, 2,000 armoured combat vehicles, 1,750 pieces of artillery, 235 combat aircraft, 67 attack helicopters; for Romania 1,375 battle tanks, 2,100 armoured combat vehicles, 1.475 pieces of artillery, 430 combat aircraft, 120 attack helicopters; for Turkey 2.795 battle tanks, 3.120 armoured combat vehicles, 523 pieces of artillery, 750 combat aircraft, 130 attack helicopters; for the Russian Federation 6.350 battle tanks, 11.280 armoured combat vehicles, 6.315 pieces of artillery, 3.416 combat aircraft, 855 attack helicopters; for Ukraine 4.080 battle tanks, 5.050 armoured combat vehicles, 4.040 pieces of artillery, 1.090 combat aircraft, 330 attack helicopters; Georgia 220 battle tanks, 220 armoured combat vehicles, 285 pieces of artillery, 100 combat aircraft, 50 attack helicopters.[654] Territorial ceilings have been for Bulgaria 1.475 battle tanks, 2.000 armoured combat vehicles, 1.750 pieces of artillery; for Romania 1.375 battle tanks, 2.100 armoured combat vehicles, 1.475 pieces of artillery; for Turkey 2,795 battle tanks, 3,120 armoured combat vehicles, 3,523 pieces of artillery; for the Russian Federation 6.350 battle tanks, 11.280 armoured combat vehicles, 6.315 pieces of artillery; for Ukraine 4.080 battle tanks, 5.050 armoured combat vehicles, 4.040 pieces of artillery; for Georgia 220 battle tanks, 220 armoured combat vehicles, 285 pieces of artillery.

[655] Yuri Pinchukov, "The Issue of Non-Proliferation and Its Implications for the Foreign and Security Policies of the Commonwealth of Independent States", *Rising Tension in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by David Carlton, Paul Ingram and Giancarlo Tenaglia, Dartmouth, Aldershot and Brookfield USA: 1996, p. 54.

concerning strategic forces. According to this agreement, they resolved to allocate the authority to use nuclear weapons to the Russian Federation under the condition of consultation with the other CIS member states.[656] In 1992, they all accepted Russian participation in the NPT Treaty as the only successor of the USSR and promised to sign the Treaty as non-nuclear states.[657] In May 1992, they also signed the Lisbon Protocol to START I, which foresaw their adherence to the NPT and the elimination of all nuclear weapons deployed in their territories by 2000.[658]

The main problem arose when the Ukraine and Kazakhstan parliaments delayed ratification of the Protocol. By the summer of 1993, only Belarus had ratified the Lisbon Protocol and announced her adherence to the NPT.[659] As a result of economic difficulties and international pressure, Ukraine finally agreed to dismantle their nuclear warheads in September 1993. In compensation, Ukraine obtained financial aid and security guarantees as well as fuel from breaking down the highly enriched uranium. In January 1994, a trilateral Russian-Ukrainian-USA agreement was signed and Ukraine agreed to remove all strategic nuclear warheads to Russia and to accede to the NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state in the shortest possible time and ensured the elimination of all nuclear weapons in her territory during the seven year period stipulated by the relevant agreements.[660] Ukraine began to remove the warheads and finished within ten months.[661] After Ukraine, Kazakhstan also acceded to the NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state.[662]

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[656] *Ibid.*, p.55.

[657] *Ibid.*

[658] *Ibid.*

[659] *Ibid.*

[660] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[661] *Ibid.*, p. 57

[662] *Ibid.*

As can be seen in this survey, Russian-Western relationships were very tense during the 1993-1999 period although they cooperated on the nuclear weapon issue. However, their tense relations did not affect the Black Sea security partly because their contentious areas were not related to regional countries. The most controversial issue was NATO enlargement, which foresaw the CEE and Baltic countries' membership. While Russia's relations with the Baltic States were transformed into anarchic one; she tried to sustain her anarchical hierarchic relations with other post-Soviet countries and this limited Western influence over Ukraine and Georgia.

4.5 ROLE AND POSITION OF TURKEY

Role of Turkey during the 1991-1999 period can be reviewed in four parts: her relations with the Russian Federation as the leading country in the Region, her relations with Romania and Bulgaria and Ukraine and Georgia as these states were littoral states of the Black Sea Region, her position vis-à-vis the USA and the effect of their relationship on the security situation in the Black Sea Region. In this section, the aim is to show that Turkey continued to pursue a pro-status-quo policy and thus helped ensure and then enhance security in the Region except for two periods: her active foreign policy period (1991-1993) and the period when the BTC pipeline was decided to construct. These may be seen as two periods during which Turkey challenged Russian dominance.

Following the end of the Cold War, while the Russian Federation and the Trans-Caucasian countries were dealing with on-going instabilities, Turkey was attempting to establish a sphere of influence over those countries with which she had ethnic, linguistic, historical and religious ties. Until 1993, the Turkish president Turgut Özal and the prime minister Süleyman Demirel dreamed of a Turkish world from the Adriatic to the Great Wall of China.[663] Demirel, at that time, in his speeches expressed his vision of Turkey being transformed from a flank country during the

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[663] Zeyno Baran, "Turkey and the Caucasus", *Turkish Foreign Policy in Post-Cold War Era*, edited by İdris Bal, BrownWalker Press, Florida: 2004, p. 269.

Cold War into a core country located at the heart of a wide geography-Eurasia from Atlantic to Pacific and remarked that geography and history provided Turkey a golden opportunity.[664] According to Ali Faik Demir, Turkey was trying to gain influence in the Region with an aim of being a regional actor during the period from 1990 to 1993.[665] Turkey recognized the independence of these countries and set up embassies and initiated many aid and cooperation programs towards these countries. During the same period, relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey were intensified under the influence of President of Azerbaijan, Ebulfez Elchibey. Moreover, in October 1992, the leaders of Central Asia countries and Azerbaijan met to discuss cooperation with Turkey concerning security, economy and energy transit issues and Turkic language summits were held in 1994.[666] Turkey signed friendship and cooperation agreements with the Central Asian countries and military education, scientific and technical cooperation agreements with Azerbaijan, Georgia and Kazakhstan[667]. Therefore, Russia was worried about Turkey's active foreign policy in her Near Abroad because Turkey had a capacity to affect states in the Caucasus through their ethnic and religious ties. Since Turkey had also been a NATO member country and a staunch ally of the USA, western influence might be extended to her Near Abroad countries via Turkey.

After this first period, according to Demir, Turkey started to follow a more realistic and balanced foreign policy during the 1993-1995 period.[668] During this term, it can be noted that more actors (including the Russian Federation, Western

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[664] Hulusi Turgut, *Adriyatik'ten Çin Seddi'ne Avrasya ve Demirel Batı Yakası'nın Hikayesi*, II. Cilt, ABC Basın Ajansı, İstanbul: 2002, p. 87.

[665] Ali Faik Demir, "Türkiye'nin Güney Kafkasya'ya Yönelik Dış Politikasını Oluşturmasında Rol Oynayan Etkenler", *Beş Deniz Havzasında Türkiye,* edited by Mustafa Aydın ve Çağrı Erhan, Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara: 2006, p. 118.

[666] Donaldson and Nogee, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

[667] Mustafa Aydın, "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'da Askeri İşbirliği Antlaşmaları", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 387.

[668] Demir, *op. cit.,* p. 120-121.

countries, China, Korea and Iran) were attempting to be influential in the Region[669]. Secondly, Turkey could not sustain her active policy. Therefore, the period after 1995 was defined by Demir as a competition in the Caucasus.[670] In the end, Russia was able to reconstitute its dominant position within these countries.

This first period (1991-1993) can be defined as the years during which Turkey attempted to change the on-going situation in the Black Sea Region and challenged Russian supremacy over the post-Soviet countries. However, from 1992 onwards Russia began to consolidate its dominance over the post-Soviet states by signing the 1992 Treaty on Collective Security and initiating peace-keeping operations inside the CIS countries. In February 1993, Yeltsin used the near abroad term and claimed that post-Soviet republics were a special area of interest that located within the responsibility of Russia. In the 1993 Military Doctrine, Russia announced that she would base her troops outside Russia in order to enhance security in the CIS countries.[671] This was a clear message to Turkey, other regional players and the Western world to prevent any peace-keeping or humanitarian intervention in her sphere of influence.

After that date (1993), Russian anxiety regarding Turkey reduced as she had solved her domestic and external issues. According to Donaldson and Nogee, this was parallel to the intensification of her economic and security relations with Turkey.[672] Her trade relations and military sales increased. As seen in the Figure 28: Russian Turkish Trade, their trade volume increased steadily from 1995. Donaldson and Nogee also underlined the importance of military sales by Russia to Turkey

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[669] Mustafa Aydın, "1990- 2001 Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'yla İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 393.

[670] Demir, *op. cit.,* p. 122.

[671] Erel Tellal, "Rusya Federasyonu'nun Dış Politikası: 'Yakın Çevre' ve 'Askeri Doktrin", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 542.

[672] Donaldson and Nogee,*op. cit.*, p. 311.

(noting that the first ever Russian arms sale to a NATO member country) and a cooperation agreement on the development of defence industries in 1994.[673] While Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer was noting improvement in Russian Turkish relations, she attached importance to three high level visits and developments between two countries – the Turkish prime minister Süleyman Demirel's visit to Moscow in 1992 (during which a Friendship and Cooperation Agreement was signed), the Russian prime minister Victor Chernomyrdin's visit in 1997 and signing of the Blue Stream agreement and the Turkish prime minister Bülent Ecevit's in 1999 and his demand for cooperation on counter-terrorism, following which Russian leaders refused to shelter the PKK leader and ousted him from Russia in 1998. [674]
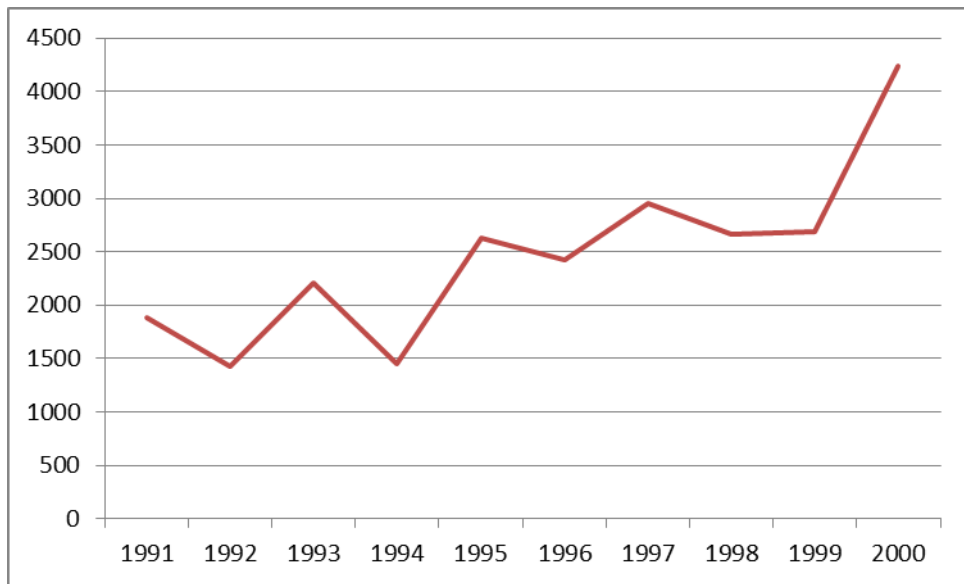
Figure 28: Russian Turkish Trade Volume (1991-2000)[675]

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[673] *Ibid.*

[674] Duygu Bazoğlu Sezer, "Rusya: Jeopolitik Yarışma ile Ekonomik Ortaklığı Bağdaştırmanın Zorlukları", *Günümüzde Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası*, edited by Barry Rubin and Kemal Kirişçi, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, İstanbul: 2002, pp. 240-244.

[675] The COW International Trade 1870-2009 database will be used to indicate the increase in Russian-Turkish trade. Barbieri and Keshk, *op. cit.,* Version 3.

However, during this term, an important contradiction emerged on the issue of Turkish regulations regarding the Straits. Upon the emergence of threats against the safety of Straits traffic originating from oil tanker passage from Russia, Turkey issued first the 1994 Regulations and then the 1998 Regulations to bring order to the traffic. The 1994 Regulation included some limitations on many issues such as speed and the following distance for ships while they were passing through the Straits.[676] With this regulation, Turkey announced that in some emergency situations, she hereafter might temporarily stop the traffic flow in the Straits.[677] For large vessels, Turkey imposed an obligation to provide preliminary information and in some occasions, Turkey held her right to refuse passage.[678] For the nuclear-powered vessels or vessels carrying nuclear cargo or waste, Turkey ordered that they must take permission from the Under-Secretariat for Maritime Affairs or the Ministry of Environment to pass the Straits at the planning stage.[679] With Article 31, foreign vessels are advised for safety purposes to request a pilot.[680] According to Article 42, "When a large vessel with hazardous cargo enters the [İstanbul] Strait, a similar vessel may not enter the Strait until the previous vessel has exited" and Article 52 specified a similar arrangement for the Çanakkale Straits: "When a large vessel with hazardous cargo enters the Strait, a similar vessel approaching from the opposite direction may not enter the Strait until the previous vessel has exited."[681]

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[676] Kudret Özersay, "1990-2001 Boğazlar Konusu", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 588.

[677] *Ibid.*, p. 589.

[678] *Ibid.*

[679] "Maritime Traffic Regulations for the Turkish Straits and the Marmara Region", p. 10, http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/TUR_1994_Regulations.pdf, (accessed on 02.05. 2013)

[680] *Ibid.*

[681] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The littoral states, led by the Russian Federation were strongly opposed to the application of these regulations and claimed that they were contradictory to the articles of the Mountreux Convention. According to the Russian leadership, Turkey's aim in issuing this Regulation was to prevent the transportation of Central Asian and Caspian petroleum by tankers through Straits. However, in this situation, Russia did not use her right to demand a conference to revise the Mountreux Convention. According to Article 28, any contracting partner had the right to denounce the Convention and thus demand a conference to conclude a new Convention.[682] Russia did not prefer this because the Mountreux Convention gave the littoral states a more advantageous position, especially regarding passage of war vessels. In the new regulations, it might not be possible to hold the military force of the Western countries out of the Black Sea.

In 1998, Turkey issued a new regulation, softened some limitations and hardened other provisions. Firstly, large vessels were redefined as follows: "Large Vessel means a vessel having a length overall of 200 meters or more"[683] instead of "150 meters or more" in the 1994 Regulations. Article 42 of the 1994 Regulation was softened and transformed into a new one (Article 25-d) foreseeing that

> When a southbound vessel with dangerous cargo as prescribed in this Regulation enters from the north of Istanbul Strait, no northbound vessel is permitted with the same particulars until the southbound reaches the Istanbul Bogazi Bridge. When a northbound vessel with dangerous cargo as prescribed in this Regulation enters from the south of Istanbul Strait no southbound vessel is permitted with the same particulars, until the southbound reaches to the line joining Hamsi Burnu and Fil Burnu points. When a vessel with dangerous cargo enters the Çanakkale Straits, no vessel is permitted with the same particulars until the former one leaves the Nara Burnu point.[684]

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[682] Soysal, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 519.

[683] "Maritime Traffic Regulations for the Turkish Straits", *Official Gazette*, 06.11.1998, p. 3, http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/23515_1.pdf&main=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/23515_1.pdf, (accessed on 14.03.2013)

[684] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

On the other hand, the 1998 regulation made some passages harder. For example, according to Article 36, passage under restricted visibility may be suspended by Turkey for only one direction or both directions[685] and Article 43 foresaw that "when the main current exceeds 6 knots, all vessels which are carrying hazardous cargo, large and deep draft, regardless of their speed, shall wait until the current speed drops to less than 6 knots."[686] The 1998 Regulation also exempted vessels of war, auxiliary vessels and state owned vessels from some articles.[687] On this issue, Turkey succeed to take Russian consent, by persuading Russia and other littoral countries that these changes were not aimed at preventing oil transport but environmental disasters and their fatal effects in and around the Straits.

The second initiative by Turkey which challenged Russian supremacy concerned transit issue of Azerbaijani oil. After the Trans-Caucasus countries gained independence, they wanted to sell their petroleum over the Baku-Novorossisk or Baku-Supsa pipeline and then they were brought to the world market with tankers via the İstanbul and Çanakkale straits. After deciding to construct a main export pipeline, Turkey demanded that this pipeline extend from Azerbaijan via Georgia to the Turkish port Ceyhan, bypassing Russia and the Straits. However, Russia rejected this plan and advised the Baku-Novorossisk pipeline; however, in the 1999 OSCE Istanbul Summit, Russia dropped its objection against the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline project.[688] During this summit, with Clinton's support and testimony, the leaders of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey and Kazakhstan signed the Istanbul declaration on the construction of the pipeline.[689] In 2002, BTC Co. and BTC Invest were established

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[685] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[686] *Ibid.*, p. 16

[687] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[688] Yarık, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

[689] "BTC Projesi", Bakü-Tiflis-Ceyhan HPBH Proje Direktörlüğü web-page, http://www.btc.com.tr/proje.html, (accessed on 05.02.2013)

for its construction and finance, and no Russian company had even a symbolic share in these companies.[690]

Regarding Turkish-Georgian relations, Turkey recognized her independence in December 1991, and then the two countries signed the Friendship and Cooperation Agreement in July 1992.[691] After that, Turkey tried to help Georgia in her struggle to preserve territorial integrity under a multilateral framework such as sending five observers to the UNMIG.[692] Turkish-Georgian trade also increased during these years as seen in Table 28 Turkey's Trade with Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria and Romania. Additionally, Turkey gave military aid under the PfP Program and signed a military agreement in 1997.[693] They also cooperated on the transit issue of Caspian base natural resources. Turkey supported the Baku-Supsa pipeline and Georgia supported the BTC[694].

Concerning Turkey's relations with the North-western neighbour countries, in the previous term (1985-1991) the most important development was the Bulgarian political pressure campaign against the Turkish minority and great flow of immigrants from Bulgaria to Turkey. However, after the regime change, Bulgarian leader Mladenov stated that Bulgaria would respect the rights of the Muslim minority.[695] After the transition to a democratic system, radical changes were seen in the rights of Turkish minorities and they were given the opportunity to establish a

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[690] Shareholders of BTC co. are BP (UK) 30.10%, SOCAR (Azerbaijan) 25.00%, CHEVRON (USA) 8.90%, STATOIL (Netherlands) 8.71%, TPAO (Turkey) 6.53%, ENI (Italy) 5.00%, TOTAL (France) 5.00%, ITOCHU (Japan) 3.40%, INPEX (Japan) 2.50%, CONOCOPHILLIPS (USA) 2.50% and AMERADA HESS (USA) 2.36%. *Ibid.*

[691] Aydın, *op. cit. 1990- 2001 Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'yla İlişkiler*, p. 416.

[692] *Ibid.*, p. 418.

[693] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

[694] *Ibid.*, p. 421.

[695] Cumhuriyet, 16 December 1989 cited by Birgül Demirtaş Çoşkun, "An Anatomy of Turkish Bulgarian Relations (1990-2009): Opportunities, Challenges and Prospects", *Turkish Bulgarian Relations Past and Present*, edited by Mustafa Türkeş, TASAM Publication, İstanbul: 2010, p. 115.

political party (Movement for Rights and Freedom) and enter political life in Bulgaria.

Table 28: Turkey's Trade with Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria and Romania) (in current US$ Million) (1991-2000)[696]

Years	Georgia	Ukraine	Bulgaria	Romania
1991				292.62
1992				439.27
1993	55.51	513.7		449.4
1994	64.16	543.29	342.74	380.02
1995	132.24	1027.95	501.83	618.97
1996	108.2	773.33	451.73	609.31
1997	179.15	1078.08	503.33	603.79
1998	271.51	1124.5	466.48	616.42
1999	218.91	916.39	460.82	638.31
2000	266.79	1141.46	679.57	945.24
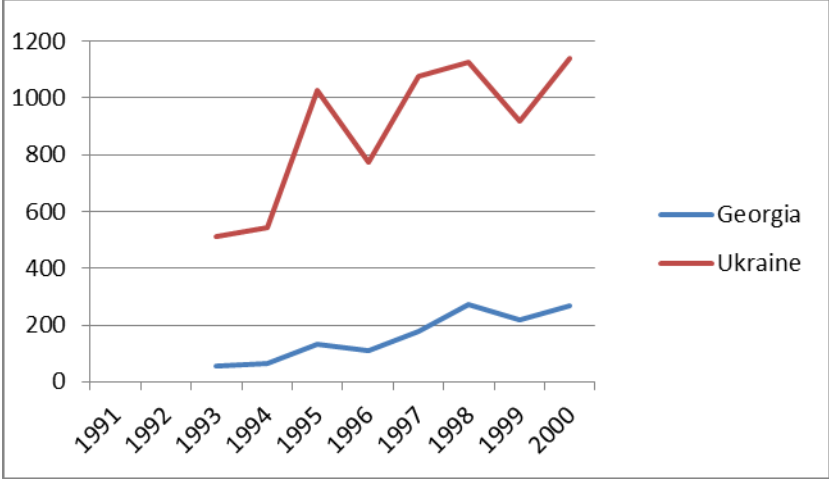
Figure 29: Turkey Trade with Ukraine and Georgia (1991-2000)

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[696] The COW International Trade 1870-2009 database will be to prepare Table 28 Turkey's Trade with Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria Romania 1991-2000. Barbieri and Keshk, *op. cit.*
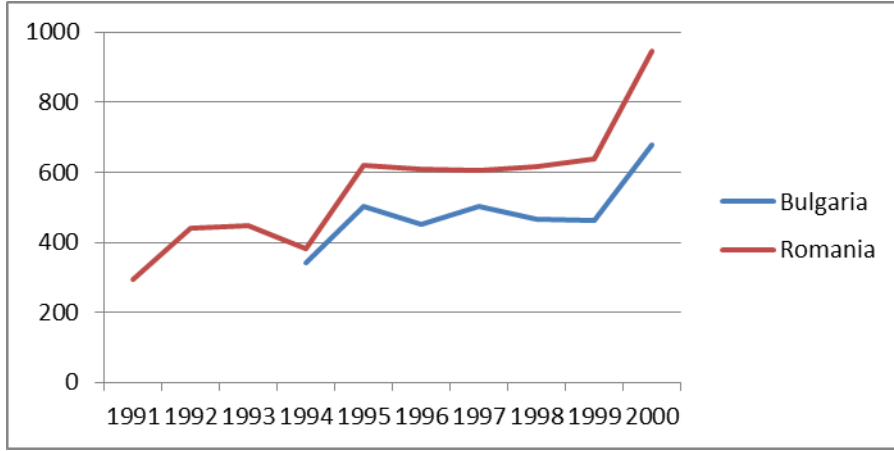
Figure 30: Turkey's Trade with Romania and Bulgaria (1991-2000)

During Zhelev's presidency, Turkey and Bulgaria normalized their relations and for this, Turkey withdrew a symbolic number of its military forces from the North-western front.[697] In June 1990, Bulgaria and Turkey signed an agreement on confidence building measures.[698] The leaders of the two countries signed the Sofia Pact in 1991 and the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighbourhood and Security in 1992.[699] In 1997, during the visit of the Turkish prime minister Mesut Yılmaz, the border problem of the Rezovski River delta was resolved.[700] Turkey also supported Bulgarian and Romanian NATO membership. On a parallel with political relations, Turkish economic and trade relations with Bulgaria and Romania also improved as was seen Figure 30: Turkey's Trade with Romania and Bulgaria. Despite improvements in economic and political relations, issues of PKK activities in

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[697] Private interview with Doğan Güreş, who was Chief of the Staff of Turkish Military Forces cited by Türkeş, *op. cit Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Balkans*, p. 199.

[698] Demirtaş Çoşkun, *op. cit. An Anatomy of Turkish Bulgarian Relations*, p. 116.

[699] Uzgel, *op. cit., Türkiye ve Balkanlar: İstikrarın Sağlanmasında Türkiye'nin Rolü*, p. 101.

[700] Demirtaş Çoşkun, *op. cit. An Anatomy of Turkish Bulgarian Relations*, p. 117.

Bulgaria and Romania and the fact that PKK members used these two countries as for transit to Europe were on Turkey's agenda. Bulgaria and Turkey signed an agreement on counter terrorism in 2001,[701] but Bulgaria did not put the PKK on her terrorist organization list during the 1990s. In May 1998, Romania accepted the PKK as a terrorist organization.[702] Turkey's relations with these countries also intensified after the 1997 trilateral cooperation initiatives.[703]

Regarding Turkey's relations with the Balkan countries, it should be noted that Turkey also had important ties with them as with the Central Asian and Caucasian countries. There were also Turkish minorities in these countries, not only in Bulgaria. However, according to Türkeş, Turkey never used this population to destabilize these countries or in any way to intervene in these countries' domestic policies.[704] Instead, Turkey encouraged them to integrate into their home country while keeping their cultural, linguistic and religious identities.[705] Upon conflicts in Yugoslavia, according to Türkeş, Turkey did not use this instability to become a regional hegemonic power but tried to prevent any other single regional power from gaining this position[706] and was committed to multilateral action and legality, thus followed a legal-realistic policy despite strong domestic pressures.[707]

After the end of the Cold War, Turkey was no longer the only US ally in the Region. After the collapse of the USSR, every country in the Region was trying to establish relations with the West. However, the anarchical hierarchic relation

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[701] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[702] İlhan Uzgel, "1990- 2001 Balkanlar'la İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne: Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 507.

[703] *Ibid.*

[704] Türkeş, *op. cit., Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Balkans*, p. 199.

[705] *Ibid.*

[706] *Ibid.,* p. 208.

[707] *Ibid.*, pp. 197 and 203.

between the USA and Turkey was sustained in same form (near to tight) because Turkey did not follow a policy which challenged the US supremacy. As was done in Chapter III, the economic, military and political interventions will be looked into. Table 29 reflected all these interventions.

Table 29: Turkey's Anarchical Hierarchic Relation with USA and the EU (1991-1999)

MILITARY INTERVENTION	
Deployment of military forces	NATO bases and military personnel Table 30 Number of US Military Personnel in Turkey 1991-2000
Number of independent allies	None
Military intrv. Through security alliances	NATO member till 1952
Military Aid	Table 74 US Military Aid to Black Sea Countries, Appendix J
Arms sale	leading military equipment supplier
ECONOMIC INTERVENTION	
Trade dependence	Leading trade partners: Italy, Germany, USA.
Customs union or common external tariffs	The Customs Union
Punishment in case of disobedience / support when in cooperation	US support for Turkish EU membership and for the construction of the BTC and US aid in capturing Abdullah Öcalan[708]
Foreign direct investment	Leading Investors: USA, Germany, and Netherlands[709].
Economic Aid	Table 75, Appendix J
FORMS OF ORDERING PRINCIPLE	Near to Tight Anarchical Hierarchy

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[708] İlhan Uzgel, "Abdullah Öcalan'ın Yakalanması", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt 1, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul. 2001, p. 296.

[709] Foreign Direct Investment in Turkey Geographical Breakdown, Appendix G.

Military Intervention

Turkey is a NATO member country and as noted in the Chapter III, there were twenty four military bases in Turkey.[710] After the end of the Cold War, as part of American global policy, eight of these military bases previously established were closed.[711] Accordingly, number of the US military personnel in Turkey was drastically reduced, especially in 1995 and 1996 as seen in Table 30 Number of US Military Personnel in Turkey.

Besides NATO bases, after the Gulf War in 1990, under Operation Provide Comfort, land forces (including French, US and British military forces) came to Silopi (Şırnak) and their air forces landed in İncirlik.[712] In 1996, these military forces were removed and Operation Northern Watch, which was composed of only air forces, was implemented.

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[710] "NATO's Eastern Anchor 24 NATO Bases in Turkey", *op. cit.*

[711] Hale, *op. cit.,* p. 159.

[712] İlhan Uzgel, "1990- 2000 ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 267.

Table 30: Number of US Military Personnel in Turkey (1991-2000)[713]

	TOTAL	ARMY	NAVY	MARINE CORPS	AIR FORCE
Sep-91	6,342	1,374	112	17	4,839
Sep-92	4,021	746	38	19	4,824
Sep-93	4,049	342	25	19	3,663
Sep-94	4,077	273	24	20	3,760
Sep-95	3,111	295	25	19	2,772
Sep-96	2,922	296	20	18	2,588
Sep-97	2,864	277	18	16	2,553
Sep-98	2,518	312	15	19	2,172
Sep-99	2,312	385	15	51	1,861
Sep-00	2,006	184	18	45	1,759

Economic Intervention

In the economic realm, customs union with the EU came into force on 31 December 1995; this covered all industrial goods and processed agricultural products. To provide common external tariffs for products covered by the Customs Union, Turkey started an adaption process of her national legislation according to the EU acquis. After the Customs Union, at the Helsinki Summit, the European Council gave Turkey the status of candidate country for EU membership in 1999.[714] Afterwards, the EU Council adopted the EU Turkey Accession Partnership Document (a road map) and Turkey adopted the National Program for the Adoption of the acquis in 2001.[715] For fulfillment of this program, according to Sanem Baykal and Tuğrul Arat, Turkey, in the short term, should make changes in 6 articles in the Constitution and 23 legal codes and enact 20 new codes. In the medium-term she

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[713] This table was prepared by benefitting from "Military Personnel Statistics", Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) and Department of Defense, USA, http://siadapp.dmdc.osd.mil/personnel/MILITARY/miltop.htm, (accessed on 05.06.2013)

[714] "EU- Turkey History", Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, http://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/turkey-the-eu/history.html, (accessed on 08.05.2012)

[715] *Ibid.*

should make changes in 10 articles of the Constitution and 95 legal codes and again enact 20 new codes.[716]

Within the context of important changes in the international system after the Cold War, despite the existence of divergence of interests of two countries on some issues such as Cyprus and human rights issues, bilateral relations between the US and Turkey remained strong.[717] According to Uzgel, alliance relations were transformed into an enhanced strategic partnership after the end of the Cold War.[718] The Turkish-American cooperation continued in many regional issues such as containing Iraq and Iran and the Palestinian-Israeli peace process in the Middle East, maintaining regional stability and operations in Bosnia Herzegovinia and Kosovo in the Balkans, resolving the transit issue of Caspian energy resources, reducing the influence of Iran in the Caucasus and Central Asia and indirectly controlling Russian influence in the post-Soviet area. Upon discussion on place of NATO after the end of the Cold War, Turkey supported the indivisibility of security in Europe and emphasized role of the NATO as an efficient tool for enhancing security; thus, Turkey had same position as the USA on the formation of a separate European defence initiative and supported NATO enlargement while feeling discontent about this development.[719]

The other issue related to transatlantic security was the usage of NATO assets by the WEU and then the EU. At the 1992 Maastricht Summit, the European countries decided to intensify the WEU for carrying out the Petersburg Tasks (1992). However, this organization was suffering from a lack of military assets and in 1994

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[716] Sanem Baykal and Tuğrul Arat, "1990- 2001 AB'yle İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne: Olgular Belgeler Yorumlar*, edited by Baskın Oran, Cilt II, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2001, p. 365.

[717] Sabri Sayari, "Turkish American Relations in the Post-Cold War Era: Issues of Convergence and Divergence", *Turkish American Relations Past, Present and Future*, edited by Mustafa Aydın and Çağrı Erhan, Routledge, London and New York: 2004, p. 92.

[718] Uzgel, *op. cit.*, *"1990- 2000 ABD ve NATO'yla İlişkiler"*, p. 253.

[719] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

the Joint Common Task Force was established, and it was agreed that the WEU could use the NATO assets.[720] At the Cologne Summit (1999), the WEU was fully integrated into the EU. In 1992, an associate member status was designed for the non-EU NATO member states, particularly Turkey. After the 1999 summit, Turkey was left in a disadvantageous position compared with her previous achievements in the WEU and NATO.[721] Therefore, Turkey opposed the automatic availability of NATO assets to the EU and foresaw a mechanism for considering EU demands on a case-by-case basis.[722] To neutralize the Turkish veto of EU access to pre-identified NATO assets and capabilities, the USA and the UK prepared the 2001 Ankara Document, which assured Turkey that the EU crisis management missions would not be used in a crisis in the Aegean or the Eastern Mediterranean seas.[723] Although Greece vetoed the 2001 Ankara Document, later on its provisions were approved by NATO Heads of States and Governments at the Brussels Summit on 24-25 October 2002.[724]

This term, for Turkey has been a period during which she re-produced her regional pro-status-quo policies within a new post-Cold War framework. Regarding her position in the Balkans and regional countries, Turkey kept her pro-status-quo line and supported Romanian and Bulgarian integration efforts into the Western system. In the Balkans, the Middle East and Caucasus Turkey cooperated with the US, who supported Turkey's active policy towards the Caucasus and Central Asia, her "Turkish model" discourse and the BTC pipeline initiative while she was

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[720] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

[721] Hüseyin Bağcı and Ali Yıldız, "Turkey and the European Security and Defense Policy- ESDP: From Confrontational to Cooperative Relationship", *The Europeanization of Turkey's Security Policy:Prospects and Pitfalls,* edited by Ali L. Karaosmanoğlu and Seyfi Taşhan, Foreign Policy Institute, Ankara: 2004, p. 82.

[722] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[723] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[724] "The European Union Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and NATO- EU Strategic Cooperation", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/iii_-turkey_s-views-on-current-nato-issues.en.mfa, (accessed on 04.07.2013)

pursuing the Russia-first policy. While Turkey insisted to pursue a pro-status-quo policy on security related issues for these nine years (1991-1999), at the beginning, she followed a challenging policy towards the Russian Federation by establishing close and partly dominant relations with the Caucasus and Central Asian countries until 1993. After that, Turkey preferred to cooperate with the Russian Federation, tried to pursue a balancing policy between her Western allies and Russia, such as engaging simultaneously in the Blue Stream pipeline and BTC pipeline and she did not challenge her anarchical hierarchic relations with the post-Soviet countries in the Region. Therefore, Turkey has had a contributing effect in sustaining structure, accordingly enhancing stability and security.

4.6 REGIONAL STRUCTURE AND ITS EFFECT ON MAINTAINING REGIONAL SECURITY

Regional structure is consists of two components: distribution of capabilities and ordering principle. During the Cold War, there were four countries in the Region and there was a great power disparity. (Figures 19 and 20) During the first decade of the post-Cold War term, while three more states emerged, the Russian Federation had less capabilities than the USSR and capabilities of Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey slightly changed, it can be noted that power disparity continued to exist among the regional actors: between the Russian Federation and the second leading country – Turkey; between Turkey and Bulgaria and Romania and between the latter countries and Georgia as can be seen in Figures 31, 32 and 33: National Material Capabilities of the Regional States.
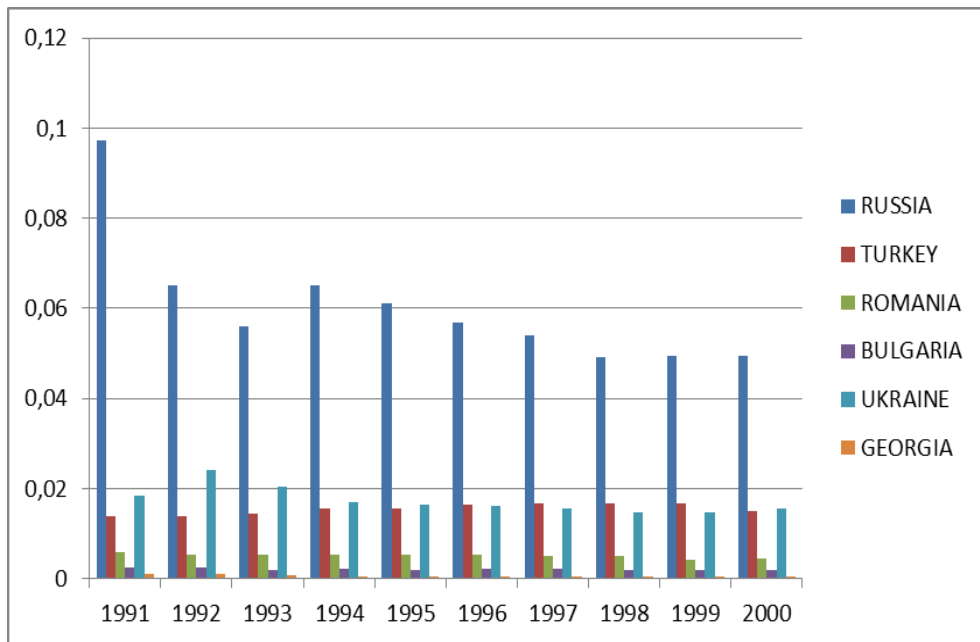
Figure 31: National Material Capabilities of the Regional States (1991-2000)[725]
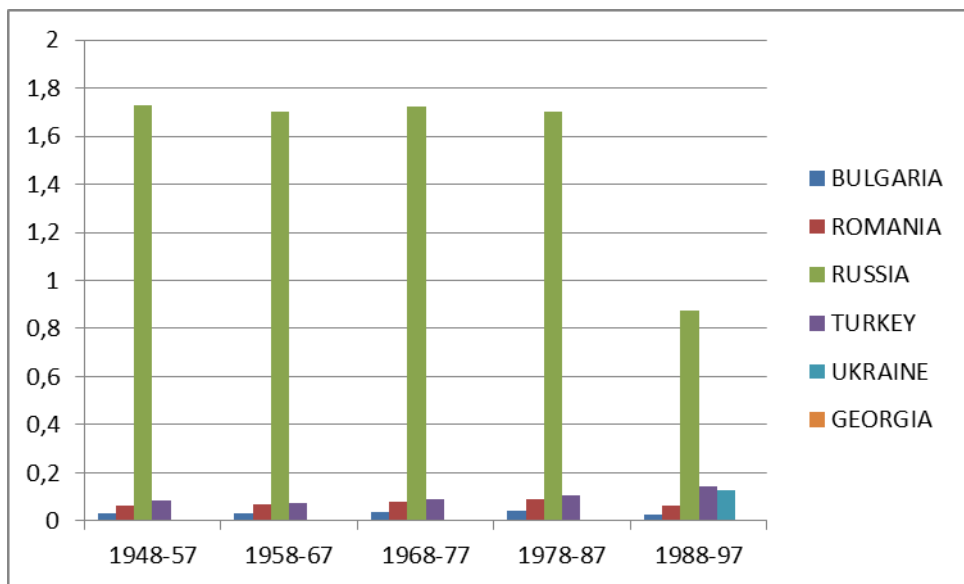
Figure 32: National Material Capabilities of the Regional States (1948-1991)

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[725] Singer, Bremer and Stuckey, *op. cit.*
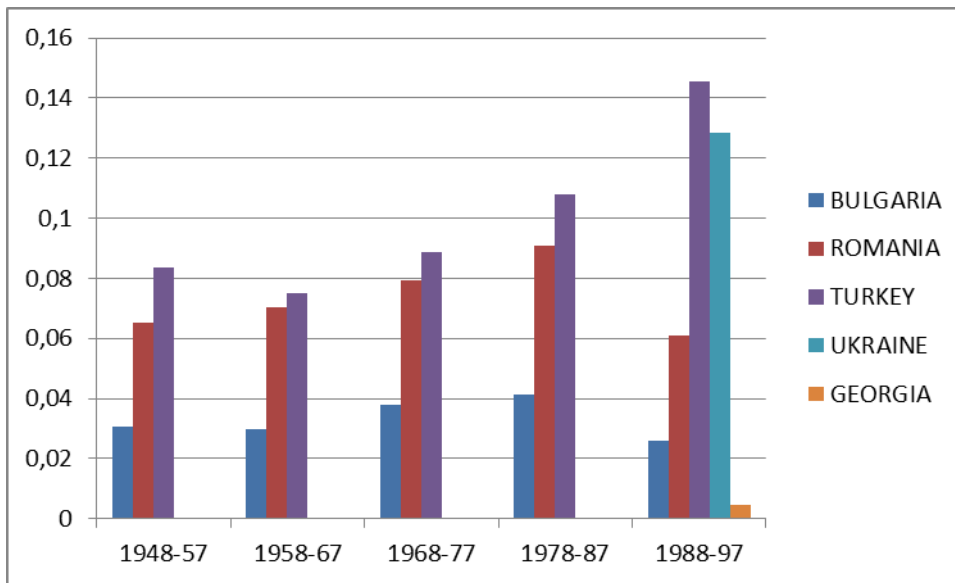
Figure 33: National Material Capabilities of Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Ukraine and Georgia (1948-1997)

The ordering principle needs to be identified. During the period from 1991 to 1999, of the six countries around the Black Sea, for four of them (the RF, Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria) the ordering principle was anarchy. Romania was located outside the sphere of influence of the Russian Federation. Bulgaria was found somewhere between two ends. Therefore, after 1991, in the Region anarchy was accompanied with anarchical hierarchy, which was assumed to exist among the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Georgia. The Russian military, political and economic interventions in Ukraine and Georgia should be looked into in order to determine whether or not the ordering principle was near to loose anarchical hierarchy. Table 31: Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure (1991-1999) reflects all of these interventions. The positions of the Eastern European countries are to be confirmed by also looking Russian and Western relations with Bulgaria and Romania in order to compare and understand their role in ensuring and enhancing security in the Region.

Table 31: Ordering Principle of Regional Structure (1991-1999)

	GEORGIA	UKRAINE	BULGARIA	ROMANIA
MILITARY INTERVENTION AND RELATIONS				
Deployment of Military Forces	Russian bases in Tbilisi, Gudauta, Akhalkalaki and Batumi	Black Sea Fleet		
Lack of Independent Allies	Only Russia and CIS Countries (1994-1999 as CST member)	Only Russia and CIS Countries		
Crisis Management	Russian intervention into Abkhazia and South Oss. Conflicts			
Security Alliance	Unified joint air defence system, peacekeeping forces under CIS framework	Unified joint air defence system, peacekeeping forces under CIS framework	NATO-Partnership for Peace since 1994, MAP in 1999 but not in any military organization initiated by RF	NATO-Partnership for Peace since 1994, MAP in 1999 but not in any military organization initiated by RF
Bilateral Military Cooperation	High	High	Participated in SFOR and KFOR	Status of Forces Agreement in 1995; allowance of airspace to NATO forces
Arms Sale	leading military equipment supplier - Ukraine		the leading military equipment supplier- Russia	Russia, Switzerland and USA

Table 31 Continued

ECONOMIC INTERVENTION AND RELATIONS				
Trade Dependence	top trading partner	top trading partner	Russia among top trading partners	top trading partner - Germany
Punishment in case of Disobedience; with Economic Means	Natural gas Cut-offs during 1990s and Early 2000	Natural gas cut-offs in 1993 and 1995, increased tariffs on Ukrainian goods in 1995 and 1996[726]		
Lack of Market Exchange Rules- Gas Prices	Gas and oil sales under market prices	Gas and oil sales under market prices		

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[726] In 1996, Russia increased tariffs on Ukrainian vodka exports to Russia and according to Victor Chudowsky, it was seen as a punishment for Ukraine's delay in joining the CIS Customs Union. Victor Chudowsky, "Imperialism to Realism: The role of the West in Russian Foreign Policy Towards Ukraine", *Security Dynamics in the Former Soviet Bloc*, edited by Graeme P. Herd and Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Routledge Curzon, London and New York: 2003, p. 102.

Table 31 Continued

Free Trade Agreements	Georgia-RF agreements in 1993, Georgia-Ukraine agreement in 1996,[727] WTO member (2000)[728]	Georgia-Ukraine agreement in 1996, Associate member of CIS Economic Union (1994-ineffective),[729] Declaration of Cooperation between Ukraine and EFTA in 2000 and joint meetings in 2002, 2005[730]	Association agreement with EU in 1993, WTO membership in 1996,[731] CEFTA agreements (1999-2007),[732]Free Trade agreement with Turkey 1998,[733] EFTA-Bulgaria Free Trade agreement 1993[734]	WTO member (1995),[735] Free Trade agreement with Turkey 1997,[736] EFTA-Romania Free Trade agreement 1992,[737] CEFTA agreements[738] (1997-2007)

[727] "Regional Trading Agreements ",http://intl.econ.cuhk.edu.hk/rta/index.php?did=25, (accessed on 10.05.2012)

[728] "Georgia and the WTO", http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/countries_e/georgia_e.htm, (accessed on 10.05.2012)

[729] "Associate member, in practice means that Ukraine is able to pick and choose which agreements to be a part of." Chudowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[730] "Chronology of EFTA's Free Trade Agreements, Declarations of Cooperation and Exploratory Talks", http://www.sice.oas.org/TPD/CHL_EFTA/Studies/EFTAChron_e.pdf, (accessed on 10.05.2012).

[731] "Bulgaria and the WTO", http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/countries_e/bulgaria_e.htm, (accessed on 10.05.2013).

[732]"Agreement on Accession of Republic of Bulgaria to the Central European Free Trade Agreement", http://wits.worldbank.org/GPTAD/PDF/archive/CEFTA%28Bulgaria%29.pdf, (accessed on 13.05.2013).

Table 31 Continued

FDI- Leading Investors			Greece, Germany, Italy; USA 6th, Russia 10th, Turkey 13th (1992-2000)[739]	Netherlands, Austria, France; USA 7th, Turkey 11th (1991-2006)[740]

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[733] "Free Trade Agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria", http://wits.worldbank.org/GPTAD/PDF/archive/Bulgaria-Turkey.pdf, (accessed on 13.05.2013)

[734]"Chronology of EFTA's Free Trade Agreements, Declarations of Cooperation and Exploratory Talks", http://www.sice.oas.org/TPD/CHL_EFTA/Studies/EFTAChron_e.pdf, (accessed on 10.05.2012).

[735] "Romania and the WTO", http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/countries_e/romania_e.htm, (accessed on 10.05.2013).

[736] "Free Trade Agreement between Turkey and Romania", http://wits.worldbank.org/GPTAD/PDF/archive/Romania-Turkey.pdf, (accessed on 13.05.2013).

[737]"Chronology of EFTA's Free Trade Agreements, Declarations of Cooperation and Exploratory Talks", http://www.sice.oas.org/TPD/CHL_EFTA/Studies/EFTAChron_e.pdf, (accessed on 10.05.2012).

[738] "Agreement on Accession of Romania to the Central European Free Trade Agreement", http://www.worldtradelaw.net/fta/agreements/ceftaromfta.pdf, (accessed on 13.05.2013).

[739]"Country Profile", Агенция За Приватизация И Следприватизационен Контрол (Agency for Privatization and Post- Privatization Control), http://www.priv.government.bg/en/statistics/reports/information-about-the-privatization-process-in-bulgaria-2009, (accessed on 10.05.2013)

[740] Istvan Oliver Egresi, *Geographical Dynamics of FDI in Romania,* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2008, p. 153.

Table 31 Continued

Debts to Russia by Ukraine and Georgia	High	Very High		
Participation of Russian Companies in Privatization Process	Sakgazi Company-ITERA	Odessa refinery-Lukoil; Lisichansk refinery-TNK; Kherson refinery-Rosneft and Alliance Group; Kremenchug refinery-Naftogaz Ukrainy and Russian Tatneft	SOLVEY Belgium (Sodi, Devnia), Lukoil Petrol, the Russian Federation (Neftochim, Bourgas), Brewinvest S.A. – Greece (Zagorka, Stara Zagora), "Interbrew" – Belgium (Kamenitza, Plovdiv), Haidelberg Cement AG, Germany (Zlatna Panega and Granitoid, Batanovtsi), MARVEX, Spain (Devnia Cement, Devnia), KNAUF, Austria (Gipsfazer, Vidin), Union Miniere, Belgium (MDK, Pirdop)[741]	Ploinesti refinery-Lukoil

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[741] "Information about the Privatization Process in Bulgaria-2009", Агенция За Приватизация И Следприватизационен Контрол (Agency for Privatization and Post- Privatization Control), http://www.priv.government.bg/en/statistics/reports/information-about-the-privatization-process-in-bulgaria-2009, (accessed on 09.05.2013).

Table 31 Continued

POLITICAL INTERVENTION				
Ethnic Groups or Russian Minority	Russian so-called support for ethnic groups	Existence of Russian minority		
Political intervention through support for pro-Russian leaders and their parties, measured by				
Continuity or Change in presidents	President, different from Soviet leader- Gamsakhurdia	President, different from Soviet leader- Kravchuk	President, different from Soviet leader- Mladenov (BCP)	President, different from Soviet leader- Iliescu (NSF leader)
Continuity or Change in Parliament Composition	Reformist Party – first election	Communist party, first and second election	Bulgarian socialist party- first election	Reformist first and second election
Leadership Change	Gamsakhurdia and Shevardnadze	Kravchuk and Kuchma		
Forms of Ordering Principle		Near to Loose Anarchical Hierarchy		Anarchy

4.6.1 *Military Presence and Intervention*

4.6.1.1 **Deployment of Military Forces**

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, about 1,600 bases and facilities of the Russian Armed Forces were found in Georgia.[742] The vast majority of the facilities were closed between 1997 and 1999; in 1998 the Russian Navy completed its withdrawal; and in 1999 the border guards left as well.[743] By the end of 1999, only four bases remained (bases in Tbilisi, Gudauta, Akhalkalaki and Batumi), and Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze signed a joint statement in Istanbul.[744] It was agreed that the bases in Gudauta would be closed down by 2001; the bases in Akhalkalaki by 27 June 2007;[745] the base in Batumi was to be handed over to Georgia in November 2007;[746] the Vaziani base in Tbilisi was to be handed over in 2001 and the last personnel of the Russia's garrison were to leave Tbilisi in 2006.[747] As a result, Russian military bases were found in Georgia for almost the entire decade.

The Russian Black Sea Fleet was located in Ukraine. According to the 1997 Friendship and Cooperation Agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, the Ukrainian navy would have a symbolic presence in Sevastopol and

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[742] Nikolai Sokov, "The Withdrawal of Russian Military Bases from Georgia: Not Solving Anything", *Sonars Policy Memo 363,* June 2005, p. 2

[743] *Ibid.*

[744] *Ibid.*

[745] Vladimir Socor, "Georgian Flag Raised over Akhalkalaki", *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 4, Issue 128, 2 July 2007, http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=32841&tx_ttnews[backPid]=171&no_cache=1#.UmT3sxDuCW8, (accessed on 21.10.2013).

[746] "Russia Hands over Batumi Military Base to Georgia", *Civil Georgia*, 7 November 2007, http://www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=16321, (accessed on 31.08.2012).

[747] Socor, *op. cit.*

most of the fleet, including 80 % of the ships, would be owned by Russia. A twenty year lease was signed, for which Russia would pay 100 million USD per year.[748]

4.6.1.2   Crisis Management and CIS Peacekeeping

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, countries around the Russian Federation faced severe armed conflicts. Upon this, Kazakhstan president proposed the formation of a CIS peacekeeping force, which is specified in the Alma-Ata Declaration on 21 December 1991.[749] The CIS leaders signed an Agreement on Military Observer Group and the Collective Peacekeeping Forces of the CIS in March 1992 and then the Agreement on the Collective Peacekeeping Forces and Joint Measures for the logistic support in September 1993.[750] Benefitting from the UN and the OSCE experiences, related agreements were prepared.[751] The 1992 Agreement defined in which situations and how the peacekeeping force was to be used. According to this, partners in a conflict would not join this force, only volunteer countries would send troops and deployment and usage of this force would require approval from the CIS Council of Heads of State.[752] These troops would be sent to the region only if conflicting partners accepted.[753]

Starting from late 1992, peacekeeping operations were organized for the secessionist movements of the South Ossetia, Abkhazia in Georgia, the Trans-Dniester issue in Moldova and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in Azerbaijan and the civil war in Tajikistan in order to play a mediating force, to freeze or resolve the

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[748] Chudowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[749] "Миротворческая деятельность СНГ (CIS Peacekeeping)", Peacekeeper.ru Военное Политическое Обозрение (Military Political Review), http://www.peacekeeper.ru/ru/?module=pages&action=view&id=67, (accessed on 14.05.2013).

[750] *Ibid.*

[751] *Ibid.*

[752] Donaldson and Nogee, *op. cit.*, p. 196-197.

[753] *Ibid.*

conflict. In this section, only two of these conflicts, the South Ossetia and Abkhazia will be examined, as the others were outside the Region. In the South Ossetia case, the Russian Federation played a mediating role and negotiations were held between Georgia and the Russian Federation. On 24 June 1994, the Dagomys agreements (Agreements on the Principles of Settlement of the Georgian-Ossetia Conflict) were signed to end the Georgian and Ossetia conflict, and peace-keeping forces were constituted on a trilateral basis.[754] Russia contributed to this force with a regiment from the 76th airborne division.[755]

In 1994, after the Abkhazian Georgian ceasefire, they applied to the CIS for peace-keeping forces and at that time, only Russia provided a contingent for this purpose. The mandate of this force is the "creation of a 12- kilometer wide security zone along the whole length of the Inguri River, and patrolling of the Kodor Valley (…) and protection of refugees."[756] In this way, Russia preserved her military existence in Georgia.

4.6.1.3   Military Alliance and Cooperation

The Russian Federation and five post-Soviet states signed the Collective Security Treaty on 15 May 1992 in Tashkent. Ukraine did not sign and Georgia became a signatory state in 1994 but withdrew in 1999.

Besides the CST, within the framework of the CIS, a Unified joint air defence system was established in 1995 by the CIS countries except Moldova and Azerbaijan; including Georgia and Ukraine (its operations began in 1996),[757] and a proposal for the establishment of peacekeeping forces was approved by ten CIS

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[754] Alexander Nikitin, "Peace Support Operations on the Territory of the Former Soviet Union", *Rising Tension in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by David Cariton, Paul Ingram and Giancario Tenaglia, Dartmouth, Aldershot and Brookfield: 1996, p. 89.

[755] *Ibid.*

[756] *Ibid.*

[757] Alexander A. Sergounin, "Military Technical Cooperation between CIS Member States", p. 164, books.sipri.org/files/books/SIPRI98An/SIPRI98An09.pdf, (accessed on 26.03.2012).

states, including Ukraine (conditional upon its parliament's approval).[758] Then, five peacekeeping operations were realized within the CIS territory although, according to Donaldson and Nogee, none of them were carried out as specified in the CIS agreement.[759]

A high level of military technical-cooperation between the Russian Federation and the CIS states continued. Despite the failure of the integration into the CIS; bilateral relations between the Russian Federation and the CIS countries remained the main channel of military-technical cooperation.[760] According to Alexander A. Sergounin, there were military and technical bilateral relationships between Russia and the different CIS countries on various levels, as was seen in Table 32.

Table 32: Level of Military- Technical Cooperation between Ukraine, Georgia and the Russian Federation[761]

	UKRAINE	GEORGIA
Defence Industrial Cooperation	Very High	High
Conversion	Very High	Low
Arms Transfer	Low[762]	High
Division of Soviet Arsenals	High	Very High
Air Defence	High	Very High
Russian Military Bases	None	High
Russian Military Advisers	None	High
Military Training	Low	High

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[758] Donaldson and Nogee, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

[759] *Ibid.,* p. 197.

[760] Sergounin, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[761] Table-6 was based on inferences from Table 9.3. "Index of the Level of Military Technical Cooperation between Russia and CIS member states in select areas" cited by *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[762] As Ukraine is one of the biggest weapon exportes, her arm transfer from the Russian Federation has been low.

Russian-Ukrainian military cooperation flourished under the Presidency of Kuchma. In 1995, these two countries established the International Aircraft Project for developing and producing civilian and military transport aircraft and in April 1996, the International Aircraft Engines Group.[763]

Russian-Georgian military technical cooperation occurred in various areas. As regards defence industrial cooperation, Russian designers assisted the Tbilisi Aviation Industrial Association in the development of aircraft and concluded an agreement on sending Russian military advisers and specialist. They also signed a Treaty of Friendship and Military Cooperation in 1994 and an agreement for airfield technical support services in 1995; however, these treaties were not ratified.[764]

4.6.1.4   Conclusion

The Russian Federation managed to preserve anarchical hierarchy in military sector in Georgia and Ukraine. Andrei P. Tsygankov noted that maintaining Russian military presence in the area due to new conflicts in the former Soviet Union was among the three objectives of Russia regarding the CIS.[765] However, the military hierarchy of the Russian Federation ended in Eastern Europe. Doctrinal reorientation, force reduction and restructuring and the empowerment of a new generation of senior military officers were indicators of Russia's reduced effect on Eastern European countries' armies.[766] However, the most obvious indicator was the fact that Romania and Bulgaria, along with Hungary, refused to allow passage for Russian air planes

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[763] Sergounin, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[764] *Ibid.*, p. 172

[765] Others were protecting the status of ethnic Russians living outside Russia and obtaining valuable economic assets and facilities. Andrei P. Tsygankov, *Russia's Foreign Policy Change and Continuity in National Identity*, Bowman and Littlefield Publishers, Oxford: 2006, p. 109.

[766] Daniel N. Nelson and Georgeta V. Pourchot, "Democracy, Markets and Security in Eastern Europe", *Eastern Europe Politics Culture Society since 1939*, edited by Sabrina P. Ramet, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis:1998, p. 384.

which intended to go to Pristina to support Serbian military forces during the NATO strikes against Serbia in 1999.[767] At that time, Bulgaria and Romania were not even NATO member countries.

4.6.2 *Economic Intervention*

4.6.2.1 Economic Intervention through Trade Dependence

In Georgia and Ukraine, Russia was the top trading partner; Bulgaria's partners were Russia and Germany; and Romania changed its main trading partner from the Russian Federation to Germany. Therefore, it can be noted that there was a trade dependency between Russia, Georgia and Ukraine; Romania, and Bulgaria to a certain extent, could diversify their trading partners.

4.6.2.2 Economic Intervention through Establishing Economic Community

As in the military space, the CIS member states could not establish a common economic zone in spite of their interdependent economies. Additionally, at independence the rouble was the common currency unit.[768] Shortly thereafter, all the republics announced their intention to create national currencies; thus, the rouble zone ended. None of the proposals regarding economic unity, common trade, customs and transport regimes or a common market within the CIS were accepted or realized.[769] Russia was not very successful in her multilateral efforts within the CIS, except for the formation of a Customs Union with Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Rather than a multilateral approach, she was more successful in restoring bilateral economic relations. In 1998, after the 1997 border treaty with Ukraine, they signed the Program of Economic Cooperation, which aimed at political

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[767] Eric Schmitt, "Crisis in the Balkans: The Military; Nato Bars Russia From Reinforcing Troops in Kosovo", *New York Times*, July 03, 1999, http://www.nytimes.com/1999/07/03/world/crisis-balkans-military-nato-bars-russia-reinforcing-troops-kosovo.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm,03.02.2012, (accessed on 6 March 2012).

[768] Donaldson and Nogee, op. cit., p. 209.

[769] *Ibid.,* p. 193.

normalization and the enhancement of economic relations from trade to cooperation in various industries.[770] Russian existence in Ukraine or Georgia was not limited to these multilateral efforts or some bilateral treaties. Russia and her companies had an important place in these countries' markets.

4.6.2.3   Natural Gas Disputes

According to Jeremy Gordon, both Georgia and Ukraine became were subjected to several gas cut-offs. In the case of Georgia, Robert Larsson asserted that during the 1990s and early 2000s, there were many cut-offs in Georgia and "they were coincided with special events, such as elections, bilateral negotiations or Russian bombardment of Georgian territory, occasionally under the pretext of non-payments."[771] According to Gordon, Russia conducted the same policy against Ukraine and insisted that Gazprom cut Ukraine's gas with the same pretext just before the bilateral meeting between Ukraine and Russia in 1993 or to influence the Ukrainian decision regarding the CIS customs union in 1995.[772]

4.6.2.4   Price of Natural Gas

One of the tools the Russian Federation used for maintenance of her dominance is delivering natural gas to Ukraine and Georgia at a rate below market prices. Russian owned the gas company that sold Turkmen gas to Ukraine at the price of $56[773] and to Georgia at $60 per 1000 cubic metres.[774] Gazprom delivered

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[770] Tsygankov, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[771] Svante Cornell, "Renewed Russian Pressure in the Caucasus: Realities on the Ground and Geopolitical Imperatives", Analysis of Current Events, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 10 cited by Robert Larsson, *Russia's Energy Policy Security Dimensions and Russia's Reliability as an Energy Supplier*, Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI) Defense Analysis, March 2006, pp. 228-229.

[772] Jeremy Gordon, "Russia's Foreign Policy Ace", *Paterson Review,* Vol. 8, 2007, p. 87.

[773] Liana Jervalidze, *Georgia: Russian Foreign Energy Policy and Implications for Georgia's Energy Security*, GMB Publishing, Blue Ibex Ltd, Edinburgh: 2006, p. 20.

[774] V.G. Panskov, Auditor of Chamber of Control of Russia, Auditing document of Itera, 2000 cited by *Ibid.*

gas to Ukraine at the price of $50.[775] During the first decade, Russia sold natural gas to Germany at different prices ranging from $60.12 to $101.7.[776]

4.6.2.5   Debt issue

Another tool that the Russian Federation used against Ukraine and Georgia was the debts of these countries to the Russian Federation. By the end of 1999, the total debt to Russia incurred by other CIS countries was 6.8 billion $US; 73 % belonging to Ukraine; 3 % to Georgia.[777]
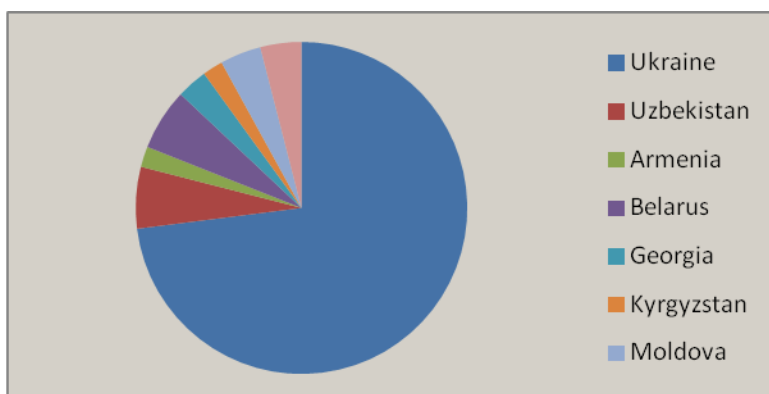
Figure 34: Debts to Russia by other CIS Countries (1999, year-end):[778]

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[775] Olena Viter, Rostyslav Pavlenko, Mykhaylo Honchar, *Ukraine: Post-Revolution Energy Policy & Relations with Russia*, GMB Publishing, Blue Ibex Ltd., Edinburg: 2006, p. 19.

[776] "Russian Natural Gas Monthly Price-US Dollar per Thousands of Cubic Meters" Qindex Mundi, http://www.indexmundi.com/commodities/?commodity=russian-natural-gas&months=240, (accessed on 10.04.2012).

[777] Ricardo Lago and Willem Buiter, "Debt in Transition Economies: Where is it heading, What can be done about it?", *Revue D'Économie Financière, Special Issue, Ten Years of Transition in Eastern European Countries, Achievements and Challenges,* 2001, p. 200.

[778] *Ibid.*

4.6.2.6 Participation of Russian Companies in privatization processes of Ukraine, Bulgaria and Georgia

Another type of leverage exerted by the Russian Federation was her support for Russian companies, especially those selling oil and natural gas, to participate in the privatization process of CIS countries, Bulgaria and Romania.

In Romania, Lukoil acquired the Ploinesti refinery in 1999[779] and had a lubricant producing facility.[780] In Bulgaria, Lukoil acquired the Burgas refinery in 1999[781] and established a petrochemical plant there;[782] completed the purchase of a 58 % stake in Neftochim in October 1999; and Yukos purchased a 51% stake of Petrol AD (the largest oil company) in August 1999.[783]

In Ukraine, Lukoil acquired the Odessa refinery in 2000,[784] TNK (Tymen Oil Cooperation) gained control over Ukraine's Lisichansk refinery in 2000,[785] Rosneft and Alliance Group got major stakes in the Kherson refinery in Ukraine in 2002.[786]

[779] "Oil Refining", http://www.lukoil.com/materials/images/Refining/2011/oil_refining_FB_en.pdf, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

[780] "Lubricant Production at Lukoil Group Refineries", http://www.lukoil.com/static_6_5id_258_.html, (accessed on 13.07.2012)

[781] "Oil Refining", http://www.lukoil.com/materials/images/Refining/2011/oil_refining_FB_en.pdf, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

[782] "Lukoil Group Petrochemical Plants", http://www.lukoil.com/static_6_5id_260_.html, (accessed on 13.07.2012)

[783] Adnan Vatansever, *Russian Involvement in Eastern Europe's Petroleum Industry: The Case of Bulgaria*, GMB Publishing, Blue Ibex Ltd, Edinburgh: 2005, p. 20

[784] "Oil Refining", http://www.lukoil.com/materials/images/Refining/2011/oil_refining_FB_en.pdf, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

[785] "TBK-BP Leads Lisichansk Refinery to European Standards", 27 March 2012, http://www.oilandgaseurasia.com/articles/p/105/article/998/, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

[786] "Rosneft joins Kherson refinery group", NEFTE Compass, February 2002, http://business.highbeam.com/409140/article-1G1-83029182/rosneft-joins-kherson-refinery-group, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

The Kremenchug refinery in Ukraine was bought by the Ukratatnafta Corporation (Naftogaz Ukrainy and Russian Tatneft) in 1994.[787]

In 1994, Russia and Georgia reached an agreement on the transfer of the Georgian pipeline company (Transgazi) to Gazprom by 1999 and Russia stipulated it would give credit for a five year term to Georgia for the purchase of electricity and gas; in return Georgia pledged a 25% stake in the Tbilisi Wagon Maintenance Plant and 10% stake in the Chiaturmagranets plants.[788] However, the agreement was not implemented. In 1998, ITERA (a Russian off-shore company) bought 40% of Sakgazi and an ITERA-Georgia partnership got 10%; thus, %50 of Sakgazi (a company owned by Georgian businessmen) was obtained by ITERA.[789]

4.6.3   Political Intervention

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia, Belarus and Ukraine established the Commonwealth of Independent States in 1991 signing a protocol on 25 December 1991. Upon the demand of other republics, it was expanded. Only the Baltic States and Georgia chose not to be part of the CIS; the Azerbaijan and Moldavian parliaments refused to ratify the protocol. Azerbaijan withdrew from the CIS in 1992.[790] However, Russia forced Georgia to join, Azerbaijan to re-join and Moldova to ratify its membership.[791] The Russian Federation was able to force these countries' leadership to pursue a pro-Russian policy on some foreign affairs issue such the CIS membership, and thus continued her dominance over the post-Soviet

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[787] Viachaslau Herasimovich, "Ukrainian Oil Refinery Sector Review", Center for Social and Economic Research, November 3, 2008,
http://www.case-ukraine.com.ua/u/publications/e9c7feea5be204cd8cc69fc00904b15f.pdf,   (accessed on 28.03.2012)

[788] Liana Jervalidze, *Georgia: Russian Foreign Energy Policy and Implications for Georgia's Energy Security*, GMB Publishing, Blue Ibex Ltd, Edinburgh: 2006, p. 15.

[789] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[790] Donaldson and Nogee, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[791] *Ibid.*

countries by using her relationships with pro-Russian politicians, especially the previous nomenklatura members in these countries.

One of the indicators of Russian influence on the regional countries' politics was the continuance or change of political leaders of the countries. Are their presidents the same person who was in power during the Soviet term or among the members of opposition parties? Who was the winner in the election of a transitional government – an old leader or a reformist?

As can be seen in Table 33, presidents of Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia and Ukraine changed; the Romanian, Ukrainian and Georgian leaders were from the Reformist/Nationalist front while the Bulgarian leaders were communists. However, in the election for a second term, Bulgarian leadership was changed to a reformist leader, while in Georgia and Ukraine pro-Russian leaders became presidents.

Table 33: Political Leaders of Regional Countries (Except Turkey)

BULGARIA		
Todor Zhivkov	Petar Mladenov	Zhelyu Zhelev
17 November 1989 - 3 April 1990	3 April 1990 - 6 July 1990	1 August 1990 - 22 January 1997
member of Bulgarian Communist party, then Bulgarian Socialist Party, foreign minister 1971-1989	member of Bulgarian Communist Party	Leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), umbrella opposition organization, a lifelong anticommunist.[792]
ROMANIA		
Nicole Ceausescu	Ion Iliescu	Emil Constantinescu
22 March 1965 - 22 December 1989	6 February 1990-20 December 2004	1996- 2000

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[792] Andrew A. Michta, *The Government and Politics of Postcommunist Europe*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, London: 1994, p. 92.

Table 33 Continued

	Communist Party of Romania (1953-1989), National Salvation Front (1989-1992), as an alternative to the Ceausescu regime.[793]	
UKRAINE		
Stanislav Ivanovich Gurenko	Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk	Leonid Kuchma
(1990-1991)	(1991-1994)	(1994-2004)
Secretary of CPU	Former Communist leader; however stood for pro-Western foreign policies, European ties.[794]	Perceived to be oriented towards Russia and maintaining Ukraine's ties with Russia; balanced Ukraine's western and Russian ties.[795]
GEORGIA		
Jemal Mikeladze	Zviad Gamsakhurdia	Eduard Shevardnadze
20 February - 26 August 1991	14 April 1991 – 31 December 1993	26 November 1995 - 23November 2003
	"Round Table" — Free Georgia (Reformist opposition group)	First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party (1972-1985), Minister of Foreign Affairs (1985-1991)

Another indicator is the non-Communist or reformist party seats in the parliaments of the regional countries. As shown in tables, the reformist party in

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[793] Stephen Fischer-Galati, *Rumania in Transition*, Ruston, La.: American Foreign Policy Center, 1991, p. 2 cited by *Ibid.*, p.75.

[794] Natalie Mychajlyszyn, "From Soviet Ukraine to the Orange Revolution: European Security Relations and the Ukranian Identity", *Europe's Last Frontier? Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine between Russia and the European Union*, edited by Oliver Schmidtke and Serhy Yekelchyk, Palgrave Macmillan, New York: 2008, p. 45.

[795] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Romania won the first two elections; in Bulgaria, the Bulgarian socialist party won the first and third election, the Union of Democratic Forces won the second election but they lost in the third election because of the inability of the government to overcome economic instability and the declining living standards.[796] In Eastern Europe, despite the existence of old nomenklatura and their opposition to the reforms, Russia was not capable of affecting political transformation process in these two countries. Georgeta Pourchot pointed out that "at no point during these processes [electoral] did Russia reiterate its past mode of operation of sending special ideologues to rig the results, to favour pro-Russia candidates. There were no Vyshinskys or Ana Paukers to tell countries how to run the elections."[797]

In Ukraine, the Communist Party won seats in the first and second elections. In Georgia, the reformist party won the majority of seats in parliament; however, all parties were fragmented in the second election; in 1995 Shevardnadze's party won the election. In sum, it is expected that the Russian Federation would be able to affect political life in Ukraine and Georgia by supporting pro-Russian political leaders.

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[796] Bulgaria Election Held in 1994", http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2045_94.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2012).

[797] Georgeta Pourchet, *Eurasia Rising Democracy and Independent in the Post Soviet Space,* Praeger, Connecticut and London: 2008, p. 17.

Table 34: Romania Parliament Composition

Romanian Chamber of Deputies 1990[798]	
National Salvation Front	263
Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania	29
National Liberal Party	29
Ecological Movement of Romania	12
Senate 1990	
National Salvation Front	91
Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania	12
National Liberal Party	10
Romanian Chamber of Deputies 1992[799]	
Democratic National Salvation Front[800]	117
Romanian Democratic Convention	82
National Salvation Front	43
Romanian National Unity Party	30
Senate 1992	
Democratic National Salvation Front	49
Romanian Democratic Convention	34
National Salvation Front	18
Romanian National Unity Party	14

[798] "Romania Elections Held in 1990", http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2261_90.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2012).

[799] "Romania Election Held in 1992", http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2261_92.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2012).

[800] National Salvation Front was fragmented into NSF (market oriented) and Democratic NSF (hardline neo Communist), Michta, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

Table 35: Bulgaria Parliament Composition

Bulgarian Constitutional Assembly Election 1990[801]	
Bulgarian Socialist Party	211
Union of Democratic Forces (anti-Communist)	144
Movement for Rights and Freedoms	24
Bulgarian Parliamentary Election 1991[802]	
Union of Democratic Forces	110
Bulgarian Socialist Party	106
Movement for Rights and Freedoms	24
Bulgarian Parliamentary Election 1994[803]	
Bulgarian Socialist Party	125
Union of Democratic Forces	69
Movement for Rights and Freedoms	15

Table 36: Ukraine Parliament Composition

Ukrainian parliamentary election, 1990[804]	
Communist Party	373
Democratic Bloc	69
Ukrainian parliamentary election, 1994[805]	
Communist Party of Ukraine	86
RUKH (nationalist democrats)	20
Independents	163
Rural Party (Left)	19

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[801] "Bulgaria Election Held in 1990", http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2045_90.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2012).

[802] Bulgaria Election Held in 1991", http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2045_91.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2012).

[803] Bulgaria Election Held in 1994", http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2045_94.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2012).

[804] Dominique Arel, "The Parliamentary Blocs in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet: Who and What Do they Represent?", *Journal of Soviet Nationalities*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Winter 1990-1) pp. 108-54 cited by "1990 Ukranian Elections and the Rise of a Multi-Party System", http://www.ditext.com/kuzio/7.pdf, (accessed on 03.04.2012)

[805] Sarah Birch, *Elections and Democratization in Ukraine*, Macmillan and St. Martin's Press, New York and London: 2000, p. 84.

Table 37: Georgia Parliament Composition

Georgian Legislative Election 1990[806]	
Round Table-Free Georgia	155
Communist Party of Georgia	64
Georgian Parliamentary Election 1992[807]	
Peace Bloc	29
11 October Bloc	18
Unity Bloc	14
National Democratic Party of Georgia	12
Georgian Party of Greens	11
Democratic party	10
Georgian Parliamentary Election 1992[808]	
Citizens' Union (Shevardnadze's party)	107
National Democratic Party (opposition party)	34
All-Georgian Union of Revival (opposition party)	31
Abkhazian Deputies	12
Independents	29

In terms of political transition, regional countries should be assessed into two groups: all regional countries including the Russian Federation, excluding Turkey were experiencing political transition, however in Romania and Bulgaria political transition resulted with reformist leaders and parties in power at the end of the term; on the other hand, in Georgia and Ukraine firstly reformist leaders came to power, but then pro-Russian leaders and their parties took over. Therefore, it could be concluded that while Russia lose its power of affecting political transformation

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[806] "A Country Study: Georgia 1990 Election", http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-in/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+ge0064), (accessed on 03.04.2012)

[807] "Georgia Elections Held in 1992", http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2119_92.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2012).

[808] "Georgia Elections Held in 1995", http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2119_95.htm, (accessed on 03.04.2012).

process in Romania and Bulgaria, she preserved this in the post- Soviet political process.

In addition to Russian support for pro-Russian presidents and their parties, it should be noted that the border delimitation issue (until 1997) and the Russian minority in Ukraine and ethnic disputes in Georgia were important areas which enabled Russia to affect these countries' foreign policy decisions.[809]

In sum, as seen in the table 31: Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure (1991-1999), nearly all forms of political, economic and military intervention by Russia can be observed in Ukraine and Georgia, while Russian influence in Romania disappeared and became very limited in Bulgaria, occurring just in arms sales, trade and privatization process. Therefore, the ordering principle of the Region was anarchical hierarchy within anarchy. The anarchic hierarchic relations continued to exist in the Region, however, its form was transforming from the 'near to tight anarchical hierarchy' during the Cold War to 'near to loose anarchical hierarchy'. This was because the Soviet tutelage over Romania and Bulgaria had been stricter than the Russian dominance over Ukraine and Georgia. Soviet intervention took place at higher levels. Moreover, the 'Soviet tank factor' till Gorbachev term totally impeded any leadership change from the Soviet loyal leaders to others in the Warsaw Pact countries.[810] However, both in Ukraine and in Georgia firstly nationalist leaders came to power and refused to be part of the CIS or to sign the Collective Security Treaty. During the Cold War, even Romania did not dare to end her membership in the Warsaw Pact or Comecon. However, it was not loose anarchical hierarchy either because the Russian Federation was able to re-constitute her supremacy over these countries.

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[809] Jakop Hedenskog and Robert Larsson, *Russian Leverage on the CIS and the Baltic States*, FOI Report, June 2007, p. 26, http://www.bltsydostran.se/multimedia/archive/01202/Russian_Leverage_o_1202499a.pdf, (accessed on 07.07.2013)

[810] For Soviet tutelague over Romania and Bulgaria, Chapter III, pp. 129-155.

4.6.4 Regional Structure, Regional Security and Role of Regional Countries

Security was re-established after 1996 when military conflicts ended one after another in the Region while the international system was suffering from long-term regional military confrontation in various parts of the World.[811] During this period, Russia did not aim to return to the status-quo ante since it was not possible. However it achieved to establish a new status-quo through her anarchical hierarchic relations with the former Soviet republics, except the Baltic republics. Within the given framework of the regional structure, the Russian Federation tried to preserve this new status-quo using four different methods; two of these targeted internal challenges and two of them external challenges. First of all, the Russian Federation froze military conflicts (in the post-Soviet geography) which destroyed order and security and created instability in the Region. To do this, Russia has used her anarchical hierarchic relationship in the security sector.

Secondly, the Russian Federation tried to prevent the efforts of regional countries to create a new order in their relationship vis-à-vis the Russian Federation. As noted above, they wanted to be more sovereign or independent in the first years of the post-Cold War era. However, following the 1993 Near Abroad policy, Russia did not allow this and was able to re-establish her anarchical hierarchic relations over these countries. For this, Russia used her anarchical hierarchic relations in the military, economic and political sectors. After that, Russia tried to prevent any change in the status-quo and, when necessary, she did not hesitate to use military intervention.

The third way of preserving the status-quo was by not allowing any regional powers to be influential in the post-Soviet geography. In the first years of the post-Cold War period, Turkey, Iran and China (in Central Asia) would have liked to fill the power vacuum in the Region and tried to be influential by making use of their

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[811] Instability in former Yugoslavia emerged in 1991 and finally ended in 2008 with the independence of Kosovo. Arab-Israeli disputes, the Kashmir conflict, instability in Iraq and then Afghanistan and ethnic conflicts in various part of Africa still continued.

ethnic, cultural or religious ties with these countries. After a while, Russia was able to reinstate her dominance over these countries. Using the 'Near Abroad' term, Yeltsin sent a message to other regional countries and announced that Russia has crucial interests in these countries and would take an active and dominant role in matters related to these countries. Additionally, as noted above, other great powers (such as the USA) preferred to support her ally countries in the post-Soviet area rather than interfering there directly. The USA tried to leave a free manoeuvre space for Russia in this Region but, in return, tried to control and to provide consent regarding other more important issues, such as NATO enlargement. To prevent others' influence, Russia used her anarchical hierarchic relationship in the political, economic and, to a lesser extent, military sectors to reconstitute the on-going order.

Finally, to preserve the status-quo, Russia prevented the destabilizing effects of military conflicts which took place in the adjacent regions; that is, in other post-Soviet countries around the Region. To accomplish this, Russia used her anarchical hierarchic relationship in the military sector. The most important factor in keeping a Region safe from the destabilizing effects of surrounding regions is the existence of powerful buffer states between them. However, during the first five years of the post-Cold War term, Russia could not perform this task until 1996 because both Russia and the other post-Soviet and post-Warsaw Pact states were undergoing transformations; in fact, the first two were in turmoil. During this time, it should be noted that the most important risk factor was regional conflicts rather than a possibility of a global crisis that had existed between the USSR and the USA during the Cold War.

Regarding the role of subordinate states, as was assumed in Chapter II, when the ordering principle of the regional structure was near to loose anarchical hierarchy and there was a great power disparity in the Region, countries (such as Ukraine and Georgia) under the control of a dominant country (such as the Russian Federation) may aim at preserving or intensifying their sovereignty and territorial integrity because they perceive a great threat against their autonomy from the dominant

country. In this case, subordinate states may attempt to balance the dominant great power in any situation they perceive to be proper. To do this, they may prefer to establish relationships with other great powers or this kind of cooperation may be initiated by great powers from other regions. However, during this term, this kind of balancing effort was not observed among the regional countries (except in the inefficient organization of GUAM) or with other regional powers (except Turkey's short term active policy period). After Russia was able to re-establish its domination, Georgia and Ukraine softened their sovereignty or autonomy dominated polices towards the Russian Federation, as indicated by Ukrainian acceptance of the Black Sea Fleet and Georgian acceptance of Russian troops in military conflict regions. They pursued a bandwagoning policy with Russia in the Region until 2003; thus, they contributed to the preservation of security and stability in the Region.

As regards other regional states which had anarchic relations with the Russian Federation, the role of Turkey was noted above. As to the role of Bulgaria and Romania, they were located in a grey zone during this term. Romania was outside the Russian sphere of influence but not under European or US influence either because she was neither a NATO nor an EU member. Bulgaria was under considerable Russian influence. Therefore, they were not in a suitable position (in contrast to Turkey) to help extending the Western influence over the Region. As a result, they neither challenged nor supported Russian supremacy over the eastern part of the Region and Turkish dominance over the Southern part of the Region and the Straits, thus has an enhancing effect on the regional security.

4.7 CONCLUSION

After the end of the Cold War, the Black Sea Region suffered from military conflicts and instability until 1996, while the order and status-quo that had been created as early as the introduction of the Mountreux Convention was sustained. After 1996, security and order were re-established and then sustained by regional countries, partly with effort of the regional great power (the Russian Federation) to preserve status-quo and stability in the Region and partly because effect of regional

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structure and of developments in international system was not in contradiction and proper to sustain the status-quo in the Region

The preservation of security in the Region was directly affected by the regional structure which had a decisive effect on that state-of-affairs of security in the Region, since it affects the role of the great power in the Region which had more capacity than all of regional countries such as the Russian Federation in the Black Sea Region. Although the role played by the great power has a determinative effect, it is not sufficient to understand how security has been re-constituted and sustained. It is needed to look at roles of the subordinate states in sphere of influence of the regional great power (Ukraine and Georgia), the non-regional great powers (the USA and the EU), their partners in the Region (Turkey) and regional states, being neither Western partners nor Russian subordinates (Bulgaria and Romania). Unlike the previous period of the Cold War, their roles gained more importance. Because the ordering principle of the regional structure and position of states other than the regional great power were different. During the Cold War until the Gorbachev period, the ordering principle was tight/near to tight anarchical hierarchy (between the Soviet Union and Romania and Bulgaria) with near to tight anarchical hierarchy (between the Turkey and the USA) within anarchy. During the Cold War, both Soviet Union tutelage over Romania and Bulgaria was tighter and most of the Region except the Southern part was under her control. Therefore, her role was more important in preserving status-quo. However, after the end of the Cold War, the ordering principle was near to loose anarchical hierarchy (between the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Georgia) with near to tight anarchical hierarchy (between the USA and Turkey) within anarchy. During the 1991-1999 period, Russian position was looser than that of the Soviet Union and most of the Region was out of her control. Consequently, roles of states other than the regional great power were more important during this period.

Regarding role of the Russian Federation in the re-construction and preservation of order, she managed to establish anarchical-hierarchic relationship

with the post-Soviet countries and then aimed to preserve this regional structure after completing her transformation process and ending internal conflicts. The regional structure also affected the role of the non-regional powers and they had a limited influence in the Region; the roles of subordinate states and they gave up to challenge Russian dominance and role of other countries in the Region and they did not challenge the structure with some exceptions. This regional structure had an effect on regional great power to keep status-quo and on other states not to challenge this order in the Black Sea Region during this period.

Security and stability was re-instated and preserved after 1996 and sustained under effect of regional structure. However, the situation in the Region was different from the one during the Cold War. During that term, there had been strict anarchical hierarchic relations between the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, and other great powers had refrained from intervening in the Region; therefore, the umbrella of the Soviet Union had protected this region from the effects of the international system. However, during the post-Cold War term, the Region was vulnerable to the effects of the other great powers' policies because Russian influence was limited to two countries in the Region. Therefore, in the second decade, even if a similar regional structure could be preserved by Russia and Turkey continued to pursue a similar regional policy, the policies of the non-regional great powers and of the new Western allies in the Region (Bulgaria and Romania) might change, thus leading to new instabilities in the Region that will be subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

SECURITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION BETWEEN 2000-2012: CONTINUING FORMS OF ANARCHICAL HIERARCHY UNDER COMPETITION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

During the 2000-2012 period, the international environment was more unstable than in the previous term.[812] Within the framework of these international developments and increased US interest in regional countries, Russia faced challenges within her sphere of influence, which would be reflected in the Rose Revolution (2003) in Georgia and the Orange Revolution (2004-2005) in Ukraine. However, Russia would produce her anarchical hierarchic relations with these countries again and again. To realize this, she did not hesitate to use military force, as she did during the six day Russian Georgian military confrontation (2008). During this last term, stability and status-quo were repeatedly challenged; therefore, it may be difficult to say that security and stability was sustained but rather re-established after each crisis terms. In this chapter, how that could happen will be explored.

It is first of all necessary to re-define the sphere of influence of the Russian Federation and the relationships between regional countries and non-regional great powers during this last period. Then, the security situation in the Black Sea Region

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[812]Starting with the 9/11 events, US operations in Afghanistan in 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003, Arab Spring (first in 2010 in Tunisia, still continuing in Syria) led to more destabilization in the international system.

during the period from 2000 to 2012 will be looked into. In the third section, Russian relations with the EU and the US are to be described to determine whether or not the Russian relationship with Western countries affected regional security. The role of Turkey and its effect on regional security will also be examined. After that, the regional structures will be identified by exploring the distribution of capability and the ordering principle in the Black Sea Region. In this section, the role and effect of the Russian Federation and other regional states will be analysed. In the final section, some conclusions are to be driven out.

5.2 DEFINING SPHERES OF INFLUENCES IN THE BLACK SEA REGION: 2000-2012

After the end of the Cold War, during the first decade, the Russian Federation limited her dominance to the post-Soviet states and started to face Western presence in these countries and their aspirations to undermine her sphere of influence. In that period, for the sake of solving many problematic issues in other regions of the World, the EU and the US preferred to cooperate with Russia rather than provoke her and left her a free space in the post-Soviet states. However, in this period, the EU became a Black Sea power with membership of Romania and Bulgaria and devised many regional policies towards the post-Soviet states. The US supported leadership changes in Ukraine and Georgia, established military relations with regional countries and opened military bases in Romania, Bulgaria, Kyrgyzstan and (for a while) Uzbekistan for the purpose of the counter-terrorism operations. These were clear challenges to the Russian sphere of influence. Therefore, it is needed to re-define it to find out whether there occurred a change or not and whether or not relationships between the Western countries and regional states affected security in the Black Sea Region.

This section firstly review the policies of the US and the EU regarding the Black Sea countries during the period from 2000 to 2012; then, the policies of the regional countries related to the Western powers are to be looked into. As was done in Chapter IV, to measure the intensity of their relationships, data on trade relations,

military equipment suppliers and regional organizations are to be examined. After commenting on the states which have remained within the Russian sphere of influence, the effect of relationships between regional countries and Western countries on regional security will be explained.

5.2.1 Policies of the United States of America regarding the Black Sea Region

US interests in the Black Sea Region have been the issues of energy transit, counter-terrorism, coping with proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, trafficking in drugs and weapon. The fact that the Region is bordering the Greater Middle East and Europe increased its importance. Lincoln Mitchell added one more US goal to limit Russia's increasing strength in the Region,[813] as part of a general US policy which was defined by Mustafa Aydın as a controlling policy as another version of the old containment policy.[814] On Russia's position in the Region, as a state official noted, the US leaders did not think that Russia had a privileged sphere of influence, as they had assumed. It was also noted that

> The US has good relations with all her (Russian) neighbour nations and does not deny that Russia should have good, deep and complex relationships with her neighbours, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Georgia, or any other nations, but they should be based on mutual respect and shouldn't be exclusive. Russia should not exclude the relationship between the US and Georgia but any penetration by the US, any positive relationship they see this damaging their relationship.[815]

Cory Welt commenting that this US policy of preventing Russia from establishing a sphere of influence was aimed at countries which were unwilling to be found there.[816]

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[813] Mitchell A. Lincoln, "More than Location: Crafting a US Policy for the Black Sea Region", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 2008, p. 139.

[814] Interview No: 32, Appendix L

[815] Interview No: 8, Appendix L

[816] Interview No: 6, Appendix L

To pursue her policy objectives, the US supported involvement of the regional countries in NATO. As Charles King pointed out, the USA saw NATO as an ideal security structure for the Region and there was a security alliance in Europe, all need to do is expanding it step by step.[817] Bulgaria and Romania became members of NATO in 2004; Ukraine and Georgia applied for the MAP, and at the 2008 Bucharest Summit it was pledged to admit Georgia and Ukraine into the Alliance at an unspecified time in the future. As a result of lack of German and French support, the USA had to step back on the issue of Ukrainian and Georgian NATO membership. The USA also established bilateral military ties with regional countries, especially with Georgia, signed deals to use military bases in Bulgaria[818] and Romania in 2005[819] and organized military exercises with Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova, Georgia[820] and Ukraine.[821] However, after 2009 (start of resetting relations with Russia), as King argued, there are more strategic issues, therefore the Region became second or third order priority for any US administration and without any major crises, the US will focus elsewhere although her relations with Tbilisi and Kiev were still important.[822]

The USA also supported her policy with military and economic aids to regional countries. When two periods are compared, military aid to Turkey was very high in 1991, and then reduced to a minimum level. (Figure 36) After 2001, US

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[817] Interview No: 3, Appendix L

[818] "US Troops set for Bulgaria Bases", *BBC News*, April 28, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4951726.stm, (accessed on 22.10.2013)

[819] "Rice Signed US-Romania Base Deal", *BBC News*, 6 December 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4504682.stm, (accessed on 11.06.2012)

[820] "Bulgaria, USA, Romania, Moldova, Georgia Involved in Military Exercise", *BBC Monitoring European*, London: September 24, 2007, p. 1; "Bulgaria, USA Start Joint Anti-terrorism Exercise", *BBC Monitoring European*, London: September 1, 2008.

[821] Deborah Sanders "US Naval Diplomacy in the Black Sea", *Naval War College Review*, Vol 60, No. 3, Summer 2007.

[822] Interview No. 3, Appendix L.

military assistance to Russia, Ukraine and Georgia increased tremendously from time to time; but that to Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey remained slight. (Figure 35 and 36) The first rank US military aid recipient (per capita) was Turkey in the first term; but Georgia in the second term. (Figure 37) Georgia was also the first ranked US economic aid (per capita) recipient country in the Region and US economic aid made up an important amount in her budget.(Figure 38 and Table 38).
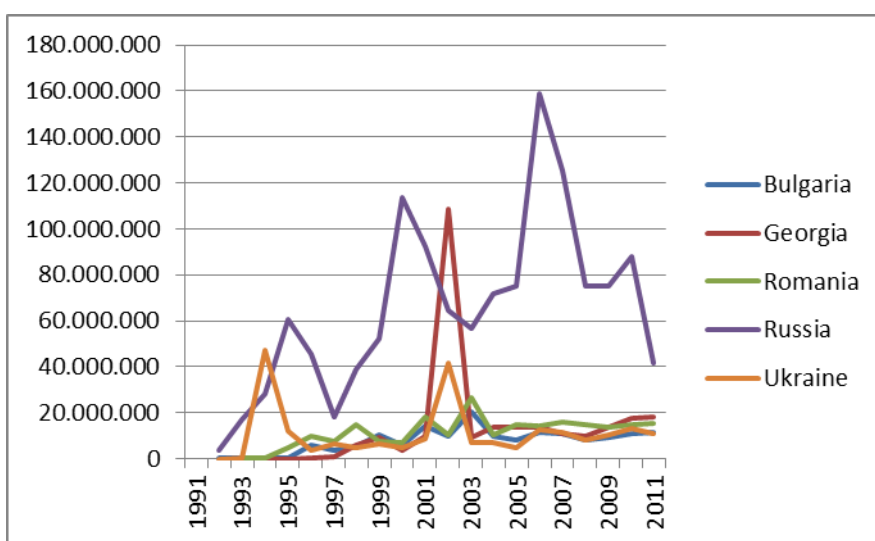
Figure 35: US Military Aid to Georgia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Romania (1991-2011)[823]

[823] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)
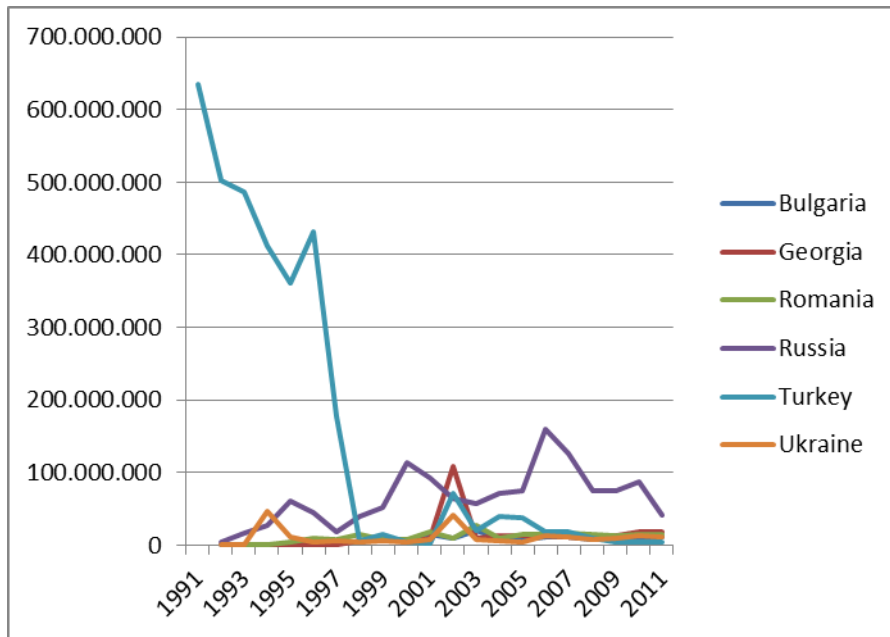
Figure 36: US Military Aid to Black Sea Countries (1991-2011)[824]

[824] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)
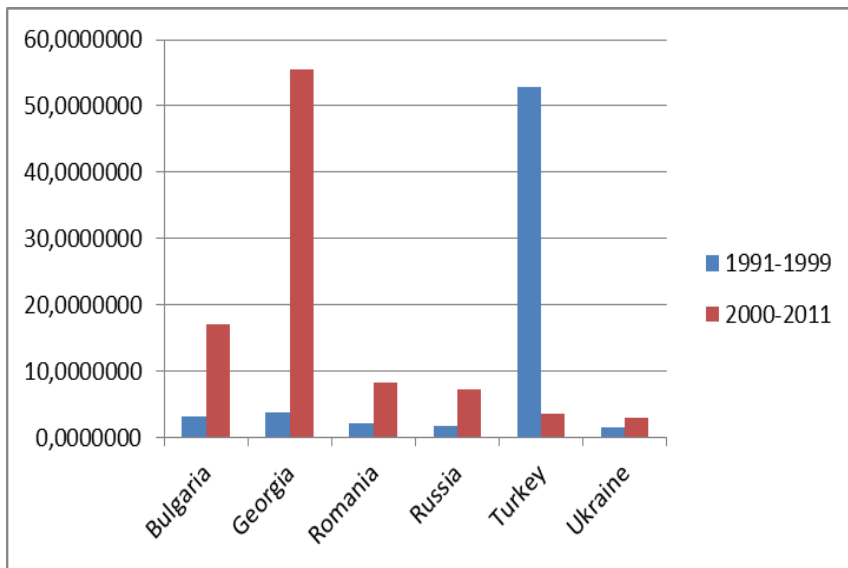
Figure 37: US Military Aid to Black Sea Countries per Capita (1991-2011)[825]
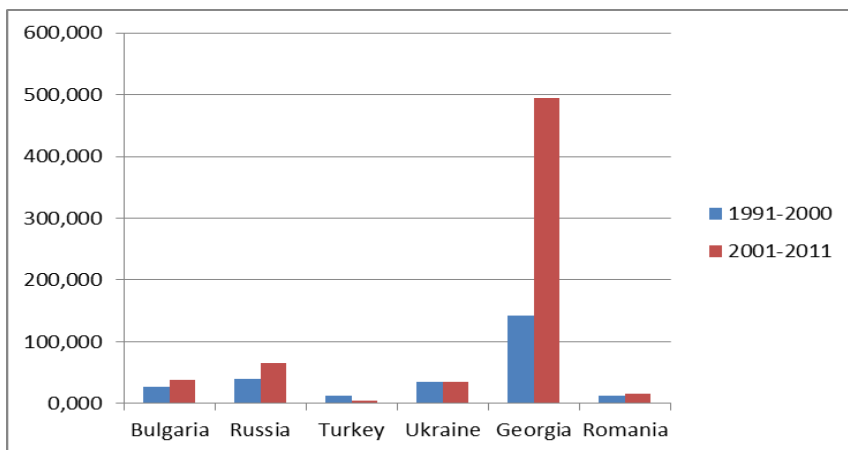
Figure 38: US Economic Aids to Black Sea Countries per Capita (1991-2011) (Historical $US)[826]

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[825] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013).

[826] Figure 38 was prepared using data from "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 18.06.2013) and "World Development Indicators", World Bank, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators, (accessed on 18.06.2013).

Table 38: Percentage of the US Economic Aid to GDP of the Black Sea Countries - Average Value of 21 Years (1991-2011)[827]

Georgia	2,5
Turkey	0,025
Bulgaria	0,15
Russia	0,15
Romania	0,0023
Ukraine	0,29

Table 39: US Military Personnel in the Black Sea Countries (2000-2012) [828]

Years	Georgia	Ukraine	Turkey	Russia	Romania	Bulgaria
2000	4	16	2006	101	13	10
2001	5	10	2153	93	20	11
2002	7	13	1587	78	13	15
2003	45	13	2021	78	16	12
2004	12	14	1762	84	12	15
2005	42	11	1780	44	18	13
2006	7	12	1810	45	20	14
2007	12	11	1594	72	26	15
2008	18	12	1575	55	19	11
2009	15	12	1616	57	17	14
2010	24	11	1530	47	16	15
2011	30	28	1491	43	28	14

[827] Table 38 was prepared using data from "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 18.06.2013) and "World Development Indicators", World Bank, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators, (accessed on 18.06.2013). To see whole table, Appendix J.

[828] "Military Personnel Statistics", Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) and Department of Defense, USA, http://siadapp.dmdc.osd.mil/personnel/MILITARY/miltop.htm, (accessed on 01.07.2013)
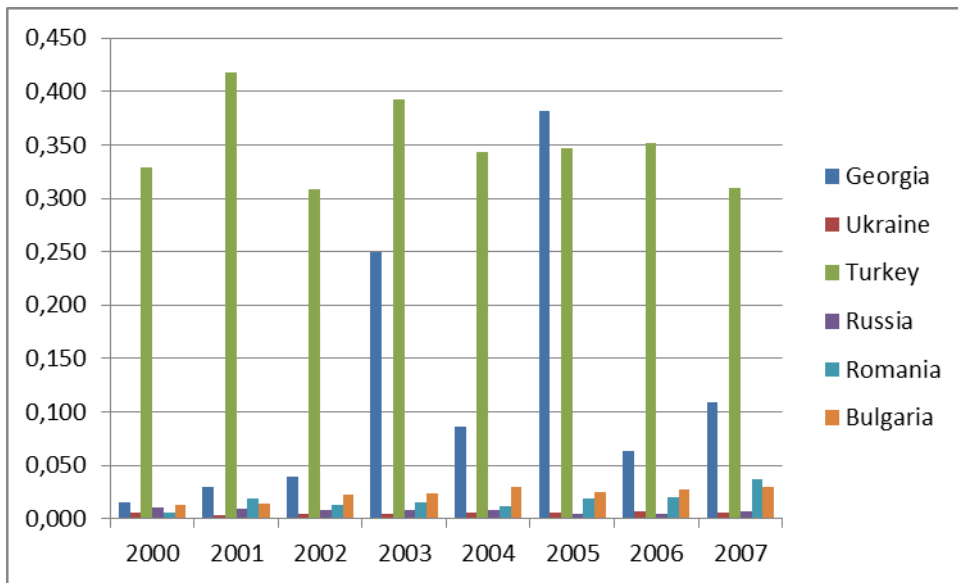
Figure 39: Percentage of US Military Personnel to Total of Military Personnel of the Black Sea Countries (2000-2007) [829]
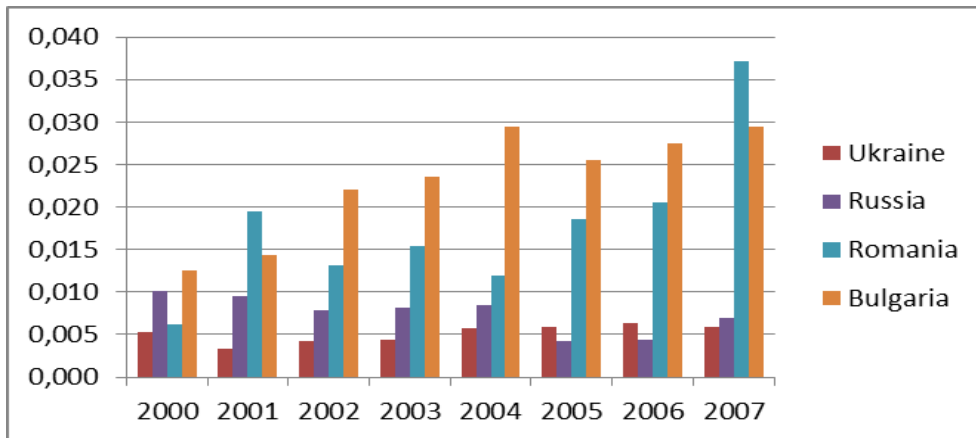
Figure 40: Percentage of US Military Personnel to Total of Military Personnel of Romania, Bulgaria, Russia and Ukraine (2000-2007)

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[829] Number of US military personnel was achieved from *Ibid.* and for total number of military personnel of regional countries, Singer, Bremer and Stuckey, *op. cit.* was utilized.

In terms of US military personnel (Table 39, Figure 39 and Figure 40), Turkey has been hosting more than 1.000 US military personnel within her territory. When the number of US military personnel was compared to total military personnel of regional countries; Georgia and Turkey became leading countries in the Region. However Turkey is a NATO member, but Georgia is not. When compared with the Russian troops, US military personnel in Georgia is insignificant. Thus, it can be seen, US engagement with regional countries was backed at least by her economic and military aid programmes, but not by sending military personnel.

During the first ten years after the end of the Cold War, the US had established relations with the former Warsaw Pact and the post-Soviet states and supported their integration process into the world capitalist system. During that time, she had pursued a balancing strategy, had abstained from insulting Russia in her sphere of influence and had not prevented her effort to re-constitute her anarchical hierarchic relations. During this period from 2001 to 2012, however, the USA did not hesitate to establish bilateral military relations with Georgia, opened military bases in Romania and Bulgaria and supported Ukrainian and Georgian NATO membership; thus clearly challenged the Russian anarchical hierarchic relations with these countries, particularly with Georgia and Ukraine in the military sector. The USA challenged the Russian anarchical hierarchic relations in the political sector, by supporting the Rose and Orange Revolutions and in the economic sector by providing economic aid to these countries, especially to Georgia, and intensifying trade volume with them. By starting security vacuum discourse in the Black Sea and insisting on extension of Operation Active Endeavour to this area; the US challenged superior position of the Russian Federation and Turkey in the Black Sea. In sum, it can be noted that the US was in effort of being influential in this Region and challenging Russian superior position with her political, economic and military ties with the regional countries.

5.2.2   *European Union Policies regarding the Regional Countries*

During 2000s, the EU felt obliged to revise their Caucasus policies because this region had become their new neighbours and the EU could no longer neglect these issues, unlike the situation in the 1990s.[830] Therefore, during this process, the EU devised various initiatives and policies to regulate her relations with her close neighbours, consisting of Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, the Russian Federation and the trans-Caucasus countries. The EU had bilateral partnership and cooperation agreements, economic aid programs, trade relationships and bilateral projects under different EU framework programs. After 2004, in additional to these bilateral programs, the EU started to conduct multilateral and regional programs to cover all countries in the Region.

The first policy of the EU was the European Neighbourhood Policy. The ENP was developed in 2004 and aimed to enhance relationships between the EU and her 16 closest neighbours which are Algeria, Armenia, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine. Under the ENP, the EU signed Action Plans with partner countries and its implementation was monitored by committees or sub-committees.

The second EU policy related to the post-Soviet countries was the Black Sea Synergy – A New Regional Cooperation Initiative. The primary task of this Initiative was to develop and to extend cooperation beyond the Black Sea Region to Central Asia. The main areas of cooperation were democracy, respect for human rights and good governance, managing movement and improving security, the frozen conflict, energy, transport, environment, maritime policy, fisheries, trade, research and education networks, science and technology, employment and social affairs, regional

[830] Pavel K. Baev, "Reformatting the EU Russia Pseudo-Partnership: What a Difference a Crisis Makes", *Responding to a Resurgent Russia*, edited by Vinod K. Aggarwal and Kristi Govella, Springer, London: 2012, p. 96.

development and the establishment of cross border cooperation in the BSR.[831] The Black Sea Synergy countries are Armenia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, Turkey and Russia. Black Sea Synergy was developed as a complementary initiative to the ENP, the enlargement policy for Turkey and the strategic partnership with the Russian Federation.[832]

The third policy, the Eastern Partnership, was initiated at the EU Summit in Prague in 2009. This policy was devised for enhancing relationships between the EU and Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine and included the preparation of association agreements and comprehensive free trade regulations, which would enable gradual integration into the EU economy and gradual visa liberalization.[833] Through this policy, the EU has engaged with other national players such as civil societies, parliaments, and regional and local authorities.[834] To that end, the EaP Civil Society Forum, the EURONEST Parliamentary Assembly and the Conference of Regional and Local Authorities of the EaP were established.[835]

The EU also developed many policies and initiatives regarding the post-Soviet countries, including Ukraine and Georgia; however the EU did not propose any membership perspective for these countries in the foreseeable future and mostly focused on economic and social relationship; therefore, EU initiatives in the Region did not challenge the Russian dominance and her anarchical hierarchic relations with these countries. However the EU engagement with these countries, as Jeffrey

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[831] *Communication From the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament Black Sea Synergy – A New Regional Cooperative Initiative*, Brussels, 11 April 2007, http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com07_160_en.pdf, (accessed on 25.09.2013)

[832] "Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Report on the First Year of Implementation of the Black Sea Synergy", http://eeas.europa.eu/blacksea/doc/com08_391_en.pdf, (accessed on 08.06.2012)

[833] "Eastern Partnership", http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/index_en.htm, (accessed on 08.06.2012)

[834] "The Eastern Partnership Warsaw Summit (29-30 September 2011)," http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/docs/2011_eap_warsaw_summit_en.pdf, (accessed on 08.06.2012).

[835] *Ibid.*

Mankoff argued, in the long run brought about transformation of business and political culture within these countries on which part of Russian influence in the post-Soviet countries based. But during this period, EU initiatives did not insult Russia. As compared to US policies, EU's project driven policies did not direct Russian sphere of influence although it wanted to get these countries into the Euro integration space.

5.2.3   Policies of Regional States towards Great Powers

After the end of the Cold War, there had appeared a mutual demand to establish relations between the Western countries and the regional states. While the Western countries devised many policies and initiatives as well as bilateral relations, the policies of Georgia and Ukraine with the West were mostly shaped according to the leaders in power and their relations with Russia. Bulgaria and Romania, however, succeeded in pursuing a continuous Western integration strategy and became the EU members at the end of this process.

5.2.3.1   UKRAINE

For EU integration, Ukraine announced many documents such as the 1998-presidential decree of "Strategy of Ukraine's Integration in the European Union"; the 2000- the "Programme for Ukraine's Integration into the EU"[836] and the 2003 "National Programme for Approximation of Legislation of Ukraine to that of the EU." Ukraine also established the "National Council on the Issues of Adapting Ukraine's Legislation to the Legislation of the European Union" (2000) and abolished the death penalty in May 2001 and closed the nuclear reactors in Chernobyl in 2000.

Despite these decisions and presidential decrees, in the late 1990s and in the beginning of 2000, negative domestic events in Ukraine (corruption, authoritarian rule of president Kuchma and Kuchma-gate scandal) prevented further development

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[836] Oleksandr Stegniy, "Ukraine and the Eastern Partnership: Lost in Translation", *Journal of Communist Studes and Transition Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 1, p. 51.

of relations between the EU and Ukraine. The EU designed its policies and reflected her concerns in EU Council reports on Ukraine, criticizing violence against journalists, the lack of judicial independence, violations of Ukrainian Law on election campaigns, the lack of a full investigation of the Gongadze case and Yushchenko's dismissal.[837] Due to the tensions in EU Ukraine relations, Kuchma turned to Russia and signed the Single Economic Space agreement.[838] Finally, in July 2004 President Kuchma amended the Presidential Degree (President of Ukraine Decree, No 800) and removed will of Ukraine for NATO membership.[839] According to Kubicek, "by 2003, it became clear that the EU expected little progress in its relations with Ukraine as long as Kuchma was in power."[840]

In 2004, two developments, the inauguration of the ENP and the Orange Revolution opened a new phase for bilateral relations. After the Orange Revolution, Yushchenko promised to strengthen European vectors of Ukrainian foreign policy.[841] Many institutions were established after 2004 in order to intensify relations with the EU: the Coordination Council for adaptation of Ukraine's legislation to that of the EU in 2004, the post of deputy prime minister for European integration in 2005, the Coordination Bureau for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration and the Government Committee for European Integration and International Cooperation in 2008 and the Bureau of European Integration within the Secretariat of Cabinet of Ministers in 2010.[842]

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[837] Paul Kubicek, "Ukraine and the European Neighbourhood Policy: Can the EU Help the Orange Revolution Bear Fruit", *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1, March 2007, p. 9.

[838] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

[839] Jeffrey Simon, "Ukraine against Herself: To be Euro-Atlantic, Eurasian or Neutral," *Strategic Forum*, No. 238, February 2009, p. 4.

[840] Kubicek, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[841] Victor Yuschenko, "Our Ukraine", *Wall Street Journal,* 3 December 2004 cited by *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[842] Stegniy, *op. cit.*, p. 53

After 2004, EU-Ukraine relations developed within the framework of the ENP with national indicative plans, country reports, progress reports and action plans.[843] The EU and Ukraine Cooperation Council adopted the *EU-Ukraine Association Agenda* which was put into effect in November 2009.[844] As a part of this, negotiations on the establishment of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) were launched after the Ukraine's WTO membership in May 2008. Negotiations on the Association Agreement were finalised in 2011,[845] however not signed yet.

In spite of this intense web, EU-Ukraine relations did not develop further because of lack of further promises of the EU to Ukraine and some political turmoil in Ukraine. The Orange bloc collapsed after the dispute between Yuschenko and Tymoshenko, the latter was later dismissed. In 2006 parliamentary election, Yanukovych won and President Yuschenko lost his power with accepting his political opponents as prime minister[846] who later became president in 2010. In addition to that, the lack of an elite consensus, uncertainty, instability and the gap between Ukraine foreign policy objectives and policies[847] were main hindrances to improvement in the bilateral relations between Ukraine and the EU while the EU

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[843]After 2004, the EU released two *National Indicative Plans* (one in January 2007 and in September 2009); one *Country Strategy Paper* 2007-2013, one *Country Report* in May 2004, four *ENP Reports*-Strengthening the ENP: ENP Progress Report Ukraine in December 2006, the Implementation of the ENP in 2007 in April 2008 and the Progress Report Ukraine, the European Neighbourhood Policy: Progress Report 2008 in April 2009; three *Action Plans*: one in 2005, the Joint Evaluation Report EU-Ukraine Action Plan in March 2008 and the Revised EU-Ukraine Action Plan on Freedom, Security and Justice. "Ukraine",   http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/partners/enp_ukraine_en.htm, (accessed on 05.06.2012)

[844] "Political Framework",
http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/eu_ukraine/political_relations/political_framework/index_en.htm, (accessed on 05.05.2012)

[845] "Overview of Political Relations",
http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/eu_ukraine/political_relations/index_en.htm, (accessed on 05.06.2012)

[846] Kubicek, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[847] Stegniy, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

seems to have been satisfied with the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement, Ukrainian side was asking more than that, including a prospect for EU membership; however, that has not to be materialized yet.

Regarding NATO-Ukraine relations, Yushchenko also made Ukrainian membership in NATO a top priority. In April 2005, he issued a decree and placed the passages concerning Ukraine's intent of being the EU and NATO membership back in their military doctrine. In 2005, Ukraine was offered an 'Intensified Dialogue on Membership' and the NATO-Ukraine Commission agreed to enhance cooperation.[848]

However, the MAP has not been offered to Ukraine and Georgia, in 2008 France and Germany also blocked its offer at the Bucharest Summit. After August 2008, Ukraine's desire for integration into NATO was removed from the political agenda. In 2010, Ukraine announced a new document- entitled "Principles of National and Foreign Policies", which reiterated Ukraine's demand for membership in the EU, but underlined her non-aligned status, noting that

> Ukraine's fulfilment with non-alignment/neutral policy, which implies non-participation of Ukraine in the military and political alliances/unions, priority (given to) participation in improvement and development of the European system of collective security, the continuation of a constructive partnership with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other military-political blocs regarding all issues which form mutual interest.[849]

As was seen in the review of relations between Ukraine and Western institutions, their relations improved when compared with the previous term. Ukraine dared to challenge to the Russian anarchical hierarchic position, especially in the military sector by applying for NATO membership. However, the tendency of pro-Western foreign policy in Ukraine was two-fold: her integrationist policy with the NATO was influenced directly by Russian opposition and after August 2008 was

[848] Stephen Larrabee, "Ukraine and the West," *Survival,* Vol. 48, No. 1, Spring 2006, p. 100.

[849] "Про засади внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики", Верховна Рада України; Закон від 01.07.2010 № 2411-VI, http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17, (accessed on 26.04.2012)- Law of Ukraine On Basis of Internal and External Policy, The Data of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2010, N40, (translated by Kin, 16.05.2012).

removed from the agenda but her policy towards the EU was continuous mostly because the EU membership for the post-Soviet states did not seem possible in near future and the Russian Federation did not oppose it. However, Russia did not oppose unless their relations did not threaten their supremacy. Regarding the conclusion of Association Agreement and DCFTA, she extremely opposed and defined signing that agreement as suicidal.[850]   It can be noted that Ukraine's relations with the West developed within this limited framework whose borders were determined by Russia. The Russian Federation was able to re-constitute her dominant position over Ukraine mostly because Ukraine was suffering from elite and social fragmentation, half of the population and ruling elite are pro-Russian; therefore, they could not constitute a coherent and sustained balancing policy against the Russian Federation.

5.2.3.2   GEORGIA

The EU-Georgia relations intensified after the Rose Revolution on 23 November 2003 and the inauguration of the ENP in 2004. The EU appointed a Special Representative for the South Caucasus in July 2003. Georgia joined the ENP on 14 June 2004[851] and started to negotiate an Action Plan with EU in 2005, which was adopted on 14 November 2006. In December 2005, the EU granted a General System of Preferences + (GSP+), which was extended in 2008 and "provides non-reciprocal tariff reduction on duty free access to Georgian exports to the EU."[852] During the period from 2003 to 2010, the EU published six reports on Georgia: Country Strategy Paper 2002-2006, Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013, National

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[850] "Russian Threatens Ukraine Trade War over EU Deal", *NewEurope Online,* 22 August 2013, http://www.neurope.eu/article/russian-threatens-ukraine-trade-war-over-eu-deal, (accessed on 22.10.2013)

[851] "Political & Economic Relations", http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/georgia/eu_georgia/political_relations/index_en.htm, (accessed on 06.06.2012)

[852] *Ibid.*

Indicative Programme 2007-2010, Action plan, Press Release on the ENP Country Report and Country report.[853]

Within the framework of the EU Common Security and Defense Policy, Georgia accepted a EU Rule of Law Mission to Georgia (EUJUST THEMIS) between 16 July 2004 and 14 July 2005 and an autonomous civilian monitoring mission in Georgia (EUMM Georgia) on 15 September 2008, which was designed to support the Georgian authorities to address urgent challenges in the criminal justice system, to assist the Georgian government in developing a coordinated overall approach to the reform process[854] and for the tasks of stabilization,[855] normalization[856] and confidence building.[857]

Besides these programs under the ENP framework, Georgia took part in many EU initiated projects and programs such as rehabilitation programs in conflict regions; the Annual Action Program in 2008, the South Caucasus Anti-Drug Program, Market & Social Linkages Program (aimed at fostering social and economic development in specific region of Georgia), the Reproductive Health Initiative for Youth in the South Caucasus and Georgia also got support from the EU

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[853] "Georgia", http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/partners/enp_georgia_en.htm, (accessed on 06.06.2012)

[854] "EUJUST THEMIS", http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=701&lang=En, (accessed on 08.02.2010)

[855] Stabilization was referred to "monitoring and analyzing the situation pertaining to the stabilization process, centered on full compliance of the six-point Agreement" "EUMM Georgia, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1512&lang=En, (accessed on 08.02.2010)

[856] Normalization was referred to "monitoring and analyzing the situation pertaining to "the normalization process of civil governance, focusing on rule of law, effective law enforcement structures and adequate public order, security of transport links, energy infrastructures and utilities, as well as the political and security aspects of the return of internally displaced persons and refugees.", "Acts Adopted Under Title V of the EU Treaty" Council Joint Action 2008/736/CFSP, 15 September 2008, http://eur-ex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:259:0015:0015:EN:PDF, (accessed on 08.08.2012)

[857] *Ibid.*

for the Primary Health Care and Public Defender's Office Reform.[858] The EU established an advisory center, the Georgian European Policy and Legal Advice Centre which provided legal advice with the Government and the Parliament of Georgia on a broad range of issues related to economic, legal and institutional reforms in the context of the implementation of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement.[859] As did all the Southern Caucasus countries, Georgia obtained assistance from the Twinning program[860] for approximation of legal issues according to the PCA.[861] In July 2010, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice President of the European Commission Catherine Ashton launched the negotiations for an EU-Georgia Association Agreement in Batumi.[862]

Georgia-USA relations had dated back to the Shevardnadze years, since the US provided financial assistance and maintained military ties with a-train-and-equip program.[863] Georgia was among countries joining the USA-led coalition against Iraq. Neither the continued US financial support nor his high prestige in the Western countries prevented his overthrow from his position. After the Rose Revolution, relations between the two countries intensified, democracy assistance increased. Saakashvili gave more importance to her relations with the USA and continued to

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[858] "Development and Cooperation – Europeaid Georgia", http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/country-cooperation/georgia/georgia_en.htm, (accessed on 09.02.2010)

[859] *Ibid.*

[860] Twinning is a European Commission initiative that was originally designed to help candidate countries acquire the necessary skills and experience to adopt, implement and enforce EU legislation. Since 2003, twinning has been available to some of the Newly Independent States of Eastern Europe and to countries of the Mediterranean region" "Boosting Cooperation through Twinning", http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/overview/twinning_en.htm, (accessed on 08.08.2012)

[861] *Ibid.*

[862] "Political & Economic Relations", http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/georgia/eu_georgia/political_relations/index_en.htm, (accessed on 06.06.2012).

[863] Lincoln Mitchell and Alexander Cooley, "After August War: A New Strategy for US Engagement with Georgia", *The Harriman Review*, Vol. 17, No. 3-4, May 2010, p. 14.

support the war on terrorism and then, the US invasion of Iraq. The turning point in these two countries relations was the juxtaposition of the war on terrorism and the Rose Revolution. Georgia has an important geostrategic importance for the USA, since it is on way of Afghanistan, very close to Iran and hosted the BTC pipeline. Georgia also needed extra-regional support to save it from tutelage of her giant neighbour which she saw as the most important cause of her poor situation. According to Cooley, "Georgia became one of Washington's most supportive allies and invaluable success stories."[864] In January 2009, the USA and Georgia signed a "Charter on Strategic Partnership", which foresaw friendship and cooperation in defence and security, economics, trade and energy, strengthening democracy in Georgia and increasing people-to-people and cultural exchanges.[865] According to Cooley and Mitchell, despite intense military relations and the continuation of US financial and military assistance, both NATO and the USA refrained from providing Georgia with direct security guarantees.[866]

Georgia also intensified her relations with NATO and Saakashvili made NATO membership his top priority.[867] Georgia joined the Operational Capabilities Concept program which aimed to increase partner countries' Armed Forces capabilities in order to fully meet NATO requirements in operations, in October 2004 Georgia became the first country to agree to an Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP);[868] in 2006 NATO launched the Intensified dialogue with Georgia; in 2008 the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) was replaced by Annual National Program (ANP) and the NATO-Georgia Commission was established; in 2010 the

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[864] Alexander Cooley, "How West Fail Georgia", *Current History,* Vol. 107, No. 711, Oct 2008,p. 342.

[865] Cooley and Mitchell, *op.cit.*, p. 17

[866] *Ibid.,* p. 21.

[867] Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

[868] "Individual Partnership Action Plans", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49290.htm, (accessed on 03.07.2013).

NATO Liaison Office in Tbilisi was opened and NATO-Georgia military to military cooperation was introduced.[869] In addition to these developments, Georgia took part in many NATO programs, such as the Professional Development Program, the Defence Education Enhancements Program, and the NATO Maintenance and Supply Agency project "Georgia III."[870] She also participated in the NATO led peacekeeping operation in Kosovo (KFOR) and the International Security Assistance Force Operation (ISAF).[871] At the 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit, it was issued a statement that declared that Georgia would inevitably be admitted to NATO. According to Cooley; thus, NATO offered an unspecified promise to Georgia without fulfilling any accession criteria.[872] Above all, the major EU actors such as Germany and France did not support Georgia's NATO membership in order not to provoke Russia because that could harm their economic relations, particularly sustained gas supply from Russia to Europe.

Georgia's relations with the Western countries can be summarized as: Her relations with the EU did not have any challenging characteristics firstly because the EU did not pose a threat against the Russian interest and secondly the EU initiative mostly aimed to improve situations in internal institutions and daily life of conflict regions and thus, prepare Georgia for integration into EU economic free trade system. On the other hand, her relations with the USA and NATO were a direct challenge to her anarchical hierarchic relations with Russia. Interestingly, the Russian Federation could not re-establish her dominance over this country. Unlike Ukraine, Georgia still insisted on her NATO membership efforts during this period, in fact it intensified after 2008. While the new prime minister, Ivanishvili underlined importance of developing Georgia-Russia relations, declared publicly that "his

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[869] "NATO- Georgia Partnership Mechanism", http://www.mod.gov.ge/?page=-10&Id=19&lang=1, (accessed on 07.06.2012).

[870] *Ibid.*

[871] *Ibid.*

[872] Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

country will continue on its course of 'joining NATO as soon as possible.'"[873] Although Georgia suffered from social fragmentation, originating in her separatist region, there was an elite consensus in the core of Georgia and she was able to sustain her countering policy against Russian dominance. To compensate for this, Russia, using the 2008 Georgian military operation against South Ossetia, intervened in this military confrontation and recognized two separatist regions and replaced them with Georgia. Within this framework, it may be said that Russia wanted to reproduce her anarchical hierarchic relations by means of becoming a protector of Abkhazia and the South Ossetia that would be particularly against the Georgian leadership.

5.2.3.3   BULGARIA AND ROMANIA

Bulgaria and Romania's membership talks began at the 1999 Helsinki Meeting and accession negotiations with them started on 15 February 2000. During the period from 2000 to 2007, Romania fulfilled many legislative and judiciary reforms. In 2004, the European Council re-stated the Union's determination to conclude negotiations with Romania and set the objective of membership in 2007.[874] In the Strategy Paper in 2004, the EU Commission decided that both Bulgaria and Romania generally fulfilled membership criteria but improvements were needed in public administration, the functioning of judicial system and the fight against corruption.[875] In December 2004, at the Brussels European Summit, closure of

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[873] "Georgian PM Meets Rasmussen, Discusses NATO and Russia", *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty (RFERL)*, 26 June 2013, http://www.rferl.org/content/georgia-nato-russia-talks/25028737.html, (accessed on 23.10.2013).

[874] "Romania – EU- Romania Relations", http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/romania/eu_romania_relations_en.htm, (accessed on 28.05.2012)

[875] *Communication from the Commission to the Council and to the European Parliament, Strategy Paper of the European Commission on Progress in the Enlargement Process,* http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=504DC0657, (accessed on 28.05.2012)

Negotiation was endorsed and in April 2005, the Accession Treaty was signed.[876] Even though there were shortcomings in the reform process, Romania was accepted as member state in January 2007 with the Commission decision to oversee "safeguard measures and transitional measures, financial correction on EU funds and a control mechanism for the judiciary and fight against corruption."[877]

During accession talks, the EU offered many opportunities to Bulgaria; in turn, the Kostov government promised to close down nuclear power plants; two units in 2003 and two more units in 2006.[878] Moreover, Bulgaria fulfilled economic responsibilities and the EU Commission report recognized Bulgaria as a functioning market economy in 2002.[879] Bulgaria also raised their standards in telecommunications, competition policy, capital markets, commercial law, customer protection, environment and agriculture.[880] With constitutional amendments in 2005, Bulgaria let EU citizens own land in that country.[881] Bulgarian efforts on issues of judicial reform and the fight against corruption was judged by the EU as chapters that needed further efforts but was sufficient for accession[882] and Bulgaria became EU member on 22 January 2007.

During the same time period, Bulgarian-Romanian NATO relations improved. In Bulgaria, armed forces were reduced, all former Soviet missiles in Bulgarian territory was destroyed. In November 2002, at the Prague Summit, NATO Heads of State and Government formally invited Bulgaria and Romania along with

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[876] "Romania – EU- Romania Relations", *op. cit.*

[877] *Ibid.*

[878] Dimitar Bechev, "Bulgaria's Path to EU Membership and Beyond," *Bulgaria and Europe Shifting Identities*, edited by Stefanos Katsikas, Anthem Press, London, New York and Delhe: 2010, p. 123

[879] *Ibid.*

[880] *Ibid.*

[881] *Ibid.*

[882] *Ibid.,*p. 126.

Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia to begin accession talks with NATO.[883] Accession protocols were signed in Brussels in March 2003.[884] On 29 March 2004, Bulgaria and Romania officially became members of the Alliance.[885]

These countries established bilateral military relations with the USA. She signed military cooperation and defence agreements with Bulgaria which enabled the US to open the Aitos Logistic Center (2005, close to the Black Sea), the Bezmer Air Base (2006) and to use the Graf Ignatievo Air Base.[886] NATO forces were allowed to use the Novo Selo Range military base which is very close to the Black Sea.[887] Romania and the US signed the agreement concerning the status of US military forces in Romania in 2001 and 2005[888] and an agreement allowing the stationing of certain elements (land- based inceptors) of the US Ballistic Missile Defence System within Romanian territory, at Daveselu Air Base in September 2011.[889]

As was seen in the review of relations, there have been mutual demands and efforts on both sides regarding integrative policies of Romania and Bulgaria into the Euro-Atlantic institutions. After the 1999 Helsinki Summit, the EU began to be influential in domestic politics and the legislative, executive and judiciary branches

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[883] "Bulgaria and NATO Chronology of Key Events", http://www.nato.int/invitees2004/bulgaria/chronology.htm, (accessed on 28.05.2012).

[884] "A Chronology of Romania-NATO Relationship", http://www.mae.ro/en/node/2131?page=3, (accessed on 28.05.2012).

[885] "Member Countries", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_52044.htm, (accessed on 28.05.2012).

[886] "Military Bases in Bulgaria", MilitaryBases.com, http://militarybases.com/overseas/bulgaria/, (accessed on 05.06.2013).

[887] *Ibid.*

[888] "Legal Framework of Bilateral Relations", Embassy of Romania to the United States of America, http://washington.mae.ro/en/node/537, (accessed on 05.06.2013).

[889] "Romania Agrees to Host US Missile Defence Base", *Russia Today*, 03.05.2011, http://rt.com/politics/romania-us-missile-defense/, (accessed on 05.06.2013) and "Romania's Participation in the Missile Defence System", *Romania Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, http://www.mae.ro/en/node/2161, (accessed on 19.06.2013).

of these countries as well as in market regulations and economic policies. Regarding military and security- related issues, the USA became influential with bases and troops. Western integrative policies were backed by economic and military aids during this term. (Table 40-41, Table and Figure 38, Figure 41, Figure 42)

Table 40: EU Aid to Bulgaria by Category and Year(mil Euro) [890]

Year	Total	Year	Total
1991-94	500-E	2003-06	1412
1995-98	750-E	2007-09	4810- C
1999-02	1682	1991-06	4737
1991-09	9547-C,E		

(* Dimitar Bechev's calculations from various EC sources E: estimates C funds committed)

Table 41: EU Aid to Romania, by Category and Year (mil Euro) [891]

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Total
PHARE	155.2	215.2	254.83	286.69	278.8	283.06	422.3	455.5	2351.58
ISPA			239.2	246	255	260.8	315	348	1664
SAPARD			153.2	156.3	160.6	162.2	158.6	175.2	966.1
TOTAL	155.2	215.2	647.23	688.99	694.4	706.06	895.9	978.7	4981.68

Source: European Commission, PHARE, IPSA, SAPARD Official Documents

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[890] Bechev, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[891] Horvath R. Benedek, "Romania", *EU Regional Policy after Enlargement*, edited by Baun M. Marek, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke: 2008, p. 15.

Top 10 FDI Flows in Bulgaria by Country (EUR Million)
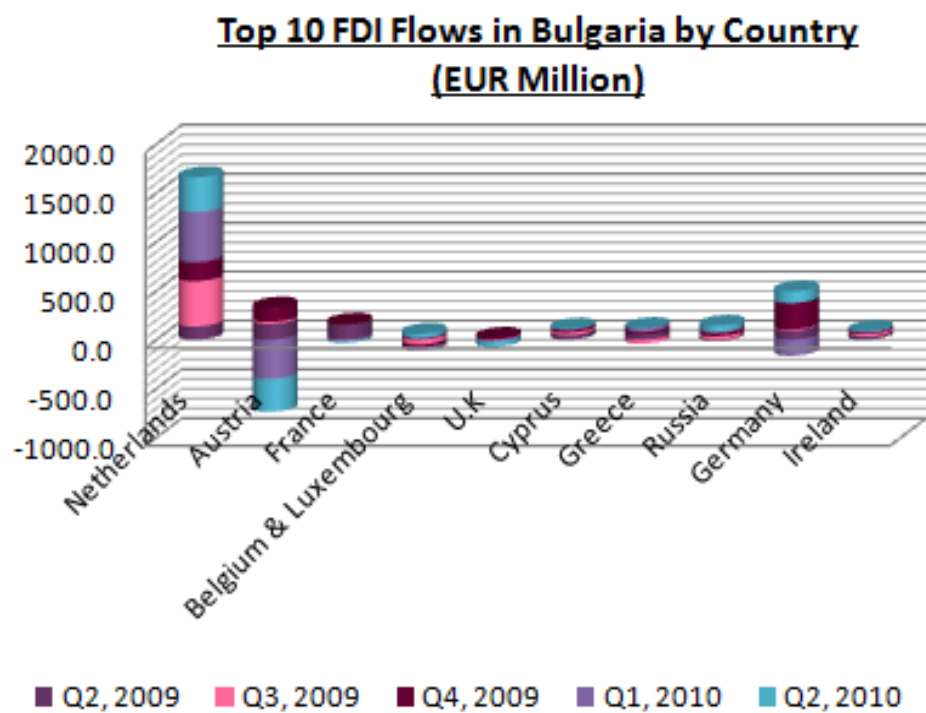
Source: Bulgarian National Bank (BNB)

Figure 41 : FDI in Bulgaria by Country (2009-2010) [892]

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[892] "Top Investments by Country", http://www.investnet.bg/bulgarian-economy/EconomicDashboard/KeyEconomicIndicators/ForeignDirectInvestment/TopInvestmentByCountry.aspx, (accessed on 16.07.2012)

Distribution of FDI by country of origin

Netherlands 22%
Austria 18%
Germany 13%
France 9%
Greece 7%
Italy 5%
Cyprus 5%
Switzerland 4%
Belgium 2%
United States 2%
2%
2%
1%
1%
1%
6%
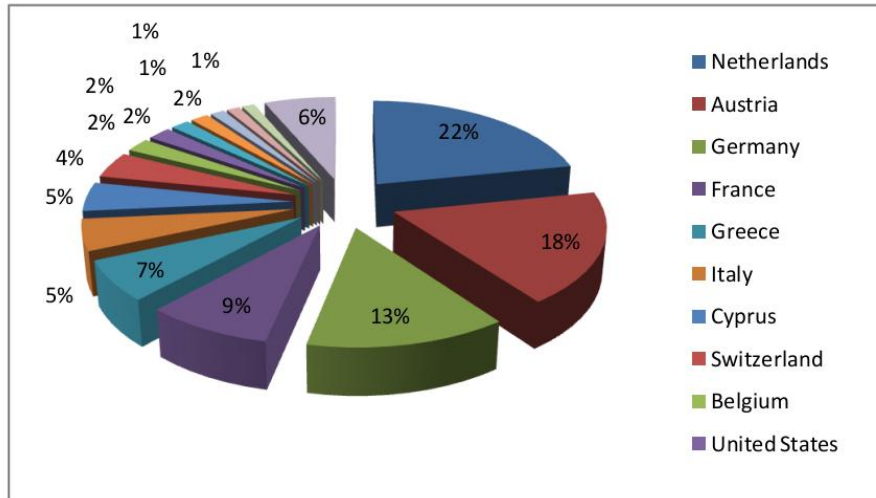
Source: processed data accessed on 12.12.2010 at http://www.bnro.ro/page.aspx?prid=4617#peloc

Figure 42: FDI in Romania by Country (2010) [893]

As was seen from Table 42, the USA and the EU succeed in establishing anarchical hierarchic relations with Bulgaria and Romania. In the North-western part of the Region (in Bulgaria and Romania case), a significant pattern could be seen from the end of the WWII. Both Romania and Bulgaria had a tight anarchical hierarchic relations with the USSR from 1947 to 1953, then it was transformed into a near to tight anarchical hierarchy, then into a loose anarchical hierarchy, after the end of the Cold War, it was again transformed into anarchy and then near to tight anarchical hierarchy. However, in the last stage, the dominant states were the USA in military sector and the EU in economic and political sectors.

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[893] Nicoleta Rusu, "The Dynamics of Foreign Direct Investment in Romania After EU Accession", *CES Working Papers*, Vol. II, No. 4, 2010, p. 123.

Table 42: Anarchical Hierarchic Relations between Romania, Bulgaria and the USA / EU (2000-2012)

MILITARY INTERVENTION		
	BULGARIA	ROMANIA
Deployment of Military Forces	Aitos Logistic Centre (2005, close to Black Sea), Bezmer Air Base (2006), usage rights to Graf Ignatievo Air Base and Novo Selo Range military base, Joint Task Force-East (2007)[894]	Mihail Kogalniceanu Air Base and Joint Task Force-East (2007), usage rights to many land and air bases[895] US Ballistic Missile Defence System in Daveselu Air Base (2011)
Number of Independent Allies	NATO countries	NATO countries
Security Alliances and Bilateral Military Relations	Military cooperation and defence agreements	Presence Agreement signed by Romania and the USA (2001, 2005,2007),[896] Agreement allowing stationing of land- based inceptors of the US Ballistic Missile Defence System

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[894] "US Military Engagements to Romania", http://romania.usembassy.gov/policy/us-military-engagements-to-romania.html, (accessed on 28.06.2013)

[895] "US Military Engagements to Romania", http://romania.usembassy.gov/policy/us-military-engagements-to-romania.html, (accessed on 28.06.2013)

[896] "US Military Engagements to Romania", http://romania.usembassy.gov/policy/us-military-engagements-to-romania.html, (accessed on 28.06.2013)

Table 42 Continued

Military Aid	Figure 35: US Military Aid to Georgia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Romania (1991-2011), [897] Figure 36: US Military Aid to Black Sea Countries per Capita (1991-2011)[898] and Appendix J (US Economic and Military Aid)	Figure 35: US Military Aid to Georgia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Romania (1991-2011)[899] Figure 36: US Military Aid to Black Sea Countries per Capita (1991-2011)[900] and Appendix J (US Economic and Military Aid)
Arms Sale	Top military equipment supplier Belgium	Top military equipment supplier the UK.
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERVENTION		
Trade Dependence	Russia and Germany	Germany
Economic Integration	Part of European Economic Area as EU member	Part of European Economic Area as EU member
Foreign Direct Investment- Leading investors	Netherlands and Austria	Netherlands and Germany
Economic Aid	Table 40, Figure 38, Figure 41	Table 41, Figure 38, Figure 42
Interference in domestic legislation process	EU Acquis	EU Acquis
FORMS OF ORDERING PRINCIPLE	Near to Tight Anarchy	

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[897] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)

[898] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)

[899] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)

[900] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)

5.2.4   *Contested Regional Organizations*

In this section, ten regional organizations, which were established during the period from 2000 and 2012, are to be explored in order to illustrate the continued effort of the Russian Federation to sustain their sphere of influence and the efforts of the USA and the EU for integration of regional countries into Euro-Atlantic institutions. As was done in the previous chapter, regional organizations, established by any country other than Russia are categorized according to membership of Russia because there are many organizations, encompassing Russia and being backed by Russia. Large scale organizations such as the UN, OSCE, the European Council, NATO and WTO are again excluded.

Lists of regional and multilateral initiatives

1. The 2000 Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) was established to form a common external border and to develop common external economic policies, tariffs and prices. The member states are Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Moldavia, Ukraine and Armenia (in observer status).[901]

2. The 2001-Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group (BLACKSEAFOR) was initiated by Turkey in order to cope with threats and challenges such as terrorism, organised crime, illegal trafficking and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; it includes Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine.[902]

3. CSTO (2002) Collective Security Treaty Organization: CST was transformed into security organization.[903]

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[901] "EurAsEC", http://www.eurasian-ec.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2&Itemid=7, (accessed on 07.06.2012)

[902] "BlackSeaFor", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/blackseafor.en.mfa, (accessed on 07.06.2012)

[903] "Collective Security Treaty Organization", http://www.odkb.gov.ru/start/index_aengl.htm, (accessed on 04.11.2013)

4. The 2003 Single Economic Space, of which Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine ("The Four") are members.

5. The 2004 Baku Initiative was established for energy policy dialogue. It includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Tajikistan, Turkey, Ukraine and Uzbekistan and was initiated by the EU.[904]

6. The 2004 Black Sea Harmony was initiated by Turkey with aim of deterring terrorism and asymmetric threats. Russia joined in 2006 and Ukraine in 2007.

7. The 2005-Community Democratic Choice (CDC) was established to promote democracy and human rights in the Region. Initiated by Ukraine and Georgia, its member states are Estonia, Georgia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Latvia, Moldova, Romania, Slovenia and Ukraine. The EU and the US are observers. [905]

8. The 2006-Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership was established to provide a regional platform for dialogue and experience sharing. It was initiated by Romania and its members are Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Greece, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Turkey, Ukraine, Russia and the EU.[906]

9. The 2007 Black Sea Synergy was initiated by the EU and it includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine.

10. The 2008-Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) was the successor of the Stability Pact.[907]

11. The 2009 Eastern Partnership, an EU initiative, aims at Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine.[908]

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[904] Alina Homorozean, "Regional Black Sea Architecture and Consequences for the Regional Cooperation Framework", *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 25.

[905] *Ibid.*

[906] *Ibid.*

[907] Regional Cooperation Council, "Overview", http://www.rcc.int/, (accessed on 08.06.2012).

As can be seen in the tables, Russia-led organizations encompass Ukraine, along with other post-Soviet states except the Baltic countries and Georgia. The CDC and the Baku Initiative, which exclude the Russian Federation, encompass a wide variety of countries, not only countries in the Russian sphere of influence. However, the Eastern partnership was directly aimed at integrating six countries in the Russian sphere of influence into the EU economic system.[909] Therefore, it was highly criticized by the Russian Federation. Indeed, as Cooley argued, the Russian Federation assumed any external power engagement in these countries might threaten Russian position.[910] Ukraine became a member of both Russian and the EU initiated regional organizations. However, Georgia pursued a pro-Western policies

Table 43: Regional Organizations in the Black Sea Region (2000-2012)

Regional organizations, initiated by Russian Federation (3)	Regional organizations, initiated by states, other than Russian Federation (8)	
	Organizations, including/backed by Russia (5)	Organizations, excluding Russia (3)
EurAsEC (2000) Single Economic Space (2003) CSTO (2002)	BLACKSEAFOR (2001) Black Sea Harmony (2004) RCC (2008) Black Sea Forum (2005) Black Sea Synergy (2007)	CDC (2005) Baku Initiative (2004) Eastern Partnership (2009)

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[908] "Eastern Partnership", http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/index_en.htm, (accessed on 08.06.2012).

[909] "Eastern Partnership", http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/index_en.htm, (accessed on 01.07.2013)

[910] Interview No: 9, Appendix L

Table 44: Regional Organizations, excluding Russia

Organization	Initiator	Members
CDC 2005	Ukraine, Georgia	Estonia, *Georgia*, Lithuania, Macedonia, Latvia, Moldova, Romania, Slovenia and *Ukraine;* EU and US are observers
Baku Initiative (2004)	EU	Armenia, Azerbaijan, *Bulgaria*, *Georgia*, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Republic of Moldova, *Romania*, Tajikistan, *Turkey*, *Ukraine* and Uzbekistan
Eastern Partnership (2009)	EU	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia

and refused to become a member of the Russian initiated EurAsEC and the Single Economic Space and withdrew from the CST in 1999. She also withdrew from the CIS Council of Defence Ministers in March 2006 and Saakashvili said that Georgia wanted to become a NATO member and could not join both alliances at the same time.[911] During this term, Romania and Bulgaria had already become EU and NATO members. The Western effect was limited in Ukraine, but there was an overlapping demand in Georgia and the Western countries to transfer Georgia from the Russian sphere of influence to the Western one as had been realized in Bulgaria and Romania, which may further trigger competitive stances of the Russian Federation to sustain their sphere of influence and the USA and the EU for integration of regional countries into Euro-Atlantic institutions.

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[911] Hooman Peimani, *Conflict and Security in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, ABC-CLIO, California: 2009, p. 297.

5.2.5   *Trade Partners[912]*

In this section, the top trading partners of Georgia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey are to be looked into in order to determine whether the Russian Federation or the Western countries could sustain or re-constitute their dominance over regional countries in the economic sector by becoming leading trade partner.
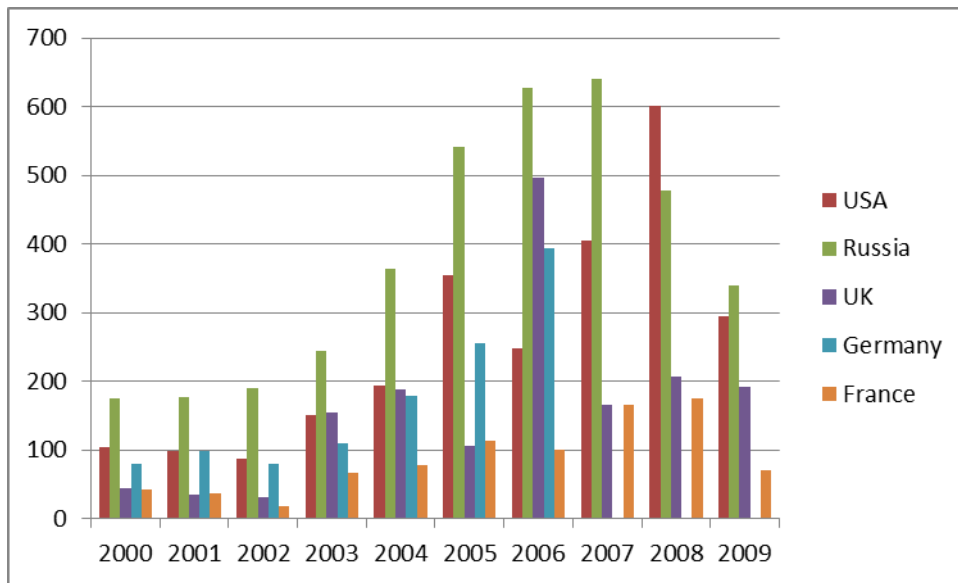
Figure 43: Trade Partners of Georgia (2000-2009) (in current $US millions)

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[912] The COW International Trade 1870-2009 database will be benefitted from to identify the top trading partners, unless another source is specified. Instead of all EU trade, the leading countries of Germany, UK and France were examined. Katherine and Keshk, *op. cit.*
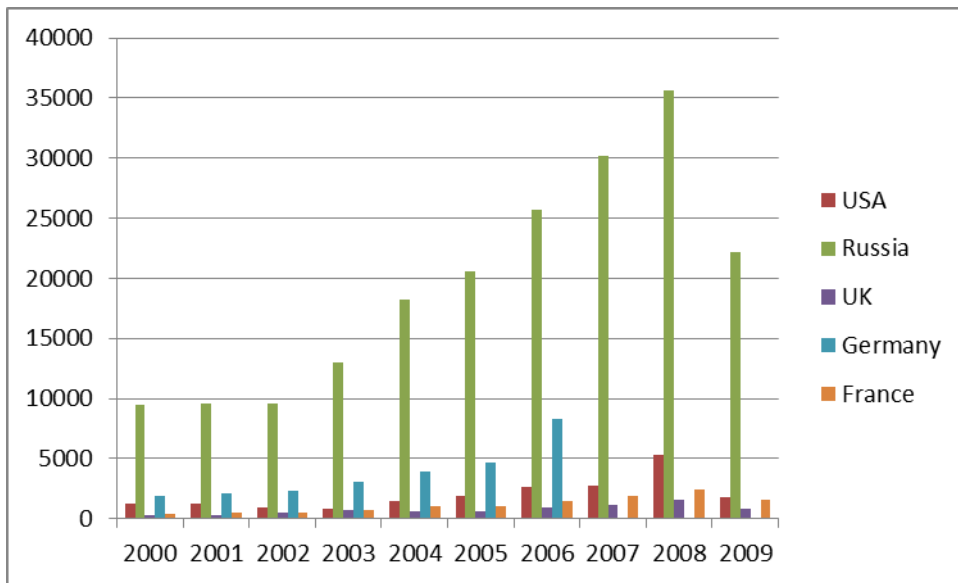
Figure 44: Trade Partners of Ukraine (2000-2009) (in current $US millions)
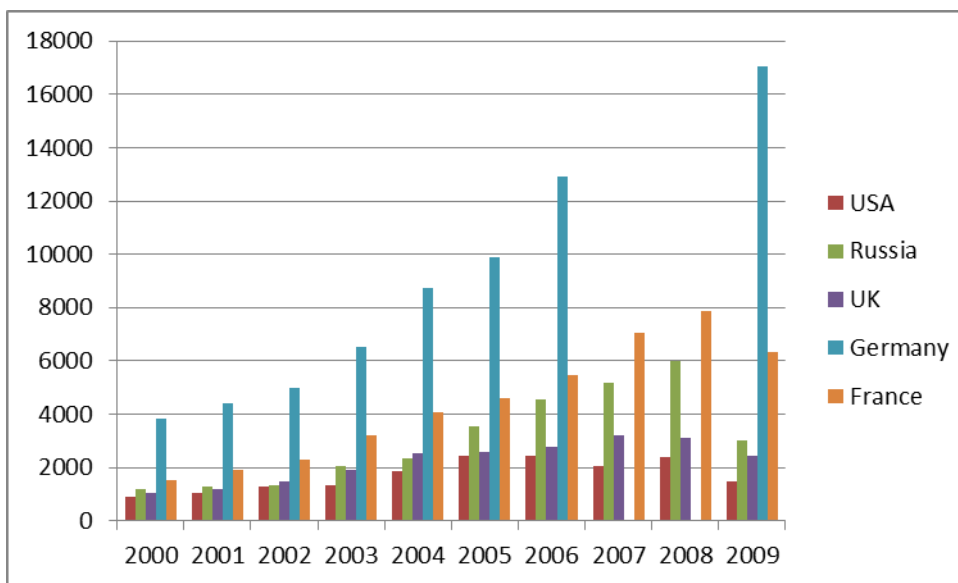
Figure 45: Trade Partners of Romania (2000-2009) (in current $US millions)[913]

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[913] For Romanian and German 2009 values, data from the website of "Romania", UNDATA, 2009, http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=ROMANIA was used.
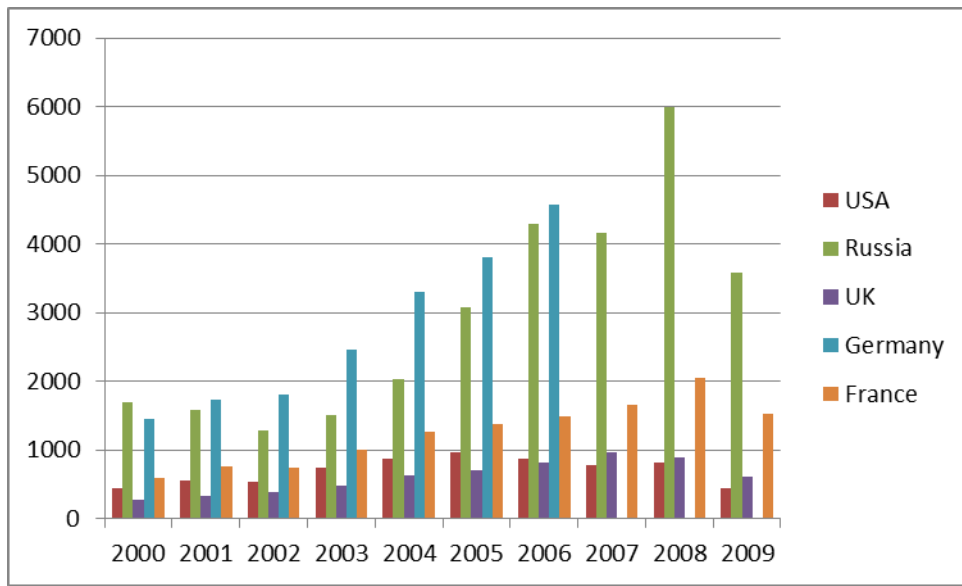
Figure 46: Trade Partners of Bulgaria (2000-2009) (in current $US millions)
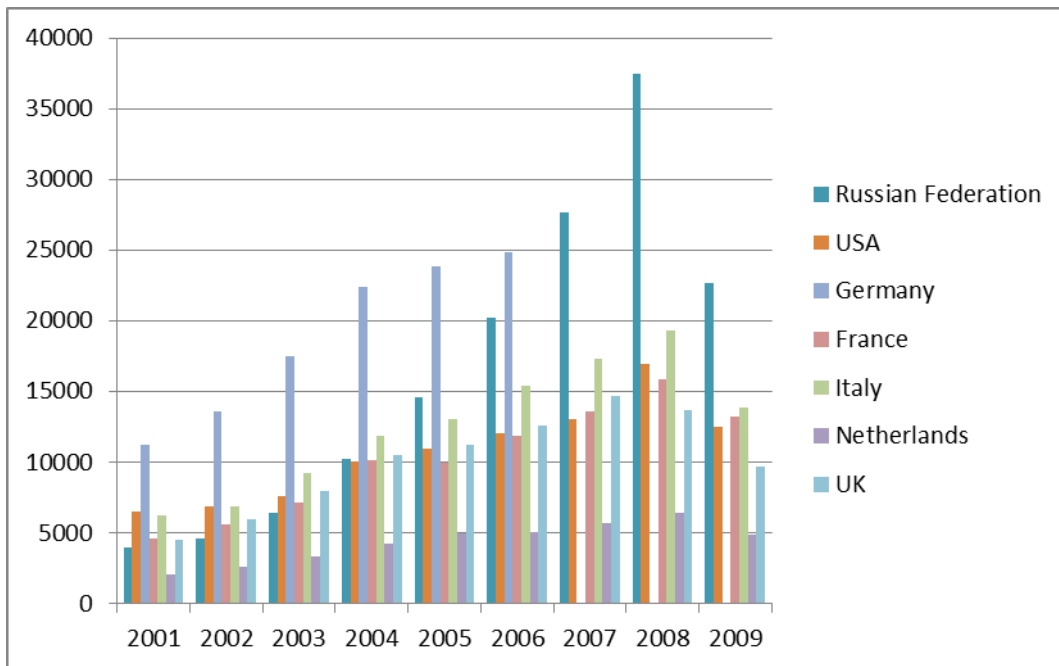
Figure 47: Trade Partners of Turkey (2000-2009) (in current $US millions)
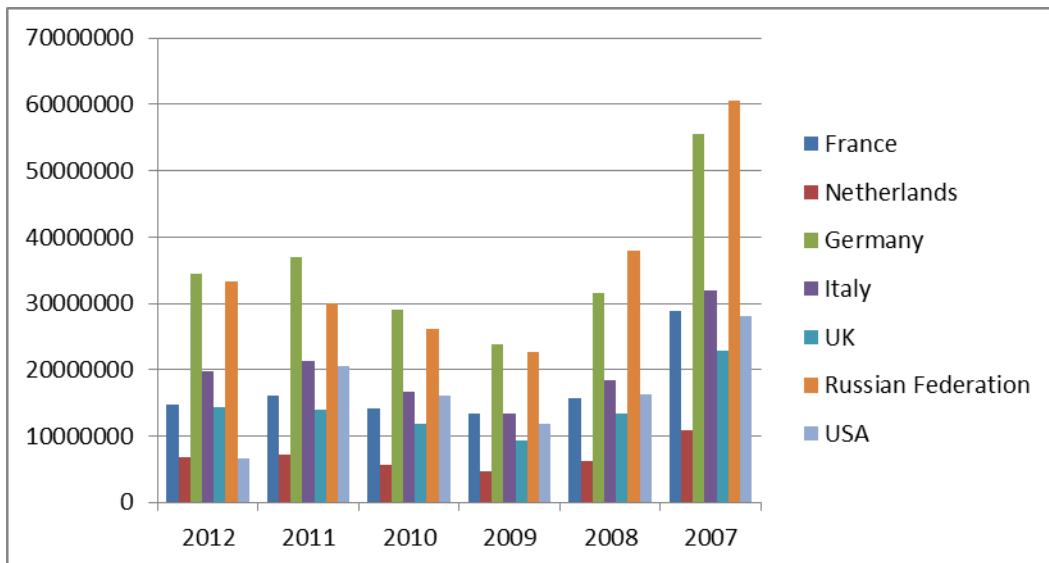
Figure 48: Trade Partners of Turkey (2007-2012) (in $US thousands)[914]

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[914] "Foreign Trade by Countries", Turkish Statistical Institute,
http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=12, (accessed on 03.06.2012)

In Georgia (except in 2008) and Ukraine, Russia was top trading partner; in 2008, Georgia's top trading partner was the USA. Bulgaria's partners were Russia and Germany, and Romania sustained its trading relations with the Western countries, especially with Germany. Turkey's top trading partner was Germany until 2006, then the Russian Federation. As seen in the diagrams, the Russian Federation was able to fully sustain its trade relations with Ukraine and partly with Georgia and Bulgaria while she developed her trade relations with Turkey tremendously. During this period, it could be said that US and EU engagement in Georgia was backed with economic policies but not in Ukraine.

5.2.6   Military Equipment Suppliers

In this part, the top military equipment suppliers of Georgia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Romania[915] will be looked into in order to determine whether Russian Federation or the Western countries could sustain or re-constitute their dominance in military sector. To find data, the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database was used. This database includes the transfers of nearly all countries but did not Ukraine's import.

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[915] "SIPRI Arms Transfers Database", http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php, (accessed on 08.08.2012)
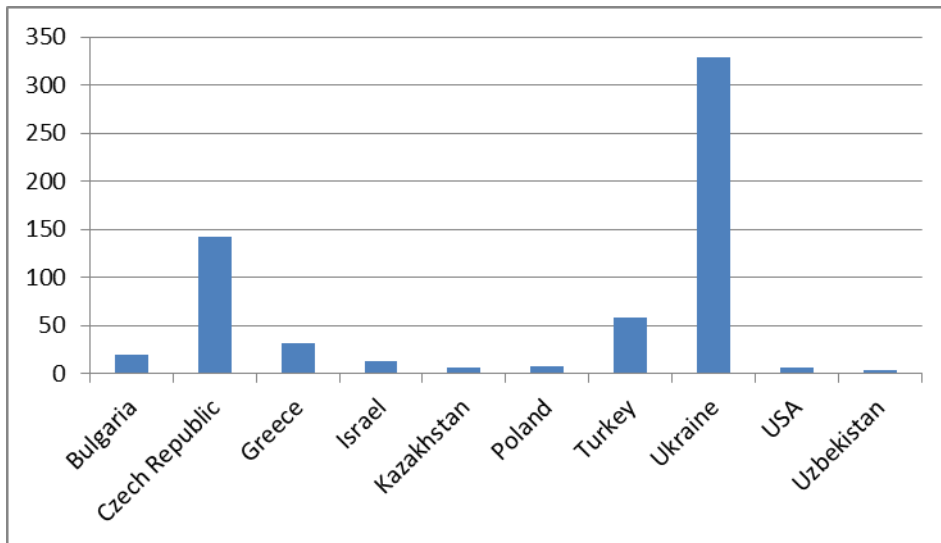
Figure 49: Top Military Equipment Supplier of Georgia (2000-2012)
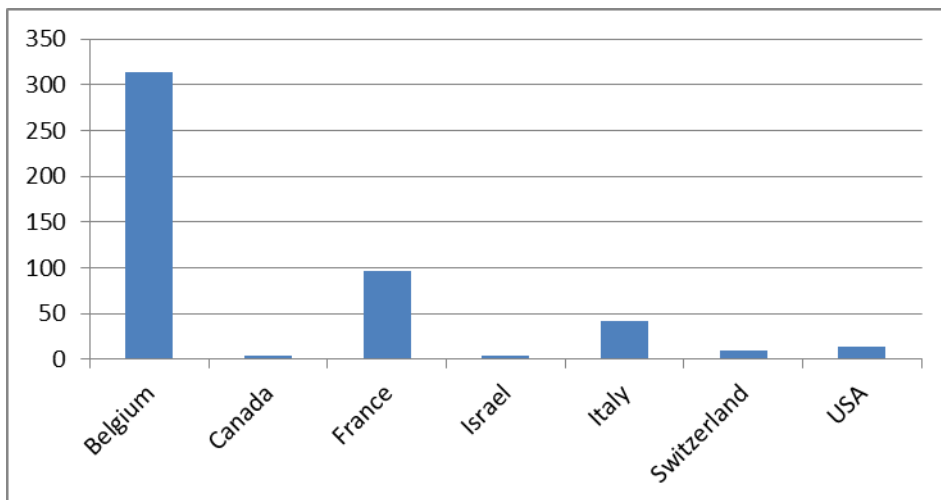
Figure 50: Top Military Equipment Supplier of Bulgaria (2000-2012)
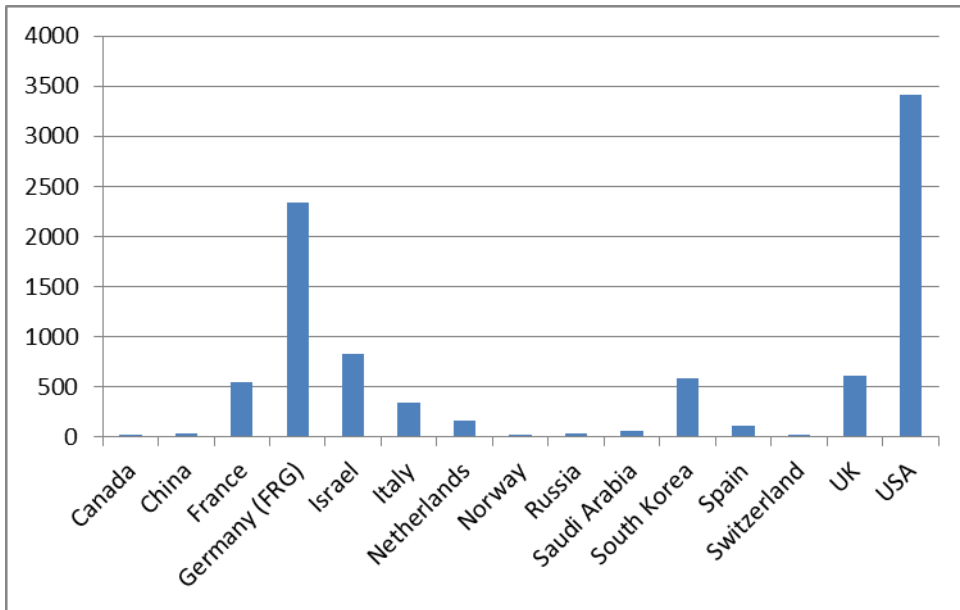
Figure 51: Top Military Equipment Supplier of Turkey (2000-2012)
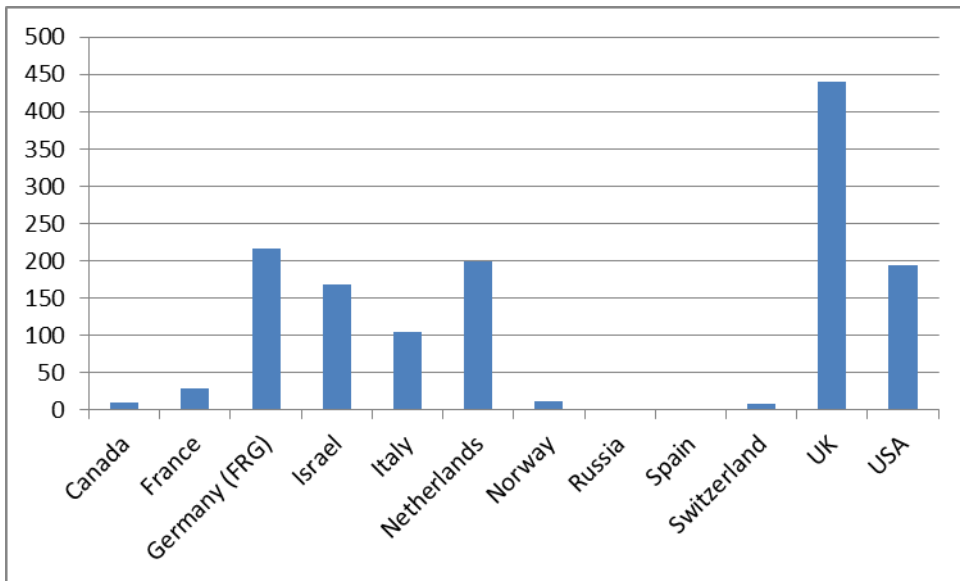
Figure 52 : Top Military Equipment Supplier of Romania (2000-2012)

As was seen from figures, leading military equipment supplier for Georgia was Ukraine, within CIS countries. For Turkey, it was the USA; as was the case in the previous term; for Romania the United Kingdom, for Bulgaria Belgium.

It can be concluded that during this term, the Region could be categorized into three parts: Russia and countries under the Russian sphere of influence; countries in the Western sphere and Turkey, a Western ally at the global level and a Russian ally in the Region.[916] Countries in the Russian sphere of influence were different in terms of their relations with the Russian Federation. It should be accepted that Georgia and Ukraine were inside the Russian sphere of influence; however, Georgia wanted to remove itself from this sphere and join the Western one. During this term, Georgian and Western demands for removing these countries from the Russian sphere of influence overlapped, but not in Ukraine. Indeed, Ukraine would have liked to pursue a more pro-Western policy after the Orange Revolution. However, due to the effects of the fragmentation of Ukrainian elites and population into pro-Western and pro-Russian groups, Ukraine could not sustain her pro-Western policy and removed NATO membership from her targets after the 2008 August war. Georgia, however, managed to sustain her pro-Western policy and intensified her military relations with the USA.

During this term, as noted above, the USA both deepened her bilateral military relations with this country and increased her efforts with the EU for Georgian integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions but they could not realize Georgian integration into NATO because of Russian opposition and lack of support of major European countries- France and Germany. Russian anarchical hierarchic relations with both of these countries prevented their integration into Western institutions and sphere. Despite Georgia's intense relations, it should be noted that the USA was unable to establish anarchic hierarchic relations, including military sector (Table 45) because all arrangements and engagements with Georgia were inadequate without security guarantees. It should be noted that the US stepped back

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[916] The position of Turkey will be taken up in the following section, pp. 351-366.

after Russian intervention. In the economic sector, while the USA and the EU tried to back their engagement with increasing investments in these countries and economic and military aid (Figure 37-38 and Table 42), Russia still had important leverages in the Georgian economy such as trade relations and natural gas sales. In the political sector, Russia was more influential in terms of support for separatist regions. Indeed, as Dmitri Trenin pointed out that the US did not think the Black Sea Region as a region to produce anarchical- hierarchic relations.[917]

In sum, during this period, the USA and, to a lesser extent, the EU wanted to establish intense relations with regional countries. Romania and Bulgaria became EU and NATO members and joined the Western sphere of influence. The Russian Federation had accepted their pro-Western stance in the previous period; therefore, these developments did not create tension in the Region. However, when the Western countries would like to pursue these integrative polices towards Ukraine and Georgia and leadership in Georgia and leadership in Ukraine would also like to integrate into Euro-Atlantic institutions; Russia did not accept their integration because they were in the Near Abroad and Russia had special interests in this Region. The competitive stances of these two powers vis-à-vis the regional two countries created tension in the Region.

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[917] Interview No: 11, Appendix L

Table 45: Georgian Anarchic Hierarchic Relations with the Russian Federation and the USA

	RUSSIAN FEDERATION	USA AND EU
	Military Intervention	
Deployment of Military Forces	7th Military Base in Abkhazia, and the 4th in South Ossetia; which "host a total of about 7,000 troops"[918]	Average of 20 US military personnel, over 11 years (2000-2011)
Lack of Independent Allies	Withdrawal from the CSTO and CIS.	Not in NATO, IPAP in 2004, Intensified dialogue in 2006, Annual National Program in 2008; the NATO-Georgia Commission in 2010
Military Cooperation	Many signed many military agreements signed with Abkhazia and the South Ossetia	"Charter on Strategic Partnership" with USA in 2009
Arms Export	Leading arm exporters is Ukraine, not Russia	Not the USA
Punishment in case of disobedience	Military intervention in 2008	No security guarantee in case of military attack

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[918] Joshua Kucera, "Russian Military to Stay in Abkhazia, South Ossetia, 49 More Years", *Eurasianet.org,* 10.10.2011, http://www.eurasianet.org/node/64292, (accessed on 02.07.2013).

Table 45- Continued

Economic Intervention		
Trade Dependence	Top trading partner Russia (2001 - 2009, except 2008)	Top trading partner USA, only in 2008
Punishment in case of Disobedience; through Natural Gas Cuts and Trade Bans	natural gas cut in January 2006 and trade ban on Georgian basic export products of mineral water, wine and other foodstuff	
Lack of Market Exchange Price- (natural gas)	Slightly under market prices till 2006	
Percentage of FDI	6 %	14% (USA)
Economic and Military Aid	Russia provided 2.36 billion roubles to Abkhazia and 2.8 billion roubles to South Ossetia.[919]	Largest per capita US military and economic aid recipient in the BSR
Georgian Debt	In 2005, 10.58% to Russia	In 2011, nearly 71,6 % to international financial institutions.[920]

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[919] Argun Başkan and Burcu Gültekin Punsmann, *Abkhazia for the Integration of the Black Sea*, Tepav and ORSAM, Ankara: December 2009, p. 220.

Table 45- Continued

Political Intervention		
Ethnic Groups	Russia recognized separatist regions and established military, political and economic ties	
Leadership Change		Support for the Rose Revolution and Mikhail Saakashvili
Forms of Ordering Principle	Near to Loose Anarchical Hierarchy	???

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[920] "Georgia's Foreign Debt and Sustainable Development", *Green Alternative*, 1, http://www.greenalt.org/webmill/data/file/publications/Foreign_Debt.pdf, (accessed on 02.07.2013)

5.3 SECURITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION 2000-2012

After the end of the Cold War, order and security was threatened by the emergence of a short term instability period, caused by intrastate and interstate conflicts within and around the Region. They were resolved or frozen by 1996; security was enhanced and sustained partly due to the regional structure which the Russian Federation attempted to establish and maintain in the post-Soviet countries and partly because Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria did not challenge or pose a threat against the order and security in the Region. This section will examine whether or not security and stability were sustained in the Black Sea Region during the 2000-2012 period.

To define the security situation, the number of military conflicts in the Region, the threat perceptions of regional actors towards each other and their military expenditures will be looked into. Another important indicator-the positions of regional states towards the Western countries and their policies was dealt with in the previous section.

5.3.1   Military Conflicts

As the absence of aggression and military conflict is the first condition of security in a region, whether a military conflict occurred in the Region will be looked into. According to the document, "List of All Wars" which was prepared by the Correlates of War, the Second Chechnya War of 1999-2003/2004 and the 2008 Russian- Georgian War took place after the Georgia and South Ossetia conflict.

5.3.2   Threat Perception of Regional Countries

This section will look into the threat perception of regional countries - the Russian Federation, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Georgia and Turkey- towards each other. Their security and military doctrines and related second hand resources will be reviewed in order to determine whether or not a source of threat that regional countries defined in their military and security doctrines existed during this period. To constitute a measure of these perceptions, military expenditure (when needed),

the percentage of military expenditure to the GDP and arms imports will be looked into. To access these data, "Correlates of War Composite Index of National Capability Index,"[921] the SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2012,[922] and "the SIPRI Arms Transfer Database"[923] were used, respectively. Making use of them, tables and diagrams were prepared.

5.3.2.1 UKRAINE

In previous term, Ukraine had announced the 1997 Concept for National Security for Ukraine which did not mention on-going threats but mostly focused on possible threats. During this term, Ukraine issued a law on Principles of National Security of Ukraine in 2003, a Presidential Decree on Military Doctrine of Ukraine in June 2004 (amended in July 2004 and April 2005), a law on Principles of National and Foreign Policy and Presidential decree on Decision of National Security Policy in November 2010 and on Challenges and Threats to National Security in December 2010. These are more detailed than the security documents, announced in the previous terms but they has same characteristics, focusing on possible threats but terrorism and other related new types of possible source of threats were added in 2004.

According to the Principles of National Security of Ukraine (2003) and the Military Doctrine of Ukraine (2004); the basic threats to Ukraine in foreign policy area were encroachment on the state sovereignty of Ukraine and its territorial integrity, territorial claims from other countries, attempts at interference into Ukraine's internal affairs by other countries, military and political instability, regional and local wars (conflicts) in various regions of world, particular those close to Ukrainian borders; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means

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[921] Katherine and Keshk, *op. cit.*

[922] "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2012", http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database, (accessed on 01.06.2013).

[923] "The SIPRI Arms Transfer Database Trade Register", http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/values.php, (accessed on 23.02.2012).

of delivery, the inefficiency of existing structures and mechanisms which ensure international security and global stability, illegal immigration, the possibility of dragging Ukraine into regional military conflicts or confrontations with other countries, an increase in the military groups of Ukraine's bordering countries as well as armaments which break correlation of forces, a dangerous decrease in the military and special techniques as well as armaments of the new generation of Ukrainian Military Forces, other military groups which decrease their combat power, slow implementation and insufficient financial support of reformation programs of the military organization and defense and industrial complex of Ukraine, the accumulation of huge amounts of obsolete and useless equipment, armaments, explosive substances for the Ukrainian military and an unsatisfactory level of social protection for serviceman, citizens laid off from military service and members of their families.[924] The Military Doctrine of Ukraine (2004) added other threats such as international terrorism, illegal expansion of weapons, ammunition and explosive substances circulation, the augmentation of military groups and ammunitions by neighboring Ukrainian countries near mutual borders (which could lead to the violation of force correlation), and incompleteness of contractual and legal legislation of state borders of Ukraine.[925]

The Military Doctrine stated the intent of Ukraine to become a member state of the EU and the NATO in its first version.[926] However, in July 2004 President Kuchma, with another presidential degree (President of Ukraine Decree, No 800) amended the Presidential Degree, negating intent of Ukraine for NATO

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[924] "Про основи національної безпеки України," Верховна Рада України; Закон від 19.06.2003 № 964-IV, http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/964-15, (accessed on 26.04.2012) - Principles of National Security of Ukraine, The Data of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2003, N39, (translated by Ostap Kin, 16.05.2012)

[925] "Воєнну доктрину України", Указ Президента України, від 15 червня 2004 року N 648/2004, http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/648/2004, (accessed on 26.04.2012)- Military Doctrine of Ukraine, endorsed by the edict of the President of Ukraine, on June 15, 2004, (translated by Ostap Kin, 16.05.2012)

[926] Воєнну доктрину України", Указ Президента України, від 15 червня 2004 року N 648/2004, http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/648/2004, (accessed on 26.04.2012)

membership.[927] However, in April 2005 Yushchenko again changed Ukraine's military doctrine, reaffirming the country's plan to join the MAP and NATO.[928] In 2010, Ukraine announced a new document, entitled "Law of Ukraine on Basis of Internal and External Policy" which reiterated Ukraine's demand for membership in the EU but underlined her non-aligned status, pointing out that

> Ukraine's fulfilment with non-alignment/neutral policy, which implies non-participation of Ukraine in the military and political alliances/unions, priority (given to) participation in improvement and development of the European system of collective security, the continuation of a constructive partnership with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other military-political blocs regarding all issues which form mutual interest.[929]

In April 2011, the Ukrainian government also accepted a new military doctrine and this once again underlined the country's non-bloc status. According to news of the Russia Today, referring to the Kommersant-Ukraine, the document expressed that "Ukraine does not consider any state (coalition of states) as its military enemy, but will consider a potential military enemy the state (coalition of states) whose actions or intentions indicate a threat of use of military force against Ukraine"[930] and also expressed additional potential threats such as " interference in the country's internal affairs through mass media, economic pressure, financial and moral support to certain political forces and non-government organizations whose activities are aimed at discrediting the leadership."[931]

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[927] Jeffrey Simon, "Ukraine against Herself: To Be Euro-Atlantic , Eurasian or Neutral?", *Strategic Forum*, No. 238, February 2009, p. 4.

[928] *Ibid.*

[929]"Про засади внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики", Верховна Рада України; Закон від 01.07.2010 № 2411-VI, http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2411-17, (accessed on 26.04.2012)- Law of Ukraine on the Basis of Internal and External Policy, The Data of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2010, N40, (translated by Ostap Kin, 16.05.2012)

[930] "Ukraine Approves New Military Doctrine", *Russia Today*, 14 April 2011, http://rt.com/politics/ukraine-new-military-doctrine/, (accessed on 26.04.2012)

[931] *Ibid.*

As was seen in these documents, Ukrainian authorities did not consider any country as an enemy or perceive specific threats from any regional country or the Russian Federation. They also did not put threat of military aggression, even after 2008 in security documents. However, the basic threat to national security of Ukraine has been lack of elite consensus and inconsistency of her foreign policy, which found its expression in changing the process of the Military Doctrines, announced in 2004 and 2011 and the Principles of National Security of Ukraine (2003) and the Principles of National and Foreign Policies (2010). Finally, it can be noted that threat perception of Ukraine was not high during the period from 2000 to 2010, which can be seen in her military expenditures as was seen in Table 46 and Figure 53.

Table 46: Military Expenditure of Ukraine (2000-2012)[932]

Years	Military Expenditure (USD million)(in 2011)	Mil. Exp./GDP
2000	2405	3.6
2001	2032	2.9
2002	2160	2.8
2003	2496	2.8
2004	2694	2.6
2005	3263	2.8
2006	3661	2.8
2007	4449	2.9
2008	4352	2.7
2009	3865*	2.9
2010	3990*	2.7
2011	3922*	2.4
2012	4865*	2.7

*SIPRI Estimate

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[932] "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2012",
http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database, (accessed on 01.06.2013)
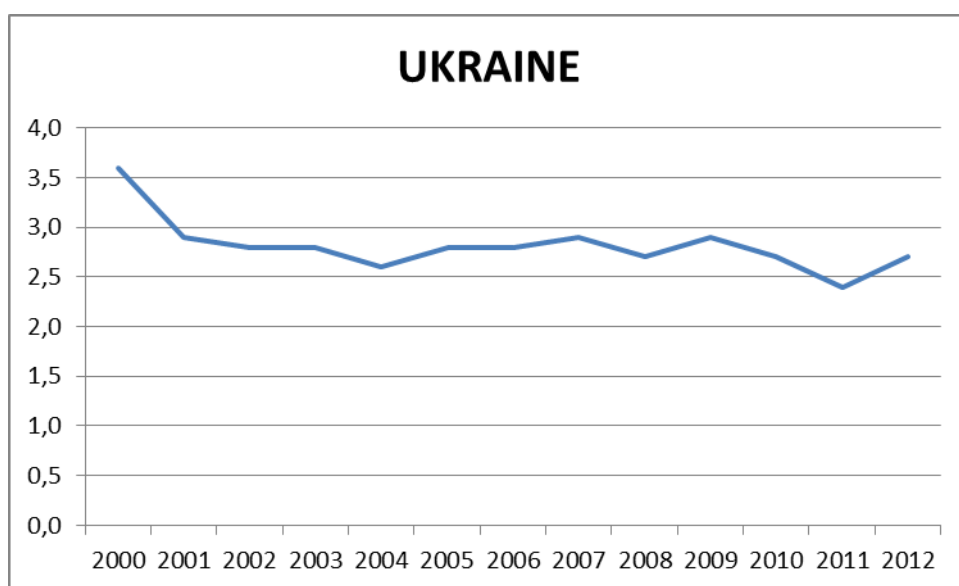
Figure 53: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (%)

5.3.2.2   GEORGIA

After the Rose Revolution, Georgia announced its National Security Concept in 2005 and 2011. In the 2005 National Security Concept, Georgia announced her national interests, as

> Ensuring territorial integrity, national unity and civil accord, regional stability, strengthening freedom and democracy in neighbouring states and region, state's transit function and energy security, environmental security of the country and the region and preserving national and cultural uniqueness.[933]

In the first Document, the threats, risks and challenges to national security were listed as infringement of territorial integrity, spill-over from conflicts in neighbouring states, military aggression, international terrorism, organized crime, the Russian Federation's military base (in the document, military bases are not perceived

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[933] "National Security Concept of Georgia", http://www.parliament.ge/files/292_880_927746_concept_en.pdf, (accessed on 13.04.2012).

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a direct threat to Georgia's sovereignty but they were seen as a factor that negatively affected the security environment in Georgia), corruption and inefficient governance, economic, social and environmental challenges, as well as energy and information related challenges.[934] In this document, integration into NATO and the EU, restoration of territorial integrity, strengthening of foreign relations with the USA, Ukraine, Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan and lastly the Russian Federation and intensifying regional cooperation are defined as components of Georgian national security policy.[935] As to relations with the Russian Federation, it was noted that Georgia was ready to cooperate with Russia on the principles of good neighbourly relations, equality and mutual respect and underlined the necessity for Russia fulfill its obligations regarding military bases, as stated in the 1999 OSCE İstanbul Summit.[936]

According to the Second National Security Concept, accepted in 2011, Georgia faced great challenges originating from Russia: occupation of Georgian territories by the Russian Federation, recognition of occupied regions as independent states, deployment of military forces and infrastructure in these regions, risk of renewed military aggression by Russia, possibility of spill over from regional conflicts, cyber-security (in the document it was stated that Russia had conducted large scale cyber-attacks during the August 2008 war), demographic challenges which were created by Russian efforts to change demographic balance in the occupied regions and energy-related issues.[937]

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[934] "National Security Concept of Georgia", http://www.parliament.ge/files/292_880_927746_concept_en.pdf, (accessed on 13.04.2012).

[935] "National Security Concept of Georgia", http://www.parliament.ge/files/292_880_927746_concept_en.pdf, (accessed on 13.04.2012).

[936] "National Security Concept of Georgia", http://www.parliament.ge/files/292_880_927746_concept_en.pdf, (accessed on 13.04.2012).

[937] "National Security Concept of Georgia", http://www.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=12 , pp. 7-10, (accessed on 08.08.2012).

Among the issues, the most prominent one was Russian interference in Georgian territorial disputes. Both South Ossetia and Abkhazia had existed as de facto states since the end of military conflicts and they had established close relations with the Russian Federation. Especially South Ossetia has ties to the North Ossetia, part of the Russian Federation and wanted unification. According to Tracey German, Russian was the official language, the rouble was the official currency and 95% of the population had adopted Russian citizenship.[938] Abkhazia aimed at independence; however, publicly they expressed their desire for integration with the Russian Federation. As %80 of the South Ossetian population had adopted Russian citizenship.[939] Thus, the Russian Federation gained the right to protect her citizens in the wake of any attack, coming from outside. Finally, Georgian military operations to restore territorial integrity ended with Russia's military intervention in August 2008. When the two regions declared their independence and were recognized by the Russian Federation, Georgia's perception of enemy focused on Russia.[940] Thus, during whole period, Georgia's threat perception was very high which found its reflection in her military spending. (Table 47, Figures 54 and 55)

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[938] Tracey German, "Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Collision of Georgian and Russian Interest", *Russie. Nei. Visions*, No. 11, June 2006, p. 8.

[939] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[940] Ondrej Ditrych, "Georgia: A State of Flux", *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2010, p. 21.

Table 47: Military Expenditures of Georgia (2000-2012) [941]

Years	Mil. Exp./GDP	Military Expenditure (2011 USD Millions)
2000	0.6	45.3 *(SIPRI Estimate)
2001	0.7	57.5 * (SIPRI Estimate)
2002	1	82.3
2003	1.1	96.3
2004	1.4	134
2005	3.3	357
2006	5.2	607
2007	9.2	1201
2008	8.5	1140
2009	5.6	695
2010	3.9	521
2011	3.3	469* (SIPRI Estimate)
2012	2.9	451 * (SIPRI Estimate)
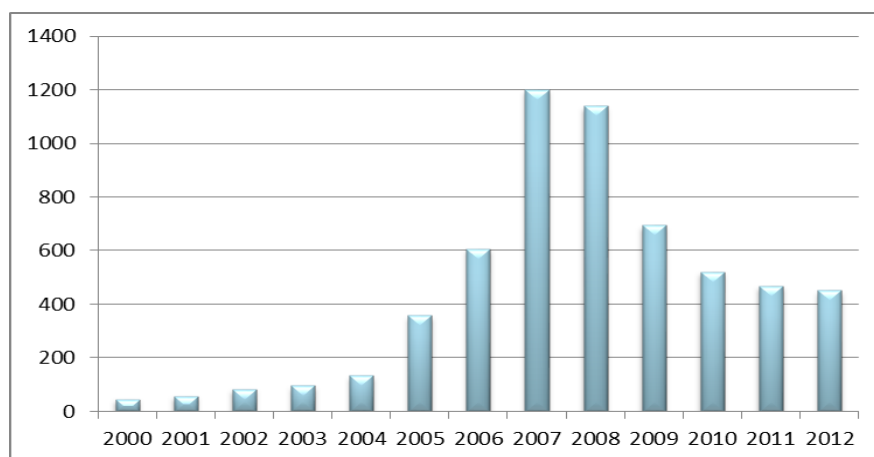
Figure 54 : Military Expenditures of Georgia (2000-2012)

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[941] "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2012",
http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database, (accessed on 01.06.2013).
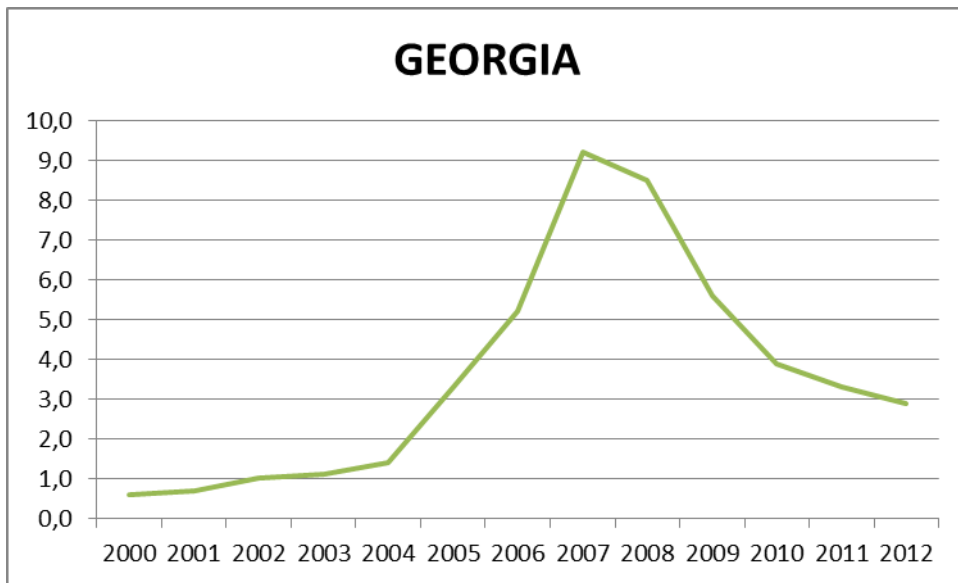
Figure 55: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (%)

5.3.2.3   RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The Russian Federation released six official documents during the period from 2000 to 2010: two Foreign Policy Concepts (2008 and 2010), two National Security Concepts (2000 and 2009) and two Military Doctrines (2000 and 2010).

In the 2000 Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, Russia started by pointing out the military political situation of the international system, noting as destabilizing factors; as well as improvements in forms and methods of military conflict and the severity of its consequences, the decline in threat of large-scale wars, the strengthening of regional centres and of national, ethnic and religious extremism and separatism, the spread of local wars and arms conflict and the regional arms race; the spread of nuclear weapons and delivery system; the expansion in the scale of organized crime, terrorism, and weapons and drug trafficking, and the multinational

nature of these activities.[942] Within the same framework, Russia also expressed the view that

> A destabilizing impact on the military-political situation is exerted by: attempts to weaken (ignore) the existing mechanism for safeguarding international security (primarily the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE]); the utilization of military-force actions as a means of "humanitarian intervention" without the sanction of the UN Security Council, in circumvention of the generally accepted principles and norms of international law; the violation by certain states of international treaties and agreements in the sphere of arms limitation and disarmament.[943]

In this way, the Russian Federation referred to NATO intervention in Yugoslavia in 1999. Alexei Arbatov stated that the new version of Russian Security Concepts and Military Doctrine clearly reflected Moscow's reaction to the Balkan war.[944]

According to this Military Doctrine, the main external threats (among others) to the Russian Federation and her allies are:

1. territorial claims against the Russian Federation; interference in the Russian Federation's internal affairs;
2. attempts to ignore (infringe on) the Russian Federation's interests in resolving international security problems, and to oppose its being strengthened as one influential center in a multipolar world;
3. the existence of seats of armed conflict, primarily close to the Russian Federation's state border and the borders of its allies;
4. the creation (build-up) of groups of troops (forces) leading to the violation of the existing balance of forces, close to the Russian Federation's state border and the borders of its allies or on the seas adjoining their territories;

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[942] "Russia's Military Doctrine", *Arms Control Today*, May 2000, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000_05/dc3ma00?print, (accessed on 01.05.2012)

[943] "Russia's Military Doctrine", *Arms Control Today*, May 2000, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000_05/dc3ma00?print, (accessed on 01.05.2012)

[944] Alexei Arbatov, "The Transformation of Russia's Military Doctrine in the Aftermath of Kosovo and Chechnya", *Russia between East and West Russian Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Gabriel Gorodetsky, Frank Cass, London and Portland: 2003, p. 30.

5. the expansion of military blocs and alliances to the detriment of the Russian Federation's military security;
6. the introduction of foreign troops in violation of the UN Charter on the territory of friendly states adjoining the Russian Federation; (…)
7. discrimination against Russian Federation citizens and the suppression of their rights, freedoms, and legitimate interests in foreign states
8. international terrorism.[945]

The National Security Concept of the Russian Federation, approved in January 2000 reiterated the threats posed by NATO expansion and added "a weakening of the integration processes"[946] in the CIS and emergence or escalation of conflicts near the borders of the Russian Federation and the CIS [947] as a threat to national security in the international sphere.

Among the many general and potential threats, Russia also referred to the NATO and the US policies of the statements "attempts to ignore (infringe) the Russian Federation's interests in resolving international security problems", "the expansion of military blocs and alliances to the detriment of the Russian Federation's military security" and "the introduction of foreign troops in violation of the UN Charter on the territory of friendly states adjoining the Russian Federation." One of the most striking features of the 2000 Russian Military Doctrine was that Russia re-designed her nuclear policy. Russia could use her nuclear weapon "in response to large-scale aggression utilizing conventional weapons in situations critical to the national security of the Russian Federation" and its allies, and she "reserved the right" to use nuclear weapons to respond to all "weapons of mass destruction"

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[945] "Russia's Military Doctrine", *Arms Control Today*, May 2000, http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000_05/dc3ma00?print, (accessed on 01.05.2012).

[946] "National Security Concept of the Russian Federation", 10 January 2000, http://www.mid.ru/ns-osndoc.nsf/1e5f0de28fe77fdcc32575d900298676/36aba64ac09f737fc32575d9002bbf31?OpenDocument, (accessed on 01.05.2011).

[947] "National Security Concept of the Russian Federation", 10 January 2000, http://www.mid.ru/ns-osndoc.nsf/1e5f0de28fe77fdcc32575d900298676/36aba64ac09f737fc32575d9002bbf31?OpenDocument, (accessed on 01.05.2011).

attacks.[948] On the issue of usage of nuclear weapons, Alexander Shaburkin explains that the nuclear part of the doctrine was related to the increase in external threats to Russia, including NATO expansion, especially to her sphere of interest and the usual NATO practice of bringing its forces into the territory of other countries without the sanctions of the UN Security Council.[949] It was understood that Russian threat perception was high regarding issues related to NATO and its policies in the Region at the beginning of the new century.

However, Russian policy started to change under the effect of internal developments such as overcoming economic crisis and the transitional period from Yeltsin to Putin and international events such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the US invasion of Iraq and the US Afghanistan operations. On the eve of new developments, the Russian Defence Minister released a blueprint document on October 2 2003 "Urgent Tasks for the Development of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation." This new document, which was known as the Ivanov Doctrine, underlined the importance of terrorism and soft-security threats and the need to protect Russian economic interests and Russian-speaking minorities abroad, especially in the CIS, thus linking the necessity for Russian military presence in the CIS with terrorism and soft-security threats.[950] In the Doctrine, Ivanov touched upon the existence of three types of military threats against Russia: external (interference in Russia's internal affairs and instability in neighbouring countries); internal (attempts to forcibly change the constitutional order, formation and support of illegal armed groups, illegal arms trafficking, large-scale organized crime activities, the activities of radical religious, separatist, or nationalist movements) and transnational threats (international terrorism, transnational crime and training of armed groups in

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[948] Russia's Military Doctrine", 2000, *op. cit.*

[949] Alexander Shaburkin, "Military Doctrine From Threats to Nuclear Weapons", *Defence & Security*, 26. 04. 2000.

[950] Denis Trifinov, "Ivanov Doctrine Reflects Moscow's Growing Confidence in the CIS and Beyond", *CACI Analyst*, 19.11.2003, http://cacianalyst.org/?q=node/1657, (accessed on 03.05.2012).

other states for action against Russia).[951] According to Julie Wilhelmsen and Geir Flikke, these external threats, especially instability in neighbouring states indicated Georgia and "implied that Russia would consider using military force also against states sheltering the enemy."[952] They also commented that with this document and the speeches of high political and military officials, Russia tried to show that they would use preventive strikes where they saw the need. They did not need to inform anyone before strikes because other countries had similar practices, especially the US in Afghanistan and Iraq.[953] Lazsto Poti confirmed this Russian perception, explaining that

> If the world is evolving in the way it is perceived by the authors of document – increased likelihood of the use of military force, increased role of the nuclear weapons, decreased role of the main security institutions, the legitimization of preventive strikes – Russia cannot stop it, but rather accepts these new rules of the game and will act accordingly.[954]

This Russian approach resulted in military attacks against Georgia (such as ones in November 2001 and the summer of 2003) and the violation of Georgian airspace several times with the claim that terrorists were being hosted in her territory.

The next document Russia published was the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation, approved on 12 May 2009. One of the points in the Document was that Russia displayed her intentions and the possibility of use of military force in energy security related matters, saying that "Under conditions of competition for resources, it is not excluded that arising problems may be resolved using military force, and that the current balance of power on the borders of Russia

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[951] Matthew Bouldin, "Ivanov Doctrine and Military Reform: Reasserting Stability in Russia", *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 2004, p. 629.

[952] Julie Wilhelmesen and Geir Flikke, "Evidence of Russia's Bush Doctrine in the CIS", *European Security*, Vol. 14, No. 3, p.394.

[953] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

[954] Laszlo Poti, "Evolving Russian Foreign and Security Policy: Interpreting the Putin-Doctrine", *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, Tomus 25, p 32.

and its allies may be disturbed."[955] Regarding her foreign relations, post-Soviet countries and the organizations of the CIS, the CSTO and EvrAzEs, were of priority importance to Russia. The Document stated the Russian desire for integration and coordination among CIS member states, her view that the CSTO was the main interstate instrument for responding to regional threats and EvrAzEs was the nucleus of economic integration.[956]

In the Russian concept, NATO's eastward expansion and its global operation were perceived as unacceptable.[957] It was also noted that Russia was ready to cooperate with NATO but provided that NATO respected Russian interests in political military planning and international law.[958] Regarding relations with the US, Russia emphasized cooperation on arms reduction, counter-terrorism and "the regulation of regional conflicts"[959] and, on the other hand, criticized US military activities such as the missile defence system and its military potential and its departure from the ABM Treaty.[960] Regarding Russian relations with great powers, Morales stated that Russia had a less hostile attitude, based on her enhanced self-confidence.[961] NATO expansion toward Georgia and Ukraine was perceived as unacceptable by Russia but not a threat.[962] Tomislava Penkova also asserted that the

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[955] "Russia National Security Strategy to 2020", 12 May 2009, http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?id=154915, (accessed on 23.10.2013).

[956] *Ibid.*

[957] *Ibid*

[958] *Ibid*

[959] *Ibid*

[960] *Ibid*

[961] Javier Morales, "Russia's New National Security Strategy: Towards a Medvedev Doctrine?", *Area: Security and Defense ARI*, No. 135/2009, 25.09. 2009, p. 1.

[962] *Ibid*, p. 4.

US and NATO were transferred from foes to conditional partners for Russia.[963] The Document also emphasized border security and border issues with Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan.[964]

The final document was the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, approved on 5 February 2010. In this document, the main external threats for Russia were listed as

1. the desire to endow the force potential of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with global functions carried out in violation of the norms of international law and to move the military infrastructure of NATO member countries closer to the borders of the Russian Federation, including by expanding the bloc;
2. the attempts to destabilize the situation in individual states and regions and to undermine strategic stability;
3. the deployment (build-up) of troop contingents of foreign states (groups of states) in the territories of states contiguous with the Russian Federation and its allies and also in adjacent waters;
4. the creation and deployment of strategic missile defense systems undermining global stability and violating the established correlation of forces in the nuclear-missile sphere, and also the militarization of outer space and the deployment of strategic non-nuclear precision weapon systems;
5. territorial claims against the Russian Federation and its allies and interference in their internal affairs;
6. the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, missiles, and missile technologies, and the increase in the number of states possessing nuclear weapons;
7. the violation of international accords by individual states, and also non-compliance with previously concluded international treaties in the field of arms limitation and reduction;
8. the use of military force in the territories of states contiguous with the Russian Federation in violation of the UN Charter and other norms of international law;
9. the presence (emergence) of seats of armed conflict and the escalation of such conflicts in the territories of states contiguous with the Russian Federation and its allies;
10. the spread of international terrorism;

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[963] Tomislava Penkova, "Russia's New Security Doctrine 'Security through Stable Development'", *ISPI Policy Brief*, No. 144, June 2009, p. 5.

[964] *Ibid.*

11. the emergence of seats of inter-ethnic (interfaith) tension, the activity of international armed radical groupings in areas adjacent to the state borders of the Russian Federation and the borders of its allies, the presence of territorial contradictions and the growth of separatism and violent (religious) extremism in individual parts of the world.[965]

As noted previously, Russia perceived NATO expansion, its military deployment in countries very close to Russian territory and the basing of NATO armies beyond NATO territory without UN Security Council decisions as the first military external threat because they all became possible after the 2004 NATO enlargement, when nearly all of Russia's western neighbour countries joined NATO. After that, the establishment of a missile defence system and the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other WMDs along with other countries' decisions to withdraw from arms reduction agreements, including US withdrawal from ABM, were perceived as a threat.

Emergence and escalation of armed conflicts and inter-ethnic tension was also noted among main external threats that may be expression of Russian concerns regarding the 2008 events. Therefore, the doctrine emphasized military cooperation with Russia and CIS countries and the duties of the CSTO, used the expression "Russia and allied states" and announced that "The Russian Federation regards an armed attack against a CSTO member state as aggression against all CSTO member states and in that case will implement measures in accordance with the Collective Security Treaty"[966] and that Russia could deploy Russian armed forces beyond its territory, especially in the CIS and CSTO countries.[967] As regards the nuclear issue, the Document allowed the usage of nuclear weapons not only in the event of an

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[965] "The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation Approved by Russian Federation Presidential Edict on 5 February 2010", http://www.sras.org/military_doctrine_russian_federation_2010, (accessed on 09.05.2012)

[966] *Ibid.*

[967] Oleg Nikiforov, "Doctrine as Compromise", *Defense and Security*, No. 37, 09 April 2010.

outbreak of nuclear conflict but also in cases of military conflicts with other types of weapons of mass destruction and conventional means of attack.[968]

The issues of trans-border threats, cooperation on the proliferation of nuclear weapons with special emphasis on the START, the resolution of regional conflicts through collective actions of the international community, the protection of the rights of compatriots living abroad, the development or modernization and deployment of new types of weapons and crisis management operations through unilateral sanctions or by coercive means without the UNSC decisions were also underlined in the last 2013 Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation.[969]

As a summary, the Russian Federation's threat perception has was mostly related to the US and NATO unilateral activities and the establishment of military bases and missile defense system in countries very close to her borders. NATO expansion was seen as a threat or unacceptable. Russia's security documents, in every period, found the world more unsecure because of the decreased roles of the main security institutions and arms reduction agreements and the legitimization of preventive strikes. After 2001, transnational threats and terrorism appeared in documents. Regarding the Region, its threat perception had emanated from the Western activities in/around the CIS countries, a weakening of the integration processes in the Commonwealth of Independent States and the instability around/within her territory, including the Northern Caucasus.[970]

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[968] "The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation Approved by Russian Federation Presidential Edict on 5 February 2010", http://www.sras.org/military_doctrine_russian_federation_2010, (accessed on 09.05.2012).

[969] "Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation",12 February 2013, http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/76389fec168189ed44257 b2e0039b16d!OpenDocument, (accessed on 01.06.2013)

[970] Russia has two more considerations regarding the Black Sea: overcoming continued instability in Russia's Northern Caucasus provinces and securing its pre-eminent economic position. Eugene Kogan, *Military and Energy – Security Situation in Black Sea Area,* Sozialwissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe, Internationales Institut Liberale Politik, Wien: 2008, p. 7.

However, except for two years (2002, 2009) there had not been a significant increase in her military spending. On the other hand, the Russian Federation emphasized her legitimate right to use of nuclear weapons in every national security document and military doctrine. However, it should be seen as a message given to the rest of the World on the position of Russia as one of the great powers with nuclear weapons. It can be noted that Russian threat perception was high, mostly because of the general international security environment and her position vis-à-vis the Western countries, particularly NATO and the USA, but this might not transform into military conflict. In the Region, she worried about the integration process within the CIS, colourful revolutions, instability in Georgia, which led to the August 2008 military confrontation but not a significant increase in military expenditures, except ones in 2001 and 2008/2009 as can be seen in Table 48 and Figure 56. The increase in military expenditure in 2001 may be related to Afghanistan operation and the latter one to her military spending in Abkhazia and the South Ossetia.

Table 48: Military Expenditures of the Russian Federation (2000-2012)[971]

	Military Expenditures (USD million) (in 2011) SIPRI estimates	Mil. Exp./GDP
2000	32515	3.7
2001	36090	4.1
2002	40098	4.4
2003	42658	4.3
2004	44379	3.8
2005	50505	3.7
2006	56417	3.6
2007	61824	3.5
2008	67986	3.5
2009	71566	4.3
2010	72918	3.9
2011	78330	4.1
2012	90646	4.4

[971] "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2012",
http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database, (accessed on 01.06.2013).
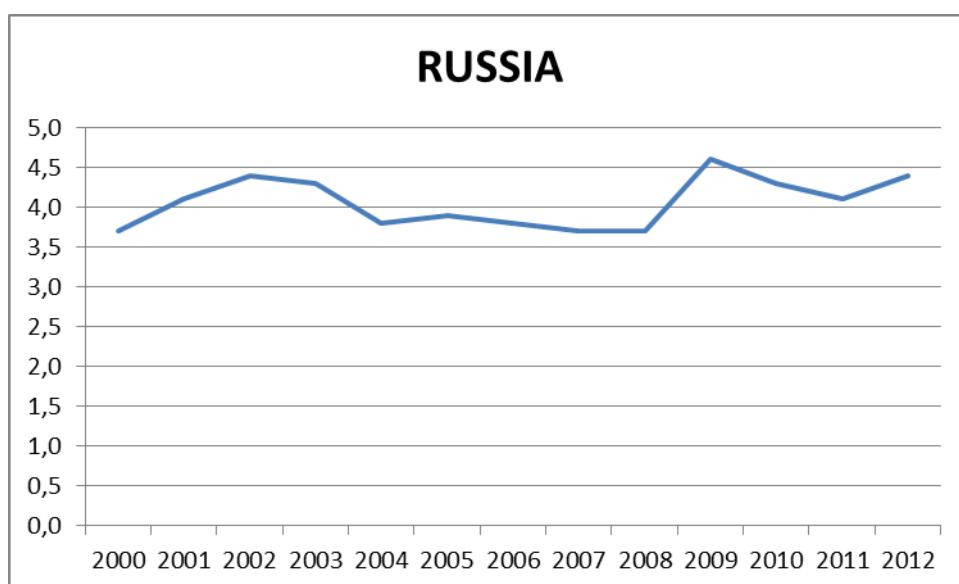
Figure 56: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (%)

5.3.2.4   TURKEY

During this period, Turkey accepted three national security documents in 2001, 2005 and 2010. In 2001, the previous National security document was changed slightly.[972] In 2005, the final draft of the National Security document accepted Islamic fundamentalism, Kurdish separatism and extreme leftist groups as main internal threats,[973] removing the threat of extreme rightist groups.[974] Issues concerning the continental shelf in the Aegean Sea and the Greece, Cyprus, Iraq and

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[972] "İşte Derin Anayasa", *Tercüman*, 25.11.2004, http://www.habervitrini.com/haber/iste-derin-anayasa-153333/, (accessed on 20.05.2012)

[973] "Separatism and Fundamentalism seen as Primary Threats", *Hurriyet Daily News,* 6.2.2005, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=separatism-and-fundamentalism-seen-as-primary-threats-2005-06-02, (accessed on 20.05.2012) and "Turkey to Alter National Security Strategy", United Press International, 25.08.2010,
 http://www.upi.com/Top_News/Special/2010/08/25/Turkey-to-alter-national-security-strategy/UPI-58161282750850/, (accessed on 05. 09.2012)

[974]"Extreme Right not a Threat to National Security", *Hurriyet*, 26.10.2005, http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=3440860&p=2, (accessed on 20.05.2012)

Iran issues were listed as external threats.[975] In this document, asymmetrical threats such as international drug trafficking, international terrorism and human trafficking were taken into consideration.[976] These threats were a reflection of recent developments. After 9/11, especially after the HSBC Bank and Istanbul Consulate attack Turkey's threat perception, emanating from terrorism was amplified.[977] Turkey also became more concerned about the issue after the 2003 American invasion of Iraq and the emergence of discourse about an independent Northern Iraq or a Kurdish State which had always been unacceptable to Turkish governments.[978]

The National Security Council, which was accepted on 22 November 2010,[979] changed internal and external threats and four countries were removed from the list of enemies: Russia, Greece, Iran and Iraq.[980] Regarding Greece, the territorial waters issue was expected to be transformed and not be tackled as a *casus belli*.[981] Threats emanating from Iran were limited to her nuclear capacity instead of the threat of regime export and for Iraq to the PKK threats.[982] In the section regarding Russia,

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[975] "Separatism and Fundamentalism seen as Primary Threats", *op. cit.*

[976] *Ibid.*

[977] Çiğdem Üstün, *Turkey and European Security Defense Policy,* IB Tauris. New York and London: 2010, p. 90.

[978] *Ibid.*, p. 93

[979] "MGSB Bakanlar Kurulu'nda Kabul Edildi",*Vatan*, 22.11.2010, http://haber.gazetevatan.com/mgsb-bakanlar-kurulunda-kabul-edildi/342035/9/Haber, (accessed on 20.05.2012)

[980] "MGSB Değişiyor, 'Tehditler' de AKP'nin Öncelikleri Gündemde", 23 October 2010, http://bianet.org/bianet/bianet/124331-mgsb-degisiyor-tehditlerde-akpnin-oncelikleri-gundemde, (accessed on 20.05.2012)

[981] *Ibid.*

[982] *Ibid.*

economic cooperation and issues of trade, energy and stability in the Caucasus were underlined.[983]

In the previous chapter, it was noted that Russia and Turkey faced four problematic issues in their relationship; rivalry in Eurasia, the transportation of Caspian Sea resources, mutual accusations of supporting ethnic separatism and Russia's military superiority and presence in the Caucasus region. The first two issues dropped from Turkey's security agenda in the new term. The third issue was partly resolved with numerous counter-terrorism agreements and an exchange of lists of suspects.[984] Despite these developments, Russia refrained from recognizing PKK as a terrorist organization.[985]

However, the most striking development between Russian Turkish military relations and in the Region was their decision to establish the Black Sea Naval Co-Operation Task Group (BLACKSEAFOR) in 2001 with other littoral countries, a task group to undertake search and rescue operations, humanitarian assistance, mine counter measures, environmental protection and good will visits.[986] In addition to this, when Turkey started the Operation Black Sea Harmony as a part of their counter-terrorism policies; Russia joined this in 2006 and together they opposed the extension of the NATO-led Operation Active Endeavour over the Black Sea with the objection that BLACKSEAFOR and Black Sea Harmony were sufficient to undertake the tasks of the OAE. Turkey opposed this because it could lead to a change in the Mountreux Convention and Russia did not want NATO presence in the Black Sea.

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[983] *Ibid.*

[984] Lerna Yanık, "Allies or Partners: An Appraisal of Turkey's Ties to Russia 1991-2007", *East European Quarterly*, Vol. XLI, No. 3, September 2007, p. 355 and Stephen J. Flagnan, "Turkey's Approach to Euro-Atlantic Security", 19 August 2011, http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/08/19/turkey-s-approach-to-euro-atlantic-security, (accessed on 26.06.2012)

[985] Yanık, *op. cit.,* p. 355.

[986] "Operational Aspects", http://www.dzkk.tsk.tr/blackseafor/english/operational.php, (accessed on 20 May 2012)

Due to these developments, as Lerna Yanık claimed,[987] Russia was transformed from an enemy country into a partner. Turkey's threat perception emanating from the Region, including that country was eliminated. Indeed, it may be said that with the decrease in her military expenditures (Table 49 and Figure 57), Turkey's threat perception was not high except during the term that started with the on-going Syria civil war in March 2011, particularly after one of Turkey's F-16 fighter jets was shot down by Syria in June 2012.

Table 49: Military Expenditures of Turkey (2000-2012)[988]

Years	Military expenditure (USD Million) (in 2011)	Military Exp./GDP
2000	20773	3.7
2001	19043	3.7
2002	20261	3.9
2003	18287	3.4
2004	16689	2.8
2005	15799	2.5
2006	16511	2.5
2007	15924	2.3
2008	16119	2.3
2009	17275	2.6
2010	16976	2.4
2011	17690	2.3
2012	17906	2.3

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[987] Yanık, *op. cit.,* p. 358.

[988] "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2012", http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database, (accessed on 01.06.2013)
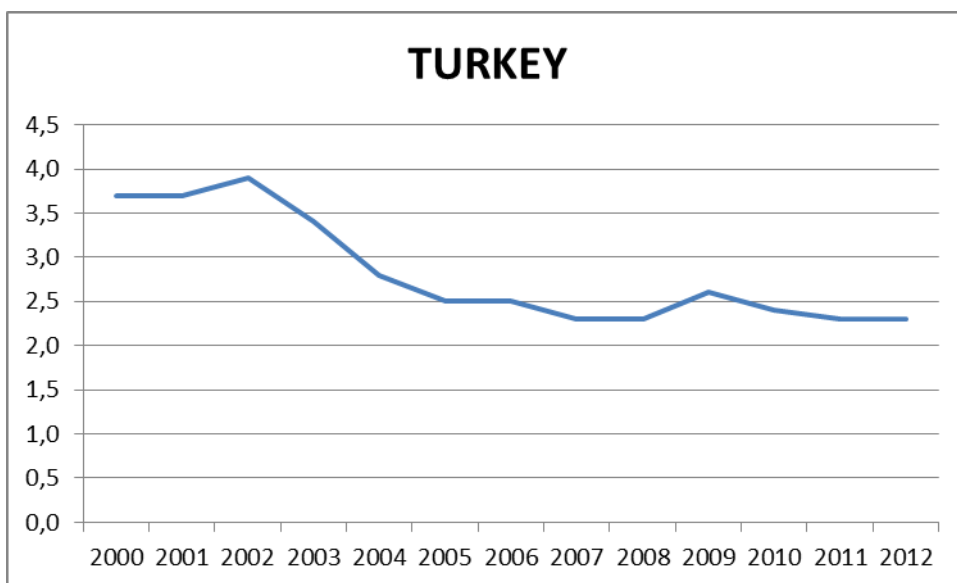
Figure 57: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (%)

5.3.2.5 ROMANIA

During this period, Romania announced two National Security Strategies in 2001 and in 2007. Romania's 2001 National Security Strategy generally emphasized asymmetrical, unconventional threats such as international terrorism (considered to be a negative effect of poverty), transnational organized crime, trafficking, WMD proliferation, illegal migration, refugees, extremism, separatism, xenophobia and stressed the need for multinational and comprehensive approach.[989]

The 2007 National Security Strategy of Romania identified five points as main risks and threats: international threats, proliferation of WMDs, regional conflicts, cross-border organized crime and ineffective management of public affairs

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[989] Simona Soare, "Romania's National Security Strategy- a Critical Approach", *Strategii de Securitate*, No. 1-2, 2008, p. 59- 60.

or governance.[990] According to Soare, this Strategy was highly influenced by the European Security Strategy and also displayed internalization of European values and principles by Romania.[991] As a country in NATO and ESDP, Romania was no longer concerned about her security in the classical or traditional military sense; therefore, her focus was on issues such as active participation in building international security, promoting democracy, fighting international terrorism and countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, enhancing homeland security, good governance, energy security and improving regional security and stability.[992]

Within this regional security framework, Romania offered herself as a "dynamic vector of security and prosperity in the BSR."[993] In its strategy, Romania underlined the importance of the Region and of building a climate of security and prosperity in the Region and noted that "the strategic goal of our country is to give an impetus to the European and Euro-Atlantic involvement in the Region."[994] According to Romania, the major threats in the Region were

> International terrorism; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means; local conflicts; illegal trafficking in weapons, ammunition and explosives; drug-trafficking; illegal migration and human trafficking; ineffective government affected by endemic corruption and organized crime, characterized by a democratic deficit and the inability to properly exercise the prerogatives conferred on the sovereign countries.[995]

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[990] "The National Security Strategy of Romania", Bucharest, 2007, pp. 12-15; http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/Romania2007_English.pdf, (accessed on 22.05.2012)

[991] Soare, *op. cit.,* p. 60.

[992] "The National Security Strategy of Romania", Bucharest, 2007, p. 5; http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/Romania2007_English.pdf, (accessed on 22.05.2012)

[993] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[994] *Ibid.*

[995] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

According to Romania, separatist movements and other tensions related to disputes over territory and borders, including frozen conflicts, posed serious threats to the Region's security.[996] Countering these threats was an essential responsibility of states neighbouring the Black Sea, and a Euro-Atlantic Strategy for the Region was needed. Harmonizing and establishing efficient institutional cooperation was given as a priority for Romania, attaching importance to the Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Cooperation, which was "an initiative chiefly aimed at championing democracy and economic development, energy security, confidence building, stability consolidation, peace, and security."[997] On the issue of Moldova, Romania accepted the one nation-two states principle and "the spirit of the European policy of good neighbourliness."[998] Her approach regarding the Black Sea Region was clearly parallel to the EU's views. Membership in the Trans-Atlantic institutions led her to reduce threat perception, which was reflected in her military expenditures. (Table 50 and Figure 58)

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[996] *Ibid.*

[997] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[998] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Table 50: Military Expenditures of Romania (2000-2012)

Years	Military expenditure (USD Million) (in 2011)	Military Exp./GDP
2000	2203	2.5
2001	2311	2.4
2002	2298	2.3
2003	2371	2.1
2004	2549	2.0
2005	2697	2.0
2006	2779	1.8
2007	2665	1.5
2008	2937	1.5
2009	2498	1.4
2010	2300	1.3
2011	2380	1.3
2012	2406	1.2
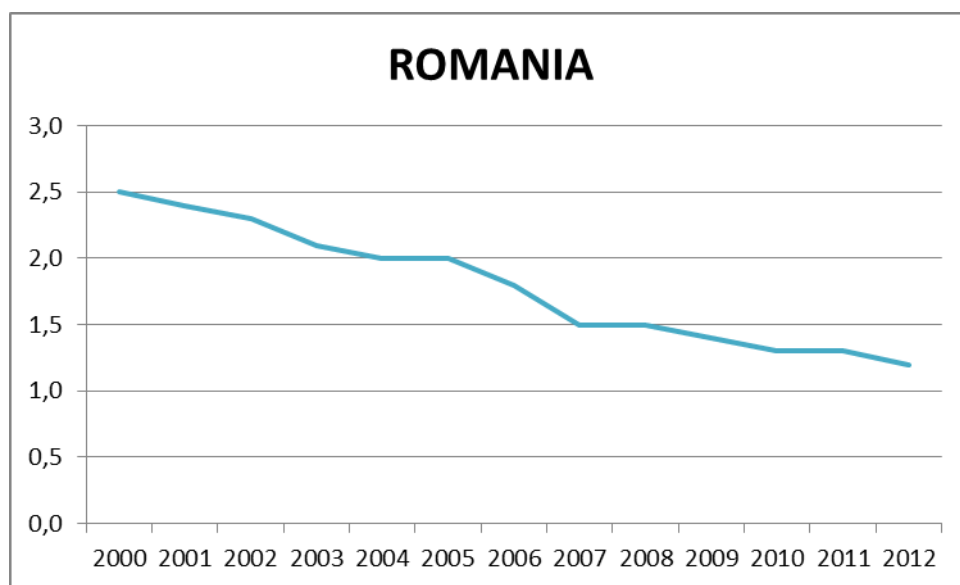
Figure 58: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (%)

5.3.2.6   BULGARIA

Bulgaria published two white papers during the period from 2000 to 2010. The first security document, published in 2002 and entitled "White Paper on Defence", pointed out that there was no direct military threat to Bulgaria. However, "the decrease in national military potentials, the arms reduction and the strengthening of the confidence building worldwide"[999] were needed to further enhance security due to the existence of non-traditional challenges. The White Paper included a list of these threats, which were

> The illegal   proliferation of arms and technologies for their production, international terrorism, organised crime (…),   ethno-religious   and   cultural   confrontation   and   extremism,   illegal trafficking of people and drugs,   biological and chemical threats, ecological risks, natural disasters, major industrial accidents (…), the social-political environment in some countries, e.g. weak civil society's structures, disrespect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, state functioning failure, etc., is also a factor that poses potential risks to international and regional security[1000]

Facing these threats, Bulgaria aimed to be "a political factor and stability generator in the South Eastern Europe" and an "economic and infrastructural centre"[1001] and to integrate into Euro-Atlantic institutions, especially the EU and NATO. While the White Paper included the effects of "Middle East and the Mediterranean, the Caucasus and Central Asia and certain parts of Africa" on regional security, it defined the Black Sea Region as a "Black Sea area" within the context of the importance of Bulgaria's integration process into the European

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[999] *White Paper On Defence*, Sofia, 2002, p. 14,
http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/BulgariaEnglish.pdf, (accessed on 24.05.2012)

[1000] *Ibid*, p. 15

[1001] *Ibid.*, p.11.

Union,[1002] with only one sentence stating the importance of Russia's role in the global security environment.[1003]

The next security document, the "White Paper on Defence and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria", was accepted three years after she became an EU member country. According to this Paper, large-scale conflict involving Bulgaria was negligible.[1004] However, it also attached importance to new risks and threats, emanating from "states dissociating from the international legal order or failed-states with non-state actors such as extremist groups, radical religious communities or tribal formations, cross-border criminal or terrorist networks."[1005] It presented the following items as a list of instability factors for Bulgaria:

> Negative influences on our country's security environment arise from: the negative effects of globalisation on security; inner-state and religious conflicts; cross-border terrorism; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and possibilities of access to radioactive materials; cybernetic attacks; lack of energy diversification; crises in global finance and economy; demographic, ecological and climate problems; and the dangers of spreading infectious diseases.[1006]

Different from the previous White Paper, this one underlined the situation in the Black Sea Region and its effect on the security of Bulgaria. The "existence of frozen conflicts, the actions of terrorist groups, sharp ethnic and religious disputes, high levels of organised crime, corruption and the illegal trafficking of weapons,

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[1002] "Bulgaria's relations with the European Union are conducted on the basis of an active and targeted political and expert dialogue that is a serious step on the way to membership and is an important factor for the development of regional co-operation in South Eastern Europe and the Black Sea area". *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[1003] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[1004] *White Paper On Defence and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria*, 2010, p. 13, http://www.mod.bg/en/doc/misc/20101130_WP_EN.pdf, (accessed on 24.05.2012)

[1005] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[1006] *Ibid.*

narcotics and humans"[1007] were defined as causes of regional security risks, which were similar to the European security discourse on the Black Sea. As in case of Romania, Bulgarian threat perception was shaped by European security interests and under the security umbrella of NATO, her threat perception and military expenditures declined. (Table 51 and Figure 59)

Table 51: Military Expenditures of Bulgaria (2000-2012)[1008]

Years	Military expenditure (USD Million) (in 2011)	Military Exp./GDP
2000	986 *	2.7
2001	1092*	2.9
2002	1101*	2.9
2003	1123*	2.8
2004	1097	2.6
2005	1122	2.4
2006	1113	2.3
2007	1293	2.5
2008	1083	2.0
2009	1029	2.0
2010	978	1.9
2011	829	1.5
2012	782	1.5

*SIPRI Estimate

[1007] *Ibid.*

[1008] "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2012",
http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database, (accessed on 01.06.2012)
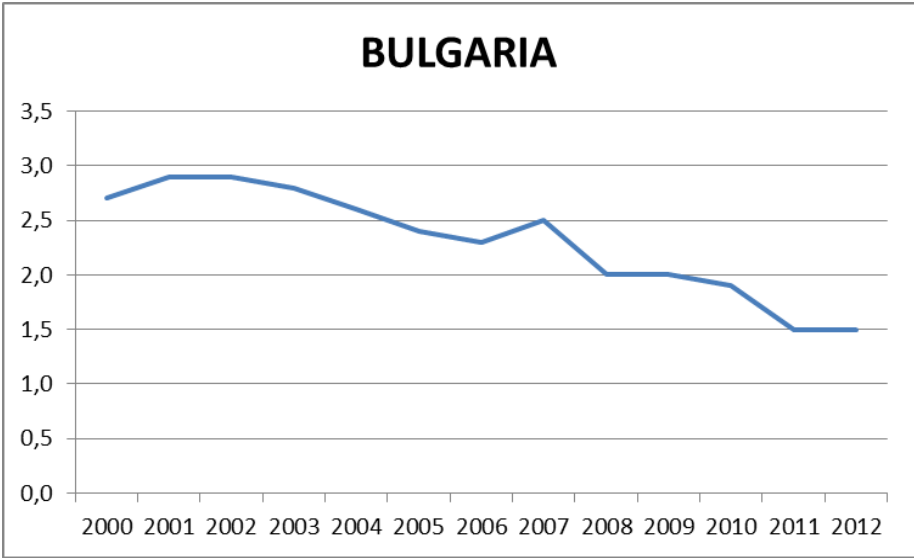
Figure 59: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (%)
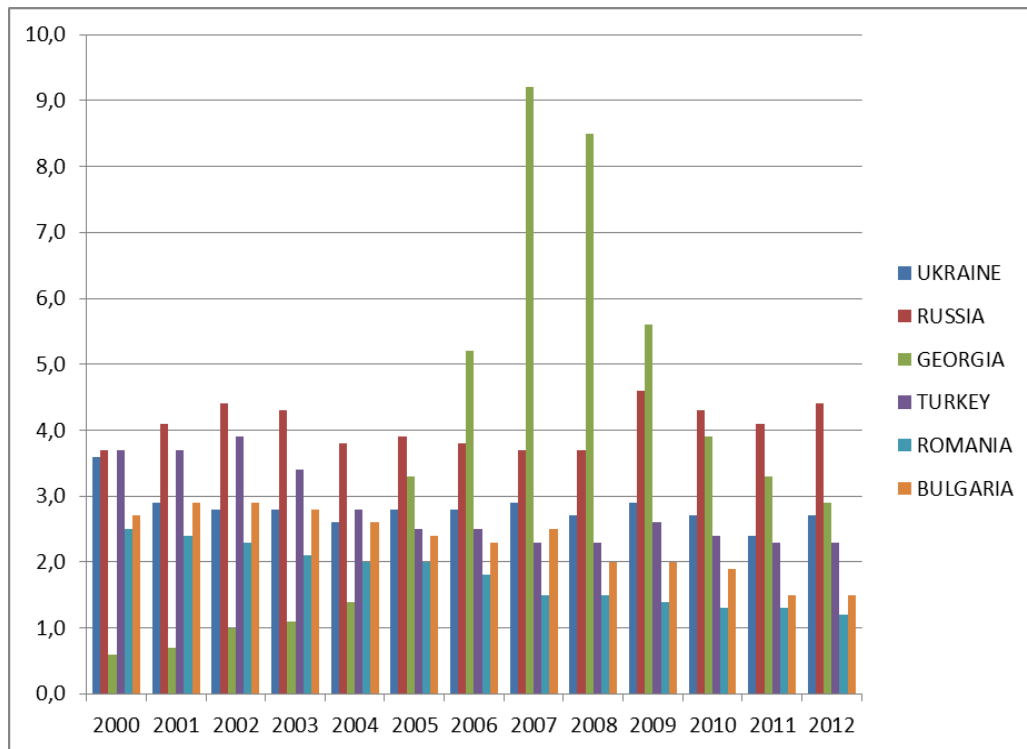
Figure 60: Ratio of Military Expenditures to GDP (%) of Regional Countries[1009]

5.3.3   *Conclusion*

Two regional conflicts took place in the Region. Russia's involvement with the Chechen conflict ended in 2003 and the 2008 August military confrontation lasted six days. Therefore, from 2003 to 2012 (except for these six days), there were no military conflicts in the Region. The threat perceptions of Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine and the Russian Federation were low, while Georgia's threat perception was very high. When compared to the regional countries' ratio of military expenditure to their GDP, Georgian expenditures were significantly higher from

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[1009] "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 1988-2012",
http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database, (accessed on 01.06.2012)

2006 to 2009, which may be related to her military operations against separatist region within her territory. (Figure 60)

Regarding the policies of regional countries towards non-regional great powers (as noted in the previous section), Turkey has been a Western ally since end of the WWII, and Bulgaria and Romania became members of the Western alliance in 2007; however, this did not have a destabilizing effect on regional security. On the other hand, Ukraine and Georgia's policies regarding the NATO Alliance, rather than the EU led to discontent in Russia while her concern about Ukraine ended partly with the parliamentary elections in 2006 and completely after the presidential elections in 2011. On the other hand, Georgia's pro-Western policies brought about severe discontent in Russia, which was reflected in Russian military attacks and finally the August 2008 military confrontation. Therefore, security in the Region had been maintained with only one exception, Georgia, where threat perception was very high. It became the scene of military conflicts, attacks and intra-state conflicts, and policy makers attempted to challenge the Russian anarchical-hierarchic position and pursue a confronting policy, but its efforts had a worsening effect on her already failed security situation. With this exception, it may be concluded that security, stability and on-going order was preserved during this second term.

Indeed, the turbulence in the security situation in the post-Soviet part of the Region was directly related to the level of Russian dominance. After the anarchical hierarchic regional structure was re-established in the post-Soviet Region, Georgia and Ukraine attempted to challenge it again. However, the Russian Federation managed to establish her dominance over Ukraine during the period from November 2004 (beginning of the Orange Revolution) to 2006 (parliamentary election) mainly because Ukraine has been suffering from elite disagreement, elite fragmentation and social fragmentation which contributed to government/regime vulnerability.[1010]

[1010] Concepts of "elite consensus/disagreement, government or regime vulnerability, social cohesion and elite cohesion" are borrowed from Randall L. Schweller, "Unanswered Threats a Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing", *International Security,* Vol. 29, No. 2, Fall 2004, pp. 169-181. According to him, elite consensus/disagreement is major cause of state's response or non-response to

Therefore, it was easier for Russia to exert her influence over this country. Regarding Georgia, her leadership insisted on changing the on-going status-quo within her territory through military cooperation with the USA and NATO. While Georgia had the profile of a failed state, elite polarization or disagreement did not exist within the core of Georgian society. Thus, she was able to pursue her balancing policy even though she suffered from ethnic/separatist movements. In order to establish her anarchical hierarchic relations with Georgia, Russia took advantage of the vulnerability originating in these regions, recognized them and sustained anarchical hierarchic relations with these so-called independent states.

The Western countries, especially the USA and NATO were challenging the Russian dominance over the post-Soviet countries with Ukrainian and Georgian NATO membership suggestions and supporting changes in the Mountreux regime with the US plan to extend the Operation Active Endeavour (OAE) to the Black Sea. Bulgaria and Romania, in contrast to the previous period, were also attempting to challenge the on-going Mountreux system by establishing military relations with the USA through allowing the construction of American/NATO military bases on their territory and supporting the discourse of need for change in the Mountreux regime. However, Turkey and Russia resisted and cooperated to prevent any change contrary to their interests as they had done at the 1871 London Conference and the 1923 Lausanne Conference negotiations.[1011] Security in the Black Sea Region was re-constructed after 2004 and after 2008 in the same way that it had been done after 1996 and then preserved.

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external threats. "When there is a consensus among policy making elites to balance, the state will do so" (p. 170). He also concluded that states are not expected to balance against threats when there is a significant elite disagreement regarding threat perception (whether the threat exists or not), choice of balancing or not and way of balancing (p. 173). Government or regime vulnerability is mostly determined by the relationship between rulers and ruled and the legitimacy and efficiency of ruling elites and policy makers (p. 173). "Social cohesion and its opposite, social fragmentation, describe the relative strength of ties that bind individuals and groups to the core of a given society" (p. 175).

Elite cohesion concerns the degree to which a central government's political leadership is fragmented by persistent internal divisions." (p. 180)

[1011] That was dealt with in the previous section, Chapter III, p. 93 and pp. 95-96.

5.4 RUSSIA AND THE WEST

As in the previous chapter, here, the aim is to examine whether or not regional security in the Black Sea Region was affected by tensions in Russian-Western relationships. To do this, Russian relations with NATO, the USA and the EU are to be reviewed.

By the end of the previous era, Russian-NATO relations had severely deteriorated because of NATO's Kosova operation. However, after 2000, relations were starting to resume with the invitation of Lord Robertson, high-level visits, the opening of a NATO information office in Moscow[1012] and resumption of the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council meeting after a break of almost a year.[1013] On this issue, John Berryman pointed out that "Putin pursued 'politics of the possible' and sought to avoid picking fights Russia could only lose" and saw Russian policies towards NATO's second wave enlargement as one her 'politics of possible.'[1014] In 2002, the NATO-Russia Council was established in order to cooperate on the issues of combating terrorism, proliferation of the WMDs, peacekeeping, missile defence, airspace management, civil emergencies, defence reform, logistics and scientific research on new threats.[1015] In this Council, Russia had an equal position vis-à-vis NATO members – "'at 29'- instead of in the bilateral 'NATO+1' format under PJC."[1016]

[1012] Bobo Lo, "The Securitization of Russian Foreign Policy under Putin," *Russia Between East and West: Russian Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century,* edited by Gabriel Gorodetsky, Frank Cass, London and Portland: 2003, p. 18.

[1013] John Berryman, "Putin's International Security Priorities", *The New Security Environment: The Impact on Russia, Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Roger Kanet, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot: 2005, p. 31.

[1014] John Berryman, "Russia, NATO and' Regions of Privileged Interest'", *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*, edited by Roger Kanet, Palgrave Macmillan, New York: 2011, p. 230-231.

[1015] "NATO- Russia Council", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50091.htm, (accessed on 13.06.2012)

[1016] *Ibid.*

Despite all the collaboration and cooperation efforts, the Russian Federation put NATO enlargement as a threat in her National Security Concepts. Russia also was concerned about NATO-Ukraine and NATO-Georgia relationships because three presidents of the Russian Federation believed that post-Soviet countries were and should remain in the Russian sphere of influence. Indeed, with all these cooperation efforts of the NATO, as Nadia Arbatova noted, Russia became a partner in many Euro-Atlantic institution but did not become a member because she could not find a proper place and felt uncomfortable in the Euro-Atlantic Space, so she tried to create her sphere of friendly countries.[1017] Among them, however, both Ukraine and Georgia established close military ties with NATO, participated in and hosted NATO military exercises in their territories and expressed their hopes of eventual membership in NATO. The decision of NATO regarding these two countries' membership in principle at the 2008 Bucharest Summit intensified Russian concerns.

Besides NATO enlargement, there were six disagreements between Russia and the US. The first one was related to the US decision to construct anti-missile defence systems in the Czech Republic and Poland despite Russian opposition and Russia's decision to deploy Iskandar missiles in the Kaliningrad region. As Jeffrey Mankoff pointed out, the main Russian concern was that these missile defence radar and interceptor systems in Eastern Europe countries meant NATO's military architecture was moving closer to the Russian border which would be a clear infringement of the Russian-Western deal during the 1997 NATO enlargement.[1018] He also noted that Russia was concerned that once the facilities of the missile defence were installed, then other assets could be added in the future.[1019] This discontent was partly resolved by the decision of the Obama administration on the

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[1017] Interview No: 19, Appendix L

[1018] Interview No: 4, Appendix L

[1019] Interview No: 4, Appendix L

reconfiguration of the missile defence program "in such a way it would not require placing components in the Czech Republic and Poland."[1020]

Thirdly, there was discontent about the strategic arms reduction treaties. The first START treaty was signed in 1991 between the USSR and the USA, the second one (START II) was signed by Yeltsin and Bill Clinton in 1993 and ratified by the US Senate in 1996 and by the Russian Duma in 2000.[1021] The USA and the Russian Federation also signed the framework agreement for START III in 1997 and the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty in May 2002.[1022]In June 2002, however, US President George Walker Bush withdrew from the ABM treaty and the Russian Federation declared that she was no longer going to abide by the terms of START II.[1023] This issue was resolved by the signing of a new Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms on April 8, 2010.[1024]

After the August 2008 War, relations between the USA and the Russian Federation were almost frozen. However, the Obama administration started to pursue a policy of resetting relations. Within this new policy, Obama signed a new nuclear arms reduction agreement in April 2010, as noted above; Russia allowed American forces to use Russian territory for the transit of goods and military personnel for the Afghan war, banned the delivery of the S-300 air defence system and other major arms to Iran in September 2010;[1025] in turn the WTO ministerial conference

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[1020] Dina Rome Specher, "Russian Foreign Policy During the Putin Presidency: The Impact of Competing Approaches", *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 57, No. 5, September/October 2010, p. 46.

[1021] Daryl Kimball, "Brief Chronology of Start II", http://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/start2chron, (accessed on 08.07.2013)

[1022] *Ibid.*

[1023] *Ibid.*

[1024]"US and Russian Leaders Hail Nuclear Arms Treaty", *BBC News*, 8 April 2010, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8607985.stm, (accessed on 15.06.2012)

[1025] "Medvedev Bans Sale of S-300 Missiles, other Weapons to Iran", *RIA Novosti*, 22 September 2010, http://en.rian.ru/mlitary_news/20100922/160688354.html, (accessed on 17.06.2010)

approved Russia's membership on 16 December 2012.[1026] However, Obama could not manage to get an agreement on the missile defence system or reach a common policy regarding the Iran and Syria issues. There were also many additional points that revived Russian threat perceptions such as the US military presence in Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia and Central Asia, US military ties with Georgia, Western support for the 'colour revolutions' in Georgia and Ukraine, criticism by Western countries against the Russian political regime and Putin's perception that Western criticism could lead to a political transformation,[1027] recognition of Kosovo as an independent state, US withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the non-ratification of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (in retaliation Russia suspended its participation in this Treaty in December 2007). She assumed and also concerned about that Western countries have deliberate attempts at undermining Russian interest and limiting Russia's revival as a great power.

On Russian relations with the EU, at the St. Petersburg Summit (May 2003), they agreed to reinforce their relationship by creating four "common spaces" which were Common Economic Space, Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice, Common Space of External Security and Common Space of Research and Education. In 2005, instruments to implement these spaces and road maps were prepared.[1028] Then, negotiations for a new cooperation agreement with the Russian Federation started in July 2008, but it was suspended for a short time after the 2008 August War. During this period, the EU and the French presidency managed to play a mediating role and reach the six-point agreement which both parts accepted and the EU Monitoring Mission was constituted in September 2008 to observe the

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[1026] "Accessions Russian Federation", http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/a1_russie_e.htm, (accessed on 17.06.2012)

[1027] Vladimir Shlapentokh, "Perceptions of Foreign Threats to the Regime: From Lenin to Putin", *Communist and Post- Communist Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 2009, pp. 312-314.

[1028] "EU-Russia Common Space", http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/common_spaces/index_en.htm, (accessed on 18.06.2012)

implementation of the agreement.[1029] The EU strictly condemned Russian recognition of separatist regions in Georgia;[1030] however, relations between Russia and the EU were normalized at the EU-Russia Summit in November 2008.[1031] The main factor behind this normalization would be a trade relationship between Russia and European countries; Russia being a main energy exporter of gas and oil. In sum, it could be claimed that Russian threat perceptions regarding EU enlargement was low when compared to Russian opposition against NATO enlargement and US policies.

As pointed out earlier, the main problematic areas in Russian-Western relationships were missile defence, agreements on demilitarization, Western attitudes towards Russian domestic political freedom and the US presence in the Russian backyard. Unlike the situation in the previous period, discontent in their relations affected the Region because one of the most controversial situations were a possible NATO enlargement towards Ukraine and Georgia and US military ties with these countries. Since the Russian Federation had anarchic hierarchic relations with Ukraine and Georgia, she did not pursue her previous policy regarding NATO enlargement (at first opposing, then accepting) in 2008. Moscow, as Kanet explained, decided to no longer simply watch Western influence increase[1032] in the Region and she re-established her dominant position over this part of the Region, which resulted

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[1029] "About EUMM", http://www.eumm.eu/en/about_eumm, (accessed on 18.06.2012)

[1030] By unilaterally recognizing independence of the South Ossetia and Abkhazia, Russia violated the sixth point of the Ceasefire Agreement which was "Opening of international discussions on security and stability modalities in Abkhazia and South Ossetia". "Violations of the Six-Point Cease Fire Agreement by the Russian Federation", Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, September 8, 2008, http://georgiamfa.blogspot.com/2008/09/violations-of-six-point-cease-fire.html, (accessed on 05.08.2013)

[1031] Tuomas Forsberg and Antti Seppo, "The Russo-Georgian War and EU Mediation", *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st* Century, edited by Roger Kanet, Palgrave Macmillan, New York: 2011, p. 127.

[1032] Roger Kanet, "From the 'New World Order' to 'Resetting Relations': Two Decades of US-Russian Relations", *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*, edited by Roger Kanet, Palgrave Macmillan, New York: 2011, p. 215.

in a military confrontation in Georgia and the emergence of two more so-called states.

5.5 ROLE AND POSITION OF TURKEY

The role of Turkey during the 2000-2012 period is to be reviewed in four parts: her relations with the Russian Federation, as the leading country in the Region; her relations with Romania and Bulgaria and Ukraine and Georgia, as these states were littoral states of the Black Sea Region; her position vis-à-vis the USA and the effect of their relationships on the security situation in the Black Sea Region. In this section, the aim is to show that Turkey continued to pursue a pro-status-quo policy, thus contributing to the assurance and then enhancement of security in the Region.

Turkey-Russian relations were shaped by discourses of "strategic partnership" and "cooperation instead of competition" during this period.[1033] Improvements in relations started in 1999 with Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevits's visit to Moscow, as noted in the previous chapter. In October 2000, Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov visited Ankara. In November 2001, the ministers of Foreign Affairs (İsmail Cem and Igor Ivanov) signed the document called "Joint Action Plan for Cooperation in Eurasia from Bilateral Cooperation towards Multidimensional Partnership" and it was decided to expand cooperation in the Eurasian geography and a Joint Working Group was established.[1034] These high level official visits continued when Abdullah Gül (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs) visited in February 2004 and the ministers of foreign affairs of two countries signed the "2004-2005 Consultations Programme between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey and Ministry of Foreign

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[1033] Mitat Çelikpala, "Rusya Federasyonu'yla İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne, Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar* Cilt III (2001-2012), edited by Baskın Oran, 1. Baskı, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2013, p. 532.

[1034] "Turkey's Political Relations with the Russian Federation", Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Turkey, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-political-relations-with-russian-federation.en.mfa, (accessed on 06.06.2013)

Affairs of the Russian Federation."[1035] The President of the Russian Federation Putin paid an official visit to Turkey in December 2004, which was the "first Presidential visit in the history of Turkish-Russian relations after that of the Chairman of the Presidium, Podgorny, in 1972."[1036] The Joint Declaration on the Intensification of Friendship and Multi-dimensional Partnership was signed by the Presidents of both countries.[1037] Then, the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2005, 2010 and 2011, the President of Turkey Ahmet Necdet Sezer in 2006, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Babacan in 2008, the President of Turkey Abdullah Gül in 2009 visited Moscow.[1038] Putin in 2005, Putin and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Lavrov in 2007, the Russian Prime Minister Putin in 2009, the Russian President Dimitri Medvedev in 2010 and the Russian President Putin in December 2012 came to Turkey.[1039]

The major focal points of the negotiations held during these visits were economic cooperation, trade, energy investment projects and consultations on regional developments. Within this framework, the usage of roubles and Turkish liras in bilateral trade was decided on[1040] and that invigorated trade volume between the two countries (Figure 63: Turkey-Russian Trade Volume 1991-2009). The High Level Cooperation Council was established (2010), visa requirements for citizens of the two countries during their journeys of a month or less were lifted (2010), a cooperation agreement on the construction and operation of the Akkuyu Nuclear

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[1035] *Ibid.*

[1036] *Ibid.*

[1037] *Ibid.*

[1038] *Ibid.*; Çelikpala, *op cit.* Rusya Federasyonu'yla İlişkiler, pp. 540-542 and Fikret Bila, "Putin'in Türkiye Ziyaretinin Anlamı", *Milliyet*, 04.12.2012, http://siyaset.milliyet.com.tr/putin-in-turkiye-ziyaretinin-anlami/siyaset/siyasetyazardetay/04.12.2012/1636761/default.htm, (accessed on 06.06.2013)

[1039] *Ibid.*

[1040] Çelikpala, *op cit. Rusya Federasyonu'yla İlişkiler*, pp. 540.

Power Plant was signed in 2010 and its construction process was started in 2010 by Rosatom's Akkuyu Power Plant Electric Production *Company*.[1041] The Blue Stream Pipeline started to operate in November 2005, Turkey and Russia reached an agreement with Italy on the construction of an additional Samsun-Ceyhan pipeline in 2009 for oil transportation, but Transneft froze its implementation because of its economical ineffectiveness.[1042] Instead, Russia offered the South Stream pipeline from Russia to Eastern Europe, bypassing Ukraine and passing through Turkey's exclusive offshore economic zone.[1043] Turkey lifted its objection to this construction and gave approval with an agreement signed on 28 December 2011[1044] while she also signed the NABUCCO agreement in 2009 and a memorandum of understanding on Trans Anatolia Natural Gas Pipeline in 2011.[1045] In return for her approval of the South Stream pipeline, Turkey and Russia started to negotiate the price of natural gas but could not agree, then the 1984 contract was terminated after June 2012.[1046] In the same year, with the liberalization efforts of the Turkish government, BOTAŞ agreed to transfer part of her rights to import gas to private companies, and the Turkish Energy Market Regulatory Authority (EPDK) gave a license for this. Gazprom

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[1041] *Ibid.,* p. 541 and 551.

[1042] Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[1043] *Ibid.*

[1044] "Turkish government permits the construction of South Stream in its economic zone", *Gazprom Gas Market News*, 29 December 2011, http://www.gazpromexport.com/en/presscenter/news/436/, (accessed on 06.06.2013).

[1045] Çelikpala, *op cit. Rusya Federasyonu'yle İlişkiler*, pp. 547.

[1046] *Ibid.*

agreed and signed a contract with the Akfel Gaz, Bosphorus Gas, Kibar Enerji and Bati Hatti companies.[1047]

Besides the invigoration of economic and business relations between the two countries, Turkey and Russia had a similar position on some regional developments. Turkey's position during the Iraqi War in 2003 and the policy she pursued during the 2008 August war increased her prestige in Russia. As Trenin argued, during these two events Russia appreciated Turkey's rejection of US demands, especially in 2003, because the Russians do not like countries that let themselves be used by the US as a platform.[1048] According to Bülent Aras, Ankara avoided taking sides in any "Russia versus West" struggle, but instead suggested the establishment of a platform for regional problems-The Caucasus Stability Platform.[1049] Sergey Markedonov and Natalya Ulchenko also reiterated Turkey's neutral position by stating that "Turkey has pursued its own policies with regard to the disputed Abkhazia region in Georgia. (…) and distanced itself from a sharply critical campaign launched against Russia by other NATO allies and partners."[1050] After the war, the US showed her support of Georgia and wanted to send humanitarian aid to Georgia via warships, but Turkey did not allow the passage of large American warships through the Straits, reasoning that the tonnage of these US warships (US war/hospital ships are over 70,000 tons) exceeded limitations designed by the Mountreux Convention for warships of the non-

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[1047] "Turkey allows private companies to import Russian gas via the Western route", Gazprom Export Gas Market News, 29 November 2012, http://www.gazpromexport.com/en/presscenter/news/760/, (accessed on 06.06.2013)

[1048] Interview No: 11, Appendix L

[1049] Bülent Aras, *Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy*, SETA Policy Brief, No. 32, May 2009, p.12.

[1050] Sergey Markedonov and Natalya Ulchenko, "Turkey and Russia: An Evolving Relationship", Carniege, 19 August 2011, http://carnegieendowment.org/2011/08/19/turkey-and-russia-evolving-relationship, (accessed on 07.06.2013).

littoral states (Article 18-limitation was 30,000).[1051] Then the US administration sent three US warships – the guided missile destroyer USS McFaul (8,915 tons), the US Coast Guard cutter Dallas (3,250 tons) and the USS Mount Whitney (18, 400 tons) – the aggregate tonnage of these war ships slightly exceeding the 30,000 limitation.[1052] According to the Convention, Turkey should inform other Black Sea countries about the passage of these warships and other countries, including Russia and they did not oppose their passage.[1053] The US would have to obey the time limitation of the Convention (21 days)[1054] and the US sent these warships to the Black Sea, rotatory.

Turkey and Russia also had a common position when discourse about the need for change in the Mountreux Convention arose. According to the United States, neither the naval forces of the littoral states nor the mechanisms among these countries such as Blackseafor or Black Sea Harmony were efficient enough to provide security. The NATO forces needed to be based in the Black Sea and Operation Active Endeavour would be extended towards the Black Sea. Romania and Georgia supported the US presence in the Sea. However, Russia and Turkey developed a common position, arguing that the existing military mechanism was enough to operate OAE's mission on the Black Sea[1055] and insisted on preserving the Mountreux Convention, especially its limitation on non-Black Sea power military

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[1051] "Except as provided in the paragraph (b) below, the aggregate tonnage of the said [non-Black Sea] Powers shall not exceed 30,000 tons", "Convention Regarding Regime of Straits",(20 July 1936), *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[1052] David Morrison, "Turkey restricts US access to the Black Sea", 18 October 2008, http://www.david-morrison.org.uk/us/turkey-restricts-us-access.htm, (accessed on 07.06.2013)

[1053] Kudret Özersay, "Boğazlar Konusu," *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne, Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar* , Cilt III (2001-2012), edited by Baskın Oran, 1. Baskı, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2013, p. 822.

[1054] "Vessels of war belonging to non-Black Sea Powers shall not remain in the Black Sea more than twenty-one days, whatever be the object of their presence there.", "Convention Regarding Regime of Straits", (20 July 1936), *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[1055] On that issue, Kamer Kasım noted that the August 2008 military operation of the Russian Federation led to suspicion about the adequacy of the existing mechanism to enhance security in the Region. Interview No: 30, Appendix L

forces on the Sea. Indeed, neither Turkey nor Russia wanted to see NATO military forces on the Black Sea. According to Larrabee, Turkey opposed the extension of NATO because NATO involvement could bring with the potential to damage ties with Russia and increased war friction.[1056]

During this period, Turkish-Russian relations faced problems as well. They had preserved their different position on issues such as the independence of Kosovo, the Cyprus issue, the Karabakh dispute, the Arab Spring and possible military intervention into Syria and the basing of Patriot missiles on Turkish territory in 2013. However, Trenin assessed these tensions as issues testing the depth and strength of the Russo-Turkish reconciliation, and he stated that "so far, despite the occasional tensions, the new relationship has largely withstood those tests."[1057] In addition to these problematic issues, according to Oktay Tanrısever, Turkey has certain limitations in her cooperation with Russia due to their conflicting policies regarding many important issues such as energy strategies of these countries, CFE Treaty and missile defense system, the post-Soviet frozen conflict and democratization process and colour revolution in the Black Sea countries.[1058] However, he also noted that these conflicting policies were not outcome of their clashing vision for the BSR and two leaders pursued policies very pragmatically rather than focusing on these issues.[1059]

Regarding relations with Georgia, Turkey continued to pursue a cautious and pro-status-quo policy. After Saakashvili came to power, he abolished the autonomous status of Ajaria. Although Article 6 of the 1921 Kars Agreement

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[1056] Interview No: 2, Appendix L.

[1057] Dmitry Trenin, "From Damascus to Kabul: Any Common Ground between Turkey and Russia?", *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2013, p. 41.

[1058] Oktay Tanrısever, *Turkey and Russia in the Black Sea Region: Dynamics of Cooperation and Conflict*, EDAM-Center for Economics and Foreign policy Studies, 2012, pp. 16-21.

[1059] *Ibid.,* p. 21.

foresaw administrative autonomy for the Batumi region (liva),[1060] Turkey did not intervene in this issue and accepted that as an internal matter of Georgia.[1061] As Hasan Karasar pointed out, at that time Turkey considered the reduced number of Muslim population in Adjara and Georgia to be more important than the autonomous status of that Region.[1062] On the Abkhazia issue, despite the existence of an Abkhaz population of nearly 300,000, Turkey again preferred to remain silent and did not establish direct relations with Abkhazia.[1063] In addition, she tried to intensify her commercial, economic and political relations with Georgia (Table 52, Figures 61 and 62) and signed a visa-free agreement for touristic travels and started operating the Batumi Airport jointly in 2007.[1064] Agreements were signed for defence cooperation and the modernization of the Marneuli airbase in Tbilisi was completed in 2001.[1065] However, Turkey did not support Georgian NATO membership in Bucharest and the Sofia Summit and preferred to take Russian hesitation and reaction into consideration.

[1060] Soysal, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 43.

[1061] Mustafa Aydın, "Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'yla İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne, Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar* Cilt III (2001-2012), edited by Baskın Oran, 1. Baskı, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2013, p. 487.

[1062] Interview No: 29, Appendix L

[1063] Aydın, *op.cit., Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'yla İlişkiler*, p. 488.

[1064] "Relations between Turkey and Georgia", *Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-georgia.en.mfa, (accessed on 19.06.2013).

[1065] Justyna Glogowska, "Turkey and Georgia: Strategic Connections", Wise Men Center For Strategic Studies (BILGESAM), 23.03.2012, http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=497:turkey-and-geo, (accessed on 19.06.2013).

Table 52: Turkey's Trade with Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria and Romania) (in current $US Millions) (2000-2009)[1066]

	Romania	Bulgaria	Ukraine	Georgia
2001	857.74	666.16	895.79	234.37
2002	1222.52	897.73	1186.65	227.55
2003	1879.62	1347.09	1643.81	386.06
2004	3058.55	1828.02	2853.27	504.66
2005	4234.62	2291.94	3248.86	585.85
2006	5173.62	3154.43	4263.01	864.68
2007	6907.71	3995.48	5489.81	1017.25
2008	7637.71	3901.47	8056.45	1465.52
2009	4302.46	2398.02	4108.9	1073.11
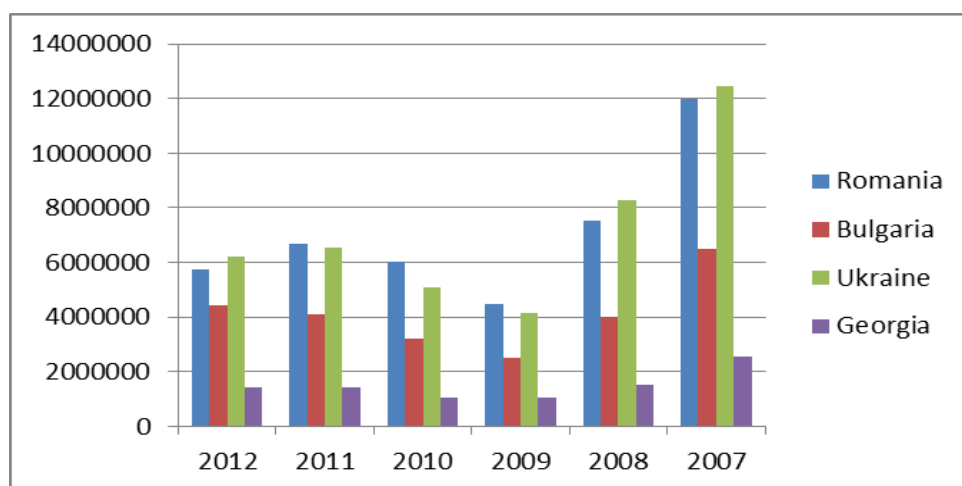
Figure 61: Turkey's Trade with Neighbour Countries in the Region (2007-2012) (in $US thousands) [1067]

[1066] The COW International Trade 1870-2009 database will be benefitted from to prepare Table 52: Turkey's Trade with Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria Romania 2000-2009. Barbieri and Keshk, *op. cit.*

[1067] "Foreign Trade by Countries", Turkish Statistical Institute, http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=12, (accessed on 03.06.2012).
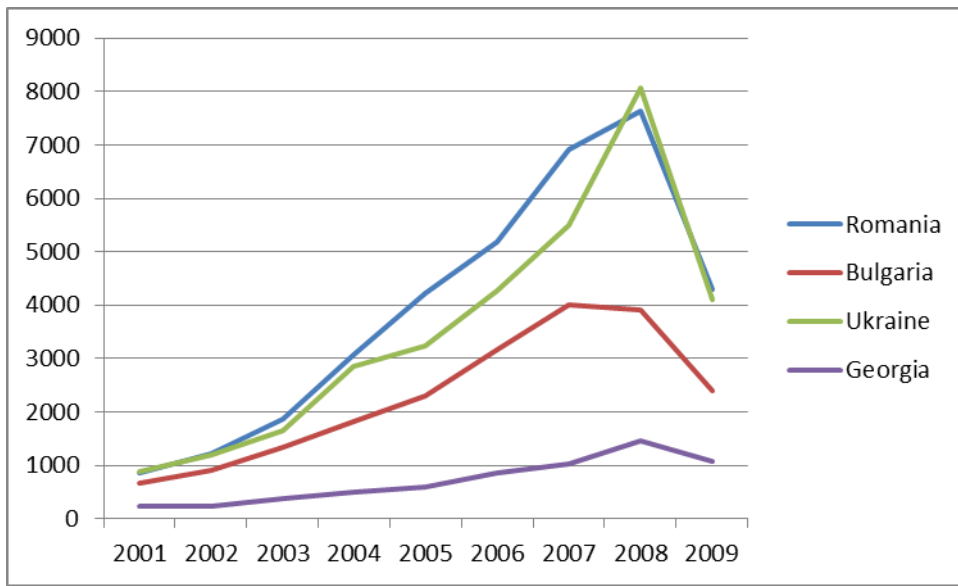
Figure 62: Turkey's Trade with Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria and Romania (2001-2009)[1068]

[1068] COW International Trade 1870-2009 database was benefitted to prepare Figure 19: Turkey's Trade with Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria and Romania, *Ibid.*
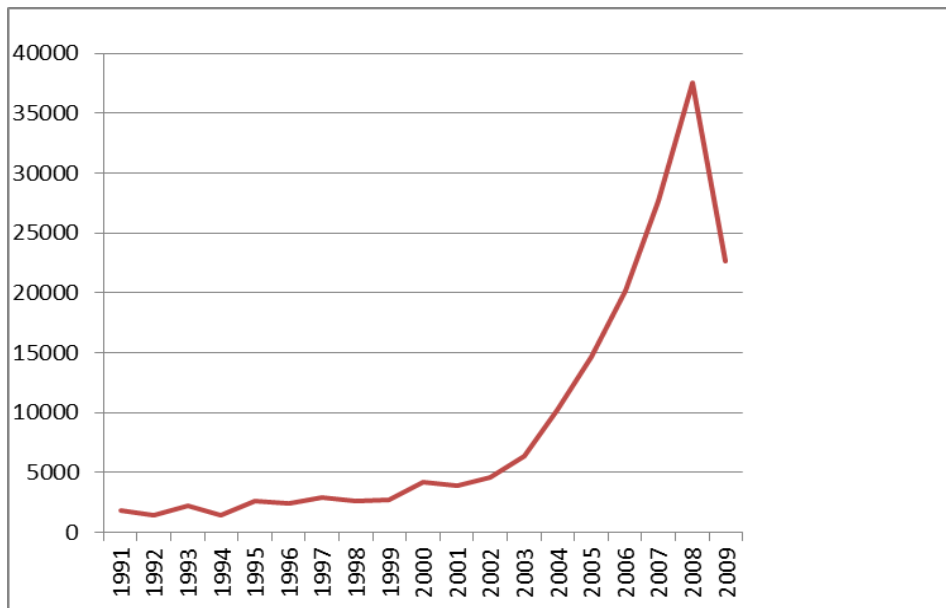
Figure 63: Turkey-Russia Trade Volume (1991-2009) (in current $US millions)[1069]

Relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, according to Demirtaş Çoşkun, improved rapidly after the end of the Cold War and they managed to solve their bilateral problem in a relatively short period of time despite the two countries having had different stances on the status of the Black Sea and the Straits.[1070] However, Demirtaş Çoşkun also underlined some potential problematic issues: the issuance of transit visas for Turkish trucks by Bulgarian authorities (that was solved by signing new visa treaty), increasing Bulgarian nationalism and an increase in votes of extreme right-wing parties which had had anti-Turk discourse in the 2009 and 2013 elections, proposals on the recognition of the so-called Armenian genocide and their different stances during the Iraqi war in 2003.[1071]

[1069] COW International Trade 1870-2009 database was benefitted to prepare Figure 20: Turkey-Russian Trade Volume (1991-2009), *Ibid*.

[1070] Demirtaş- Çoşkun, *op. cit. An Anatomy of Turkish...*, p. 120.

[1071] *Ibid*., pp. 120-125.

On her relations with Western countries, Turkish-American relations were influenced by firstly the 9/11 events and then the American operation in Afghanistan. During this operation, Turkey supported the war on terrorism and allowed US forces to use Turkish airbases and air space, sent Turkish troops to Afghanistan, then contributed to the ISAF and former Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs Hikmet Çetin, who served as the senior civilian representative of the NATO secretary-general for two terms, took part in the reconstruction process, leading two provincial reconstruction teams in Vardak and Şibirgan-Cevizcan provinces. Turkish generals commanded the ISAF forces for two terms (June 2002- February 2003; February-August 2005), served as commanders in the Regional Command Capital in Kabul from 2009 to 2012 and Turkey currently has 1650 personnel deployed in Afghanistan.[1072]

Relations between the two countries, however, severely deteriorated after the Turkish Assembly refused to allow US forces to open a Northern front against Iraq and the events in Suleimaniyah on 4 July 2003 (11 soldiers of the Turkish Special Forces in northern Iraq as a part of Northern Watch were arrested by US forces).[1073] After the US invasion of Iraq began on 20 March, Turkey passed a second resolution allowing the use of Turkish airspace and the use of the Incirlik base and the port of Mersin by coalition aircraft,[1074] but these could not prevent the reduction of Turkish control in Northern Iraq. Benefiting from the power vacuum in this region, the PKK started serious attacks and the Turkish armed forces could not carry out cross-border

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[1072] Stephan J. Flanagan and Samuel J. Brannen, "Implications for US- Turkey Relations", *Turkey's Evolving Dynamics Strategies Choices for US- Turkey Relations*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington: March 2009, p. 87 and "Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerin Barışı Destekleme Harerkatlarına Katılımları", Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, http://www.tsk.tr/4_uluslararasi_iliskiler/4_1_turkiyenin_barisi_destekleme_harekatina_katkilari/kon ular/turk_silahli_%20kuvvetlerinin_barisi_destekleme_harekatina_katkilari.htm, (accessed on 18.06.2013).

[1073] Hale, op. cit., p. 167-168.

[1074] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

operations as they had done earlier; therefore, the attacks could not be suppressed.[1075] That situation continued until the 5 November 2007 agreement, after which the Ankara Coordination Centre was established for the exchange of intelligence information on PKK activities in Northern Iraq.[1076] Turkey started two waves of attacks against the PKK, and the Turkish armed forces had a relatively free hand in her counter-terrorism operations.[1077]

Table 53: Turkey's Anarchical Hierarchic Relations with USA and EU (2000-2012)

MILITARY INTERVENTION	
Deployment of Military Forces	NATO bases and military personnel, Table 54: Number of US Military Personnel in Turkey 2000-2012, early warning radar station of the NATO missile defence system in Malatya;[1078] Patriot missiles (provided by NATO) deployed in Gaziantep, Turkey in February 2013[1079]
Number of Independent Allies	None
Military Intervention through Security Alliances and Bilateral Military Relations	NATO member since 1952; Table 70: USA-Turkey Bilateral Agreements (1990- 2005) (Appendix H)

[1075] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[1076] Flaganan and Brannen, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[1077] Hale, *op. cit.,* p. 169

[1078] "Part of NATO Missile Defence System Goes Live in Turkey", *CNN International*, 16.01.2012, http://edition.cnn.com/2012/01/16/world/europe/turkey-radar-station, (accessed on 19.06.2013).

[1079] "NATO Support to Turkey: Background and Timeline", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-2CF4BCFD-16440921/natolive/topics_92555.htm?, (accessed on 19.06.2013).

Table 53 Continued

Military Aid	Table 74: US Military Aid to Black Sea Countries (1991-2011), Appendix J
Arms Sale	leading military equipment supplier
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERVENTION	
Trade dependence	Leading trading partners: Germany and Russian Federation
Customs union or common external tariffs	Customs Union with the EU since 1995
Punishment in case of disobedience or rewards for obedience	Ignorance of PKK attacks in Northern Iraq from 2003 to 2007
Foreign direct investment	Leading investors: Netherlands, USA and Austria (2000-2012)
Economic Aid	Table 76: US Economic Aid to Black Sea Countries (1991-2012), Appendix J
Interference in domestic legislation process	Harmonization of Turkish law with EU acquis, changes in the Constitution and Laws
FORM OF ORDERING PRINCIPLE	Near to Tight Anarchical Hierarchy

After 2009, the new US president Barack Obama visited Turkey and made a speech in parliament, underlining the stance that the USA is not and never will be at war with Islam.[1080] After that, a slight improvement in relations was seen despite the discontent that emerged regarding the so-called Armenian genocide resolutions and the problems in Turkish-Israeli relations which were eliminated by the United States in March 2013 when Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu apologized to Turkey for the 2010 raid on the Mavi Marmara ship.[1081]

[1080] Hale, *op. cit.,* p. 170

[1081] Sara Sidner, Ivan Watson and Joe Sterling,"Israel to Turkey: We Apologize for Deadly Raid on Gaza-bound Flotia", http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/22/world/meast/israel-turkey-apology, (accessed on 18.06.2013).

Table 54: Number of US Military Personnel in Turkey (2000-2012)[1082]

YEARS	ARMY	NAVY	MARINE CORPS	AIR FORCE	TOTAL
2000	184	18	45	1759	2006
2001	172	26	196	1759	2153
2002	122	24	23	1418	1587
2003	303	32	17	1669	2021
2004	78	29	16	1639	1762
2005	60	17	17	1686	1780
2006	63	8	20	1719	1810
2007	66	9	16	1503	1594
2008	56	8	14	1497	1575
2009	65	7	16	1528	1616
2010	57	5	13	1455	1530
2011	52	6	14	1419	1491
2012	60	7	13	1.425	1505

Concerning her relations with the EU, after Turkey became a candidate for membership in 1999, she changed many articles in the Constitution (2001, 2004 and 2010) and 218 articles of 53 laws accordingly to the EU Acquis.[1083] She moved on to formal accession talks in 2004, and negotiations on 35 chapters of the EU acquis were formally opened on 1 October 2005 and the 'screening process' began with assessments of Turkey's progress in meeting the membership criteria.[1084] Turkey adopted an additional protocol of the Ankara Association Agreement for its

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[1082] Table 54 was prepared using data from "Military Personnel Statistics", Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) and Department of Defense, USA, http://siadapp.dmdc.osd.mil/personnel/MILITARY/miltop.htm, (accessed on 05.06.2013).

[1083] Sanem Baykal, "AB Uyum Paketleri", *Türk Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne, Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar* Cilt III (2001-2012), edited by Baskın Oran, 1. Baskı, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2013, p. 348.

[1084] "Turkey", EU Enlargement, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey/index_en.htm, (accessed on 10.06.2013)

extension to ten new EU member states but she refused to apply the additional protocol to Cyprus.[1085] Therefore, eight negotiation chapters[1086]were not opened until Turkey agreed to extend in 2006.[1087]

In 2009, Cyprus and France blocked the opening of some additional chapters and thus 18 of 35 chapters were blocked.[1088] 12 chapters[1089] are now currently open and only one of them – Chapter 25 Science and Research –was closed provisionally.[1090] With the slowdown in reform process in Turkey, the EU launched a positive agenda on 17 May 2012 in order to bring fresh dynamics to the EU-Turkey relations,[1091] which proposed to establish working groups to support and complement the negotiation process with the EU.[1092]

As was seen in Turkey's relations with the Western countries, their anarchical hierarchic relations with Turkey continued in the same form (near to tight) (Table 53 Turkey's Anarchical Hierarchic Relations with the USA and the EU) although Turkey was conflicting with US and EU interest on many occasions during this period, such as her position on the Cyprus issue, her deteriorating relations with

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[1085] *Ibid.*

[1086] These chapters are Free Movement of Goods, Right of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services, Agriculture and Rural Development, Fisheries, Transport Policy, Customs Union, External Relations and Financial Services.

[1087] *Ibid.*

[1088] Sanem Baykal and Tuğrul Arat, "AB'yle İlişkiler", *Dış Politikası, Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan Bugüne, Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar* Cilt III (2001-2012), edited by Baskın Oran, 1. Baskı, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul: 2013, p. 391.

[1089] Chapters of Free Movement of Capital, Company Law, Intellectual Property Law, Information Society and Media, Food Safety, Veterinary and Phytosanitary Policy, Taxation, Statistics, Enterprise & Industrial Policy, Trans-European Networks, Environment, Consumer and Health Protection, Financial Control

[1090] "Turkey", EU Enlargement, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/countries/detailed-country-information/turkey/index_en.htm, (accessed on 10.06.2013).

[1091] *Ibid.*

[1092] "Turkey-EU Relations", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa, (accessed on 10.06.2013)

Israel, her policy during the Iraqi war in 2003 and her autonomous position in the 2008 August war but these should be assessed as frictions rather than a split, a challenge or change of axis.

In the Region, within her relations with the West, Turkey continued to pursue her pro-status-quo foreign policy, did not challenge the Russian position over the post-Soviet countries and cooperated with this country on the preservation of the Mountreux Convention. She gave importance to keeping non-littoral armed forces out of the Black Sea within the framework of the principle of regional ownership.[1093] According to Turkey, regional conflicts should be resolved with this understanding and within this framework Turkey was attempting to establish security mechanisms encompassing littoral countries for maritime security. She tried to conduct a balancing policy between the USA and the Russian Federation, as well. Therefore, Turkey has had a contributing effect in maintaining the status-quo and thus in enhancing stability and security.

5.6 REGIONAL STRUCTURE AND ITS EFFECT ON MAINTAINING REGIONAL SECURITY

Regional structure consists of two components: distribution of capabilities and ordering principles. During the Cold War, one of the superpowers of the international system was located in the Region, but there was no unipolar regional system because Turkey was there as a NATO member country and an ally of the USA. However, there was great power disparity among the regional powers. During the first and second decades after the end of the Cold War, a power disparity continued to exist among the regional actors. When the two periods in the post-Cold War are compared, there were no significant differences in the capabilities of regional actors, except a change occurred when the USSR was transformed into the Russian Federation in 1991. (Figures 64 and 65)

[1093] Interview No: 35, Appendix L.
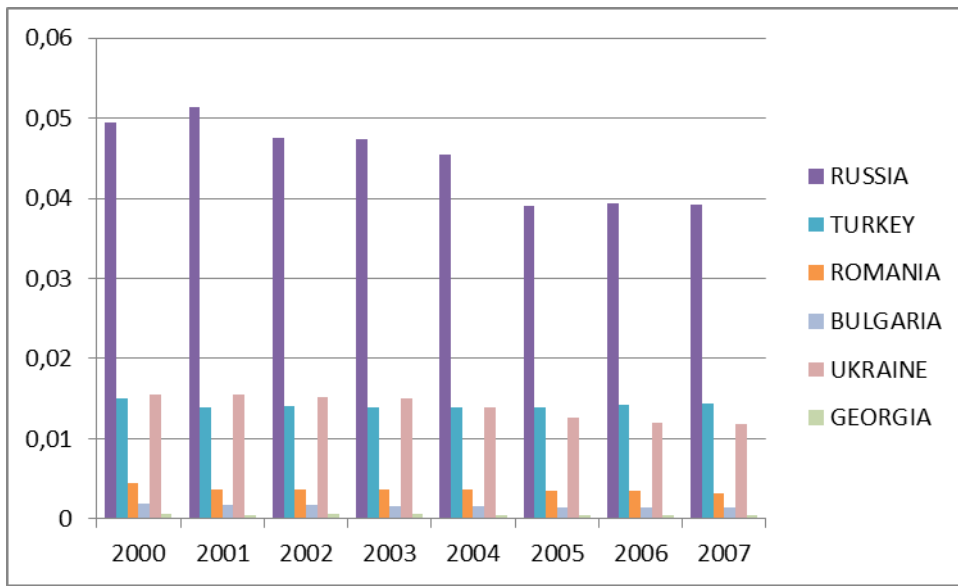
Figure 64: National Material Capabilities of the Regional States (2000-2007)[1094]

[1094] This figure was prepared using the data in Singer, Bremer and Stuckey, *op. cit.*
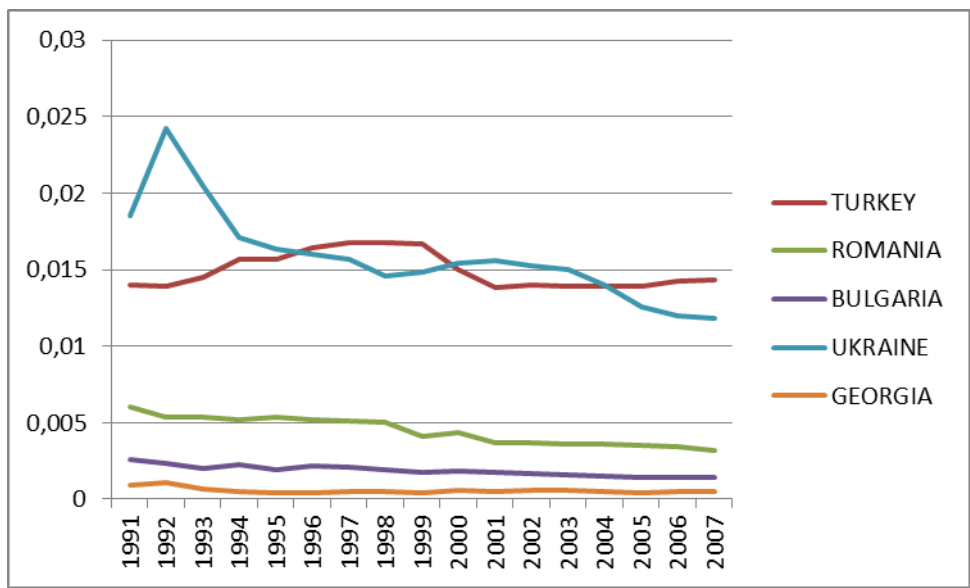
Figure 65: National Material Capabilities of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania (1991-2007)
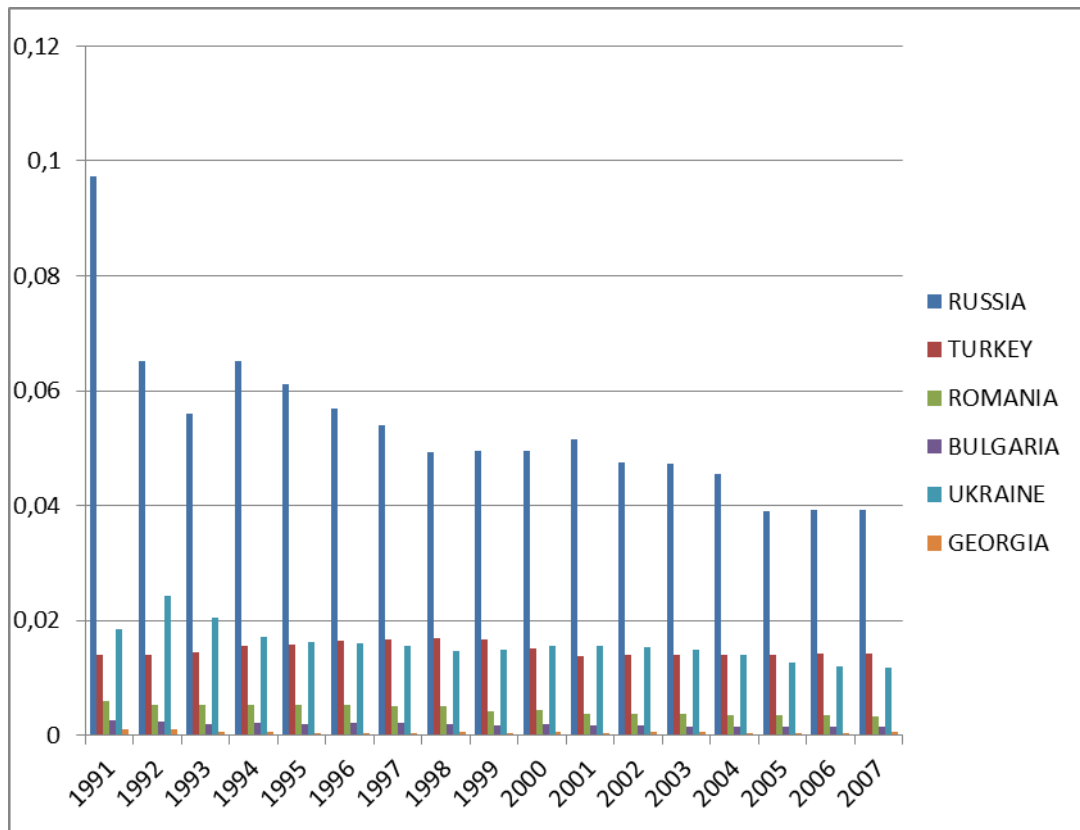
Figure 66: National Material Capabilities of the Regional States (1991-2007)

Regarding the other component of the regional structure, ordering principle should be defined, in detail. During the period from 2000 to 2010, for four of the six countries around the Black Sea (the Russian Federation, Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria), the ordering principle was anarchy. Romania and Bulgaria were located out of sphere of influence of the Russian Federation. Therefore, since 1991, the anarchical hierarchy in the Region had been accompanied by anarchy. A different form of hierarchy was assumed to continue to exist among the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Georgia. The Russian military, political and economic interventions in Ukraine and Georgia should be looked into in order to determine whether or not the ordering principle was near to loose anarchical hierarchy. Table 55: Ordering

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Principle of the Regional Structure (2000-2012) reflects all of these interventions. The positions of Romania and Bulgaria, unlike in the previous chapter, are not to be examined in this section since their anarchical hierarchic relations with the USA and the EU were dealt with in the previous section.

Table 55: Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure (2000-2012)

	GEORGIA	UKRAINE
MILITARY INTERVENTION		
Deployment of Military Forces	Russian bases in Akhalkalaki and Batumi, 7th Military Base in Abkhazia, and 4th in South Ossetia	Black Sea Fleet
Lack of Independent Allies	Withdrawal from CSTO and CIS.	Russia and CIS countries
Military Cooperation	Georgian withdrawal from CSTO; Russian signing of many military agreements with Abkhazia and South Ossetia	Air Defence Agreement and Anti-Terrorist Centre
Arms Export	Leading military equipment supplier: Ukraine	
Punishment in case of disobedience; through military means	Russian military intervention in 2008	-

Table 55 Continued

ECONOMIC INTERVENTION		
Trade Dependence	Top trading partner: Russian Federation	Top trading partner: Russian Federation
Punishment in case of disobedience; through natural gas cut	January 2006	2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009
Punishment in case of disobedience by imposing trade ban	Imposition of trade ban on Georgian basic export products of mineral water, wine and other foodstuff	
Lack of market exchange rules – gas prices	Slightly under market prices until 2006	Under market prices until 2007
Economic Community	-	EurAsEC (2000) observer; Single Economic Space (2003)
Percentage of Russian FDI compared to other leading investors	5%, while percentages of USA and UK is 14%	8%, while percentage of Cyprus is 26%
Debts to Russia by Black Sea countries	In 2005, 10.58%	In 2005, 16.41%
Presence of Russian companies in Privatization process	Sakgazi Company-ITERA, AO Telasi, Mtkvari- Power generation, AES Transenergy, AO Khrame-UES, JSC AZOT-Gazprom	Odessa refinery-Lukoil; Lisichansk refinery-TNK; Kherson refinery-Rosneft and Alliance Group; Kremenchug refinery-Naftogaz Ukrainy and Russian Tatneft, SP Rosukrenergo, Druzhovskiy zavod, Gaztranzyt-Gazprom

Table 55 Continued

POLITICAL INTERVENTION		
Political intervention through ethnic groups or Russian minority	Russian support for ethnic groups, recognized separatist regions and established military, political and economic ties	Existence of Russian minority, mostly Russian populated regions
Leadership Change	In parliamentary election, Saakasvili's party-United National Movement was defeated by the Georgian Dream coalition, led by Bidzina Ivanishvili .[1095]	Yuschenko and Yanukovich
Forms of Ordering Principle	Near to Loose Anarchical Hierarchy	

5.6.1 *Military Intervention:*

5.6.1.1 Deployment of Military Forces

After 1999, there were four Russian bases in Georgia. The base in Gudauta was to be closed down by 2001; the base in Akhalkalaki was closed on 27 June 2007;[1096] the Batumi base was handed over to Georgia in November 2007;[1097] the handover of Vaziani base in Tbilisi was carried out in 2001 and the last personnel of the Russian garrison left Tbilisi in 2006.[1098]

[1095] "Georgia's Ruling Party Concedes Defeat in Parliamentary Elections", *CNN International*, 3 October 2012, http://edition.cnn.com/2012/10/02/world/europe/georgia-elections, (accessed on 07.07.2013)

[1096] Vladimir Socor, "Georgian Flag Raised over Akhalkalaki", *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 4, Issue 128, 2 July 2007.

[1097] "Russia Hands over Batumi Military Base to Georgia", *Civil Georgia*, 7 November 2007.

[1098] Socor, *op. cit.*.

Besides these bases, there were two Russian military force groups, as part of the CIS peace-keeping troops in the South Ossetia and Abkhazia. After the August 2008 conflict, Russia decided to transform its peacekeeping military forces into military bases in these two separatist regions. The Russian Federation, Abhkazia and the South Ossetia signed a military base agreement which foresaw the maintenance of these Russian military bases for 49 years, with an automatic 15-year extension.[1099] On that issue, Beryyman commented that Russian bases were completed at Dzhavy and Tskinvali in South Ossetia and 3,000 Russian troops and border guards were stationed in Abkhazia.[1100] A 1700-strong force was stationed at Gudauta-Abkhaz port[1101] and a long range S-300 air defence missile system was deployed in 2011.[1102]

Russia had air defence missile regiments in Ukraine and Georgia.[1103] In addition to these, a Russian peace-keeping mission under the name of the Commonwealth of Independent States Peace-keeping Force was found in the Abkhazia region.[1104] After August 2008, peacekeeping forces and the observer missions of other institutions started leaving these Regions; "the mandate of the OSCE Mission to Georgia (…) was not extended at the end of 2008 due to Russia's opposition. The United Nations Observer Mission (UNOMIG), which had been in Georgia from 1993, came to an end in June 2009"[1105] due to Russian veto in the

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[1099] Kucera, *op. cit.*

[1100] Berryman, *op. cit. Russia, NATO…*, p. 238.

[1101] "Medvedev visits Russian Military Base in Abkhazia", *RIA Novosti*, 08.08.2010, http://en.rian.ru/news/20100808/160117634.html, (accessed on 12.06.2012).

[1102] "Russia Deploys s-300 Missiles in Abkhazia", http://www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=22586, (acessed on 10.07.2012).

[1103]Hedenskog and Larsson, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[1104]*Ibid.*, p. 100.

[1105] Tuomas Forsberg and Antti Seppo, The Russo- Georgian War and EU Mediation", *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st* Century, Roger Kanet (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, New York: 2011, p. 128.

Security Council.[1106] By the summer of 2009, the EUMM was the only remaining international observer group in Georgia, but even this mission could not enter the separatist regions.[1107] Finally, during the whole decade, Russian military bases were found in Georgia; the Russian Black Sea Fleet was located in Ukraine and negotiations ensured it would be located there for a further 25 years until 2042 with certain restrictions on modernization of that Fleet, as Pavel Podlesny pointed out.[1108]

5.6.1.2   Military Alliance and Cooperation

Although the Russian Federation attached more importance to integration within the CIS and transformed the CST into the CSTO with six former Soviet countries in 2002, she did not succeed in persuading Ukraine and Georgia to integrate into the Russian leading security organizations. Georgia withdrew from the Collective Security Treaty in 1999 and the Council of Defence Minister in 2006 and expressed their willingness to become a member state of NATO.[1109] Georgia withdrew completely from the CIS after the August 2008 war. While Ukraine increased its military cooperation with the CIS within the Air Defence Agreement and the Anti-Terrorist Centre,[1110] she refused to be a member state of the CSTO, expressing her non-aligned status and kept her unofficial but de facto status as a participating member position in the CIS.

[1106] "Russia Vetos Extension of UN Mission in Georgia", *UN News* Centre, 15 June 2009, http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=31151&Cr=georgia&Cr1, (accessed on 19.06.2012).

[1107] "EUMM is mandated to cover the whole territory of Georgia, within the country's internationally recognised borders, but the de facto authorities in Abkhazia and South Ossetia have so far denied access to the territories under their control.", "About EUMM", http://www.eumm.eu/en/about_eumm, (accessed on 18.06.2012).

[1108] Interview No: 13, Appendix L.

[1109] Peimani, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

[1110] Kuzio, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

5.6.1.3   Military Operation

In 2008, Dmitry Medvedev decided to intervene in the Georgian-South Ossetia conflict claiming to defend Russian citizens. Afterwards, she recognized independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia and then signed military cooperation treaties with these de-facto states. Despite criticism by the Western countries, Medvedev announced that Russia had the right to protect ethnic Russians and its citizens abroad and therefore had a privileged interest within the CIS Region.[1111]

After the war, US vice president Joe Biden went to Ukraine and Georgia in the summer of 2009 and two weeks later Obama visited the Russian Federation. Despite Biden's and Obama's speeches, which underlined the importance of preserving Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and the freedom to pursue its own foreign policies, in the end the USA rejected any physical security guarantees to Georgia in the event of a Russian attack.[1112] In this way, it was made clear that Georgia lacked an independent and reliable ally vis-a-vis the Russian Federation.

The Russian Federation was preserving its military bases in both Georgia and Ukraine. Although Ukraine had preserved its military ties with the Russian Federation, she denied being a member of the CSTO. At the same time, after 2010 she declared that she had given up her NATO membership prospects and decided to pursue a non-aligned status. On the other hand, Georgia tried to distance herself from the Russian Federation's military tutelage, tried to be a member state of NATO and established military ties with the USA. However, Russia intervened in Georgia's operation against the South Ossetia, established strong military ties with Georgia's separatist regions and no country was able to provide physical security guarantees to Georgia. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Russian Federation was able to keep her military tutelage.

[1111] Stephen Blank, "Georgia: The War Russia Lost", *Military Review,* Nov/Dec 2008, Vol. 88, No. 6, p. 39.

[1112] Ariel Cohen and Robert E. Hamilton, *The Russian Military and the Georgian War: Lessons and Implications*, Strategic Studies Institute, June 2011, p. 76.

5.6.2 *Economic Intervention*

5.6.2.1 **Trade Dependence and Trade Embargo**

Russia ranked first in receiving exports from Ukraine, which constituted 24% of all her exports; while Georgia's exports to the Russian Federation ranked 11th.[1113] However, the Russian Federation was able to use this trade leverage by imposing trade bans on Georgia's basic export products: mineral water, wine and other foodstuff.[1114] In 2006, Moscow imposed a trade ban, asserting that the products were contaminated and did not meet Russian health standards[1115] 87% of Georgian wine exports were to Russia, so imposing such a trade ban damaged wine producers, led to economic causality, exerted pressure on Georgian civilians and thus led to political tension.[1116] In 2006, Russia banned exports of wine, mineral water, citrus fruits from Georgia, citing health concerns.[1117]

5.6.2.2 **Natural Gas Disputes**

In the case of Georgia, Tracey German asserted that gas supplies had frequently been cut off during the winter months.[1118] Jakop Hedenskog and Robert Larsson claimed that one of these energy cuts occurred in January 2006 due to sabotage in the gas pipelines and electricity transmission lines.[1119] It remained unclear who was behind that sabotage but Georgia accused Russia.[1120] Donaldson

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[1113] Cameron and Orenstein *op. cit*, p. 27

[1114] Tracey German, "David and Goliath: Georgia and Russia's Coercive Diplomacy", *Defense Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 26 June 2009, p. 229.

[1115] *Ibid.*

[1116] *Ibid.*

[1117] Thomas Ambrosio, *Authoritarian Backlash: Russian Resistance to Democratization in the Former Soviet Union,* Ashgate, Farnham and Burlington, 2009, p. 140.

[1118] German, *op. cit.,* p. 229.

[1119] Hedenskog and Larsson, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

[1120] *Ibid.*

and Nogee noted that on 1 January 2001 Russia stopped the flow of natural gas upon Georgian refusal to allow Russian troops to pursue Chechen fighters across the border.[1121]

In Ukraine, the first crisis related to natural gas erupted in December 2005. Russia announced that Ukraine would no longer be allowed to pay below-market prices for natural gas, and Gazprom offered nearly five-fold prices[1122] so that Ukraine had to pay $95 instead of $50. During the 2006-2010 period, Ukrainian-Russian relations deteriorated because of gas-debt issues: in January 2006, natural gas exports to Ukraine were cut off; in October-November 2007 relations became tense because of Ukrainian gas debts;[1123] in February March 2008 the gas supply was reduced,[1124] in January 2009 natural gas imports to many European countries through Ukraine were cut off as a result of Russian accusations that Ukraine was illegally siphoning off gas.[1125]

Hedenskog and Larsson, referring to Robert Larsson, found 55 incidents (sabotage to energy-related infrastructures, threats, coercive price policies and supply cuts) as they defined Russian energy leverage over NIS countries from 1991 to 2006.[1126] According to these reports, 12 of the actions were taken against Georgia,

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[1121] Donaldson and Nogee, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[1122] Ambrosia, *op. cit.,* p. 147.

[1123] Katie Holliday, "Uncertainties over Europe's Long Term Gas Supplies", *Energy Risk,* 30 September 2010, http://www.risk.net/energy-risk/feature/1732890/uncertainties-europes-term-gas-supplies, (accessed on 06.07.2012).

[1124] Steven Prifer, "Ukraine-Russia Tension", *CSIS Publications*, March 4, 2008, http://csis.org/publication/ukraine-russia-tensions, (accessed on 09.08.2012).

[1125] "Europeans Shiver as Russia Cuts Gas Shipments",07.01.2009, http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/28515983/ns/world_news-europe/t/europeans-shiver-russia-cuts-gas-shipments/, (accessed on 06.07.2012).

[1126] Hedenskog and Larsson, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

and 5 (8 if the 3 incidents after 2006 are added) of them were intended to influence Ukraine.[1127]

5.6.2.3 Price of Natural Gas

Russia sold natural gas to Ukraine and Georgia at lower than market prices as was seen in Table 56. From time to time, she announced that Gazprom no more allow these countries to buy natural gas from that reduced price in order to punish these states or make they to pursue more pro-Russian stance.

Regarding Bulgaria, she totally depended on Russian delivery of natural gas however did not pay under market price, more than Germany (nearly 600$ in 2012)[1128]

[1127] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[1128] "Росатом" потерял Болгарию" (Rosatam has lost Bulgaria), Газета "Коммерсантъ (Kommersant Newspaper), No. 55, 29.03.2012, http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1903445, (accessed on 11.07.2012).

Table 56: Gazprom Fees for Gas to Europe and Central Asia[1129]

	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Austria		221	221					
Germany		217	217				271[1130]	
Turkey		243					352[1131]	418
Estonia			110					
Latvia			110					
Lithuania			110					
Armenia	50	50	110	110				
Azerbaijan			110	235*				
Belarus			47	100				
Georgia		60	110	235				
Moldova	62	80	110/160	170				
Turkmenistan**	36	36	65	100				
Ukraine	50	50	95	130	$179.50[1132]	$360[1133]	259*	295/2. term[1134]

Sources: Turkey pays $243 to Russia and $236 to Iran for Gas" Turkish Daily News February 1, 2006; Maria Danilova, "No More Cheap Gas, Russia Tells Neighbours", the Associated Press, Moscow, November 28, 2005; Moldova turns to Ukraine for gas after Russia cut off supply", XINHUANET January 3, 2006; Russia Reaches Turkmen Gas Deal", BBC World news, September 5, 2006, http://haberrus.com/economics/2012/03/28/turkiye-rus-gazina-418-iran-gazina-423-dolar-odedi.html, * Price asked by Gazprom, refused by country; **Gas prices charged to Russia

[1129] Pourchot, *op. cit.*, p. 149

[1130] "Wide Variations in Prices for Russian Gas in Europe", *Eastweek*, Centre for Eastern Studies Newsletter, 02.02.2011, http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/eastweek/2011-03-02/wide-variations-prices-russian-gas-europe, (accessed on 18.07.2012)

[1131] "En Ucuz Doğalgaz Azerbaycan'dan Alındı", *Zaman*, 15 July 2011, http://www.zaman.com.tr/ekonomi_en-ucuz-dogalgaz-azerbaycandan-alindi_1158337.html, (accessed on 24.10.2013).

[1132] Edward Chow and Jonathan Elkind, "Where East Meets West: European Gas and Ukranian Reality", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 82.

[1133] In the first quarter of 2009, "Q&A: Russia-Ukraine Gas Row", http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7240462.stm, 20 January 2009, (accessed on 11.07.2012)

[1134] "Petrole Zam: Ukrayna'nın Doğal Gaz Fiyatlarını yüzde 12 Arttırdı." 04.05.2011, http://www.haberler.gen.al/2011-05-04/petrole-zam-ukraynanin-dogal-gaz-fiyatlarini-yuzde-12-arttirdi/ , (accessed on 09.08.2012).

5.6.2.4   Russian Efforts to Establish Economic Community

The CIS was a high priority matter for the Russian Federation and she tried to foster integration within the CIS. However, since its establishment, many agreements signed on various issues could not be revitalized, including ones related to economic cooperation. The first attempt of the CIS for economic cooperation was the establishment of the EurAsian Economic Community (EAEC) in 2001. The second initiative was the Joint/Common Economic Space in 2003. While Ukraine held observatory status in the former, she joined the latter along with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan in the fall of 2003 with many conditions.[1135] Georgia was not a member of either the EurAsEC or the CES.[1136] While Russia had not been able to enhance economic integration multilaterally within the CIS she compensated through bilateral economic relations with these countries. Therefore, Russian presence in the Ukrainian and Georgian economies should be looked into.

5.6.2.5   FDI by the Russian Federation in Georgia and Ukraine

Foreign direct investments may be another way of preserving the presence of a dominant state in target economies. The more investors there are, the less leverage the dominant state has. When the share of investments of Russian companies in Ukraine and Georgia was looked into (Figure 67 and 68), it was seen that the Russian Federation has been among the leading investors in Georgia and Ukraine, but not the top investor since there have been many other investor countries.

[1135] Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th Edition, Routledge, London and New York: 2008, p. 435.

[1136] Hedenskog and Larsson, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Source: http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua
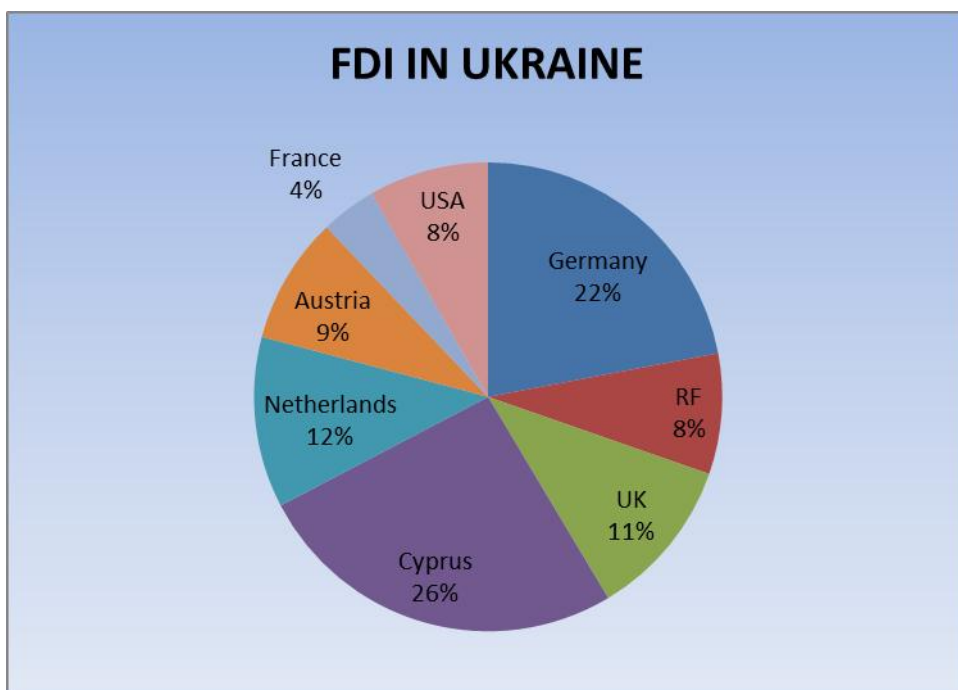
Figure 67: Leading Investors in Ukraine (2003-2011)[1137]

[1137] All tables regarding FDI in Ukraine are prepared according to FDI values as of 01 October of every year by benefitting from data in "Direct Foreign Investment (Equity Capital) From Countries of the World to Ukraine Economy", the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/, (accessed on 13.07.2012).
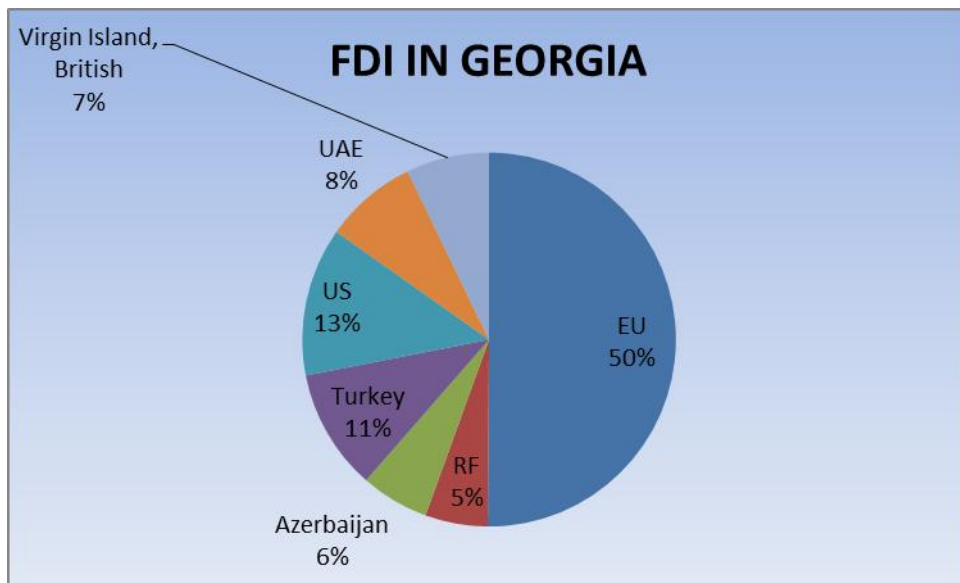
Source: "Foreign Direct Investments by Countries", National Statistics of Georgia

Figure 68: Leading Investors in Georgia (1999-2011)[1138]

5.6.2.6   Debts of Georgia and Ukraine to Russia

The incurrence of debts by the CIS states to had been a long-standing issue since their independence and gave Russia a legitimate tool to intervene in their bilateral negotiations on trade and energy issues. It can be seen in Table 57 that debts of Georgia and Ukraine to Russia in 2005 and their percentage to total amount was significant.

[1138] "Foreign Direct Investments by Countries", National Statistics of Georgia, http://www.geostat.ge/index.php?action=page&p_id=140&lang=eng, (accessed on 16.07.2012).

Table 57: Total Debts of Georgia and Ukraine in 2005, their Debts to Russia and Their Percentage to Total Debts

Country Name	Indicator Name	2005 (million USD)[1139]	Debt to Russia[1140]	% of Total
Georgia	External debt stocks, total (DOD, current US$)	1,908.737	158.045	8.28%
Ukraine	External debt stocks, total (DOD, current US$)	32,487.879	1583.355	4.87%
Georgia	External debt stocks, public and publicly guaranteed (PPG) (DOD, current US$)	1,494.431	158.045	10.58%
Ukraine	External debt stocks, public and publicly guaranteed (PPG) (DOD, current US$)	9,649.000	1583.355	16.41%

Source: World Databank, World Development Indicators (WDI) & Global Development Finance and Hedenskog and Larsson

5.6.2.7   Russian Companies in Ukraine and Georgia

In Georgia, Russian investors owned many critical infra-structures, including mobile telephone communications and energy.[1141] In the summer of 2003, the Russian electricity monopoly UES acquired the main electricity power distributor.[1142] In the previous chapter, it was stated that 50% of Sakgazi (a Georgian businessmen owned company) was obtained by ITERA – a Russian off-shore company.[1143] In 2003, Gazprom signed a 25 year natural gas industry agreement with

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[1139] World Databank, *World Development Indicators (WDI) & Global Development Finance (GDF)*, http://databank.worldbank.org/ddp/home.do?Step=3&id=4, (accessed on 16.07.2012)

[1140] Regnum, cited in Ozerov, Viktor (2005), 'Neloyalniye Ostanutsya bez Nefti i Gaza [Disloyalty Will Remain without Oil and Gas]', Nezavisimaya Gazeta. Last Accessed : 17 October 2005, Internet: http://www.ng.ru/printed/2005-10_13/1_notloyal.html cited by Hedenskog and Larsson, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[1141] German, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[1142] *Ibid.*

[1143] Liana Jervalidze, *Georgia: Russian Foreign Energy Policy and Implications for Georgia's Energy Security*, GMB Publishing, Blue Ibex Ltd, Edinburgh: 2006, p. 22.

Georgia including joint operation, renovation, overhaul and expansion of the transmission network.[1144] In 2005, a Georgian Russian business group of Energy Invest under Gazprom took over JSC AZOT (a Georgian State-owned chemical company.)[1145]

In Ukraine, Naftohaz Ukrainy and Gazprom signed in 2002 a document which created the International Consortium on Management and Development of Gas-Transporting Networks of Ukraine for ensuring reliability, safety and stability of Ukrainian gas transportation system.[1146] As was pointed out in the previous chapter, Lukoil acquired the Odessa refinery in 2000,[1147] TNK acquired control over Ukraine's Lisichansk refinery in 2000,[1148] the Rosneft and Alliance Group got major stakes in the Kherson refinery in Ukraine in 2002.[1149] However, Russian assets in Georgia and Ukraine were not limited to the ones given above. According to Hedenskog and Larsson referring to Michael Fredholm and Agata Loskot-Strachota, Gazprom in Ukraine had a 50% stake in the SP Rosukrenergo-gas pipeline operator, a 51% stake in Druzhovskiy zavod gazovoi apparatury-equipment for field operation and gas transmission, a 37% stake in the Gaztranzyt-pipeline expansion.[1150] In

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[1144] "Gazprom-Georgia Cooperation Agreement's Implementation Progress", *Gazprom News*, August 2003, http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2003/august/article62509/, (accessed on 12.07.2012)

[1145] Jervalidze, *op. cit.*, p. 40

[1146] Olena Viter, "Gas. Manipulation and Conflict", *Ukraine Post Revolution Energy Policy & Relations with Russia*, edited by Olena Viter, Rostyslav Pavlenko and Mykhaylo Honchar, GMB Publishing Limited, Blue Ibex Ltd, Edinburg: 2006, p. 18.

[1147] "Oil Refining", http://www.lukoil.com/materials/images/Refining/2011/oil_refining_FB_en.pdf, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

[1148] "TBK-BP Leads Lisichansk Refinery to European Standards", *Oil Gas Eurasia*, 27 March 2012, http://www.oilandgaseurasia.com/articles/p/105/article/998/, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

[1149] "Rosneft Joins Kherson Refinery Group", *NEFTE Compass*, February 2002, http://business.highbeam.com/409140/article-1G1-83029182/rosneft-joins-kherson-refinery-group, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

[1150] Michael Fredholm, (2005), *The Russian Energy Strategy and Energy Policy: Pipeline Diplomacy or Mutual Dependence?*, Conflict Studies Research Center, September 2005, 05/41, pp. 21-22 and

Georgia, the Russian company – United Energy System – had a 75% stake in AO Telasi-Electricity distribution, %100 stake of Mtkvari-Power generation, %50 stake in AES Transenergy- Electricity export, right of operation in the AO Khrame, Khrami-1 and Khrami-2 hydroelectric power plants.[1151]

As was seen in the review of their economic relations, Russia preserved her top trading partner position in Georgia and Ukraine. She was also the main natural gas supplier to Georgia and Ukraine and did not hesitate to threaten these countries with a natural gas cut-off during the winter months. Mostly originating from natural gas trade debts to the Russian Federation constituted 10.58% of Georgia's total debts and 16.4% of Ukraine's. Russian companies owned critical infrastructures in these countries. Therefore, it can be said that Russian influence over these countries in the economic sector continued.

5.6.3   *Political Intervention*

The Russian Federation has been able to maintain her efficiency over the post-Soviet countries through pro-Russian politicians, especially the old nomenkaltura members in these countries even during the 20 year period since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Russia continued to support pro-Russian candidates in elections. Cameron and Orenstein noted that Russia clearly supported pro-Russian president candidates such as Yanukovich[1152] in the 2004 and 2010 elections.[1153] In the Georgian parliamentary election of 1 October 2012, Saakasvili's party (the United National Movement) was defeated by the Georgian Dream coalition, led by

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Loskot-Strachota, Agata (2006), *The Russian Gas for Europe*, Warsaw: Centre for Eastern studies (OSW), October 2006, p. 12 cited by Hedenskog and Larsson, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[1151] *Ibid.*

[1152] Even though many experts in Russia do not assess Yanukovich as a pro-Russian leader, it is generally accepted that he is not an anti-Russian president and has given some concessions to Russia. (Interview No: 12; 13,16, 17 Appendix L.) Pavel Podlesny also accused of him not solving other problems between Ukraine and the Russian Federation such as natural gas issues. (Interview No:13)

[1153] David Cameron and Mitchell A. Orenstein, "Post-Soviet Authoritarianism: The Influence of Russia in Its Near Abroad", *Post- Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2012, p. 26.

Bidzina Ivanishvili.[1154] According to the James Kirchick, that was a Russian victory because the new prime minister was a billionaire businessman and made this money by selling his assets in Russia, and Kirchick claimed that this could be done only with the consent of Putin.[1155] He also noted that "Statements from him and several members of his political coalition show an affinity for Russia and an antagonism toward the United States."[1156] However, he should not be defined as pro-Russian. Anastasia Mitrofanova claims that in Georgia there are no Russian political parties or even organized political movements for Russian people.[1157] Therefore, Ivanishvili can be described, according to Kamer Kasım, not as a pro-Russian leader but as a believer in the necessity of making deals with Russia.[1158] Despite this leadership change, it should be noted that the superior position of Russia has been declining in Georgia because, Dmitry Polikanov argued that the population and generations have changed in Georgia.[1159] Jeffrey Mankoff also reiterated this, noting that Saakashvili, during the economic reform process, expelled officials from earlier periods and replaced them with younger officials who had grown up in independent Georgia and did not have any connection with the Soviet past. By doing that, he completely changed the institutional culture in Georgia, which made it much more difficult for Georgia to return to the Russian sphere of influence.[1160]

[1154] "Georgia's Ruling Party Concedes Defeat in Parliamentary Elections", *CNN International*, 3 October 2012, http://edition.cnn.com/2012/10/02/world/europe/georgia-elections, (accessed on 07.07.2013)

[1155] James Kirchick, "A Russian Victory in Georgia's Parliamentary Election", *The Wall Street Journal*, 2 October 2012,
http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444592404578032293439999654.html, (accessed on 07.07.2013)

[1156] *Ibid.*

[1157] Interview No: 25, Appendix L.

[1158] Interview No: 30, Appendix L.

[1159] Interview No: 12, Appendix L.

[1160] Interview No: 4, Appendix L.

Cameron and Orenstein claimed that another tool of Russia to exert control over Ukraine is the Russian population in the eastern regions of this country.[1161] In both Georgia and Ukraine, there has been a large Russian population despite the sharp decrease after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. While the percentage of the Russian population in the total population was 22.1 in Ukraine and 7.4 in Georgia in 1989, it had been reduced to 17.3 in Ukraine by 2001 and to 1.5 in Georgia by 2002.[1162] This enabled Russia to intervene in elections in Ukraine because of the Russian population in Crimea. In the last Ukrainian election, the pro-Russian presidential candidate took most of the votes in the predominately Russian populated regions.

Another way for Russia to maintain its influence was by establishing political ties with authorities in separatist regions. Even before the August crisis in 2008, Russia had behaved positively towards leaders in separatist regions, including an invitation to the leaders of Abkhazia and South Ossetia to go to Russia for an economic forum in early October 2006.[1163] Hedenskog and Larsson explained that Russia organized ministerial meeting and meetings with high-level Russian representatives.[1164] Russia also granted citizenship to many residents of these regions and individuals living in these regions were issued Russian, not Georgian, passports for foreign travel.[1165] In 2001, Russia also started to erode the resolution taken by the Council of CIS Heads of States on 19 January 1996 regarding the imposition of economic sanctions on Abkhazia, allowing Abkhazians to cross the border and re-opening the Sukhum-Sochi-Moscow railway.[1166]

[1161] Cameron and Orenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[1162] Hedenskog and Larrson, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

[1163] Ambrosia, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[1164] Hedenskog and Larsson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[1165] Ambrosio, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[1166] Başkan and Gültekin Punsmann, , *op. cit.*, p. 6.

After August 2008, Russia recognized the independence of the two separatist regions and signed various agreements with them (31 agreements with Abkhazia from August 2008 to March 2010) concerning numerous issues from military cooperation to economic cooperation and transportation.[1167] With these agreements, Russia provided military guarantees to these so-called states in the event of an attack by Georgia.[1168] Regarding these relations, Cooley commented that both Sukhumi and Tskhinvali, paradoxically, were recognized as independent states; however, this actually accelerated their annexation by the Russian Federation.[1169] It may be noted that Russia gave importance to the position of these countries as subordinate rather than as "independent states" because, as Pavel Podlesny argued, recognition of Abkhazia and the South Ossetia was not in Russian interest.[1170]

In addition to economic, political and military leverage, Cameron and Orenstein claimed that Russia had many instruments, which can be described as soft power issues enabling her to maintain control over these countries. For example, "their geographic proximity (…), their shared history and cultural ties, the presence of large numbers of Russian-speakers (…) and the presence of the successor institutions of the Soviet Communist Party and security services"[1171] helped Russia exert influence. Hasan Karasar pointed out the commonality of the Russian language, the effect of Russian modernizing efforts and the Soviet education legacy as soft power of Russia.[1172]

As can be seen in Table 55 Ordering Principle of the Regional Structure (2000-2012), the Russian Federation has managed to preserve its superior position

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[1167] Cooley and Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[1168] Başkan and Gültekin Punsmann, , *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[1169] Cooley and Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 10

[1170] Interview No. 13, Appendix L.

[1171] Cameron and Orenstein, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

[1172] Interview No: 29, Appendix L.

over Ukraine since nearly all forms of political, economic and military intervention by Russia can be observed there. In Georgia, however, their anarchic hierarchic relations were influenced by Georgian attempts to challenge and balance. At the end of the period, Russia was about to close all military bases in Georgian territory. Georgia joined neither EurAsEC (2000) nor the Single Economic Space. However, Russia was still the top trading partner and had the leverage of natural gas exports and of being the main importer of Georgian products. Moreover, Russia intervened in Georgian separatist regions, recognized them and established military and economic ties with them. Hereafter, she may use this leverage in order to exert pressure over Georgia or to make these so-called states regional allies instead of Georgia.

When the first and second decade after the end of the Cold War are compared (Table 58-59: Comparison of Russian Interventions in Georgia and Ukraine during the First and Second Periods), there was not a significant change in the Russian-Ukrainian anarchical hierarchic relationship. On the other hand, Russian-Georgian relations displayed differences especially in the military sector. Russia closed her military bases in Georgia but transformed the previous peacekeeping bases into military bases in the separatist regions. Georgia withdrew from the CSTO, expressing their willingness to become a NATO member. Russia signed military and political agreements with the separatist regions. During this period, the greatest intervention in the military sector took place, which was the military operation against Georgia in August 2008. In the economic sector, their relations seemed to be similar, but in political sector Russia did or could not deal with leadership change in Georgia, instead recognized the separatist regions, that may be taken up as one of the highest point of intervention in political sector. While Russian influence in Georgia was loosened further at the beginning of this period, Russian efforts to re-establish her dominance made her relations more anarchic hierarchic. Therefore, the ordering principle during this second term was also considered as near to loose anarchical hierarchy, as was the case in the previous term.

Table 58: Comparison of Russian Interventions into Georgia and Ukraine during the First and Second Terms in Military Sector

	GEORGIA: 2000-2012	GEORGIA: 1991-1999	UKRAINE: 2000-2012	UKRAINE: 1991-1999
Deployment of Military Forces	Russian bases in Akhalkalaki and Batumi; 7th Military Base in Abkhazia; 4th in South Ossetia	Russian bases in Tbilisi, Gudauta, Akhalkalaki and Batumi	Black Sea Fleet	Black Sea Fleet
Lack of Independent Allies	Withdrawal from CSTO and CIS	Only Russia and CIS Countries (1994-1999 as CSTO member)	Russia and CIS countries, but not CSTO member	Only Russia and CIS Countries, but not CSTO member
Crisis Management		Russian intervention into Abkhazia and South Ossetia conflicts		
Military Cooperation	Georgian withdrawal from CSTO; Russia signed many military agreements with Abkhazia and the South Ossetia	Unified joint air defence system, peacekeeping forces, bilateral cooperation in defence industry; division of Soviet arsenal; military training	Air Defence Agreement and Anti-Terrorist Centre	Unified joint air defence system; peacekeeping forces, bilateral cooperation in defence industry; conversion and division of Soviet arsenal
Punishment in Case of Disobedience	Military intervention	----	----	----

Table 59: Comparison of Russian Interventions into Georgia and Ukraine during the First and Second Terms in Political and Economic Sector

ECONOMIC INTERVENTION				
Trade Dependence	Top trading partner Russia	Top trading partner Russia	Top trading partner Russia	Top trading partner Russia
Punishment in Case of Disobedience; through Economic Means	January 2006, imposition of trade bans on Georgian export products of mineral water, wine and other foodstuff	Natural gas cut-offs during 1990s and early 2000	Natural gas cut-off in 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009	Natural gas cut-offs in 1993 and 1995 increased tariffs on Ukrainian goods in 1995 and 1996
Lack of Market Exchange Rules- Gas Prices	Slightly under market prices until 2006	Gas and oil sales under market prices	Under market prices until 2007	Gas and oil sales under market prices
Economic Community		Georgia-RF agreements in 1993; Georgia-Ukraine agreement in 1996	EurAsEC (2000) observer; Single Economic Space (2003)	Georgia-Ukraine agreement in 1996; Associate member of CIS Economic Union
Debts to Russia by Black Sea countries	158,045 USD million	Nearly 204 million USD	1,583,355 million USD	Nearly 4,964 million USD

Table 59 Continued

Presence of Russian Companies in Privatization Process	Sakgazi Company-ITERA, AO Telasi, Mtkvari-Power generation, AES Transenergy, AO Khrame – UES, JSC AZOT-Gazprom	Sakgazi Company-ITERA	In addition to companies, owned by Russia in the previous period, SP Rosukrenergo, Druzhovskiy zavod, Gaztranzyt-Gazprom	Odessa refinery-Lukoil; Lisichansk refinery-TNK; Kherson refinery-Rosneft and Alliance Group; Kremenchug refinery-Naftogaz Ukrainy and Russian Tatneft
POLITICAL INTERVENTION				
Political Intervention through Ethnic Groups or Russian Minority	Russian support for ethnic groups; recognized separatist regions.	Russian so-called support for ethnic groups	Existence of Russian minority, mostly Russian populated regions	Existence of Russian minority
Leadership Change	In 2012 parliamentary election – Saakasvili's party defeated by the Georgian Dream coalition	Gamsakhurdia and Shevardnadze	Yuschenko and Yanukovich	Kravchuk and Kuchma
Forms of Ordering Principle		Near to Loose Anarchical Hierarchy		Near to Loose Anarchical Hierarchy

5.6.4   Regional Structure, Regional Security and Role of Regional Countries

Security and stability in the Region had been established with Georgia the only exception. As she had done in the previous terms, Russia tried to prevent the efforts of regional countries to change their relations with the Russian Federation. While she had succeeded in doing this in the previous term, she could not prevent the occurrence of the Orange and Rose Revolutions or the election of pro-Western leadership in Ukraine and Georgia. The Russian Federation managed to establish her dominance over Ukraine during the period from November 2004 (the beginning of the Orange Revolution) to 2006 (parliamentary elections) and prevent any attempt to challenge the on-going situation. However, in Georgia, the leadership insisted on changing the on-going status-quo within her territory through military cooperation with the USA and NATO. Therefore, Russia established anarchical hierarchic relations with Georgia by taking advantage of vulnerability originating from the separatist regions. She recognized them and sustained these anarchical hierarchic relations with these so-called independent states. Georgia still had hopes of NATO membership although this did not seem possible in the near future. In this way, Russia prevented any internal attempt within her sphere of influence to change the status-quo.

The challenge that Russia faced in Ukraine and Georgia was directly related to the policies of other great powers regarding the Region. Unlike the previous term, the USA did not hesitate to challenge the Russian anarchic hierarchic relations with her bilateral military and economic relations with Georgia and Ukraine in the military sector. To prevent this increasing Western effort in the Region, Russia used her anarchical hierarchic relations with Ukraine in the political sector in order to avert the Orange Revolution. She used her anarchical hierarchic relations with Georgia in the military sector to carry out a military operation against Georgia; and in the political sector, Russia recognized the separatist regions. Thus, Russia sent a message to the Western world, particularly to the USA, "that Russia regarded the post-Soviet space as part of its sphere of influence and that it was prepared to defend

its interests there, with force if necessary."[1173] As Trenin pointed out, Russia had drawn a red line and anybody who crossed it would have to face Russia with its military power.[1174]

Regarding the role of subordinate states, as was mentioned in Chapter II, when the ordering principle of the regional structure was near to loose anarchical hierarchy and there was a great power disparity in the Region, countries (such as Ukraine and Georgia) under the control of a dominant country (such as the Russian Federation) aimed at preserving or intensifying their sovereignty and territorial integrity. In this case, subordinate states might attempt to balance the dominant great power in any way they perceive to be proper. To do this, they may prefer to establish relationships with other great powers which would also like to establish intense relations with these challenging countries. In such a situation, regional countries may continue to pursue bandwagoning policies with the regional great power and thus manage to preserve security in the Region or they may pursue balancing polices through bandwagoning with a non-regional great power. During this term, this kind of balancing effort was observed. At the beginning of the term, until 2003, Ukraine and Georgia pursued a bandwagoning policy with Russia, so there was stability in the Region. However, Georgia after 2003 and Ukraine after 2004 started to challenge Russia and wanted to integrate into Euro-Atlantic institutions. Russian and Western competitive stances vis-à-vis these two countries created tension in the Region. In Chapter II, it is assumed that the regional great power must win this competition to continue its dominance. The Russian Federation re-constituted her dominance over Ukraine and partly Georgia and the status-quo and security were preserved even though short-term military confrontations or conflicts took place.

As regards other regional states, Turkey, within the framework of her anarchical hierarchic relations with the West, continued to pursue her pro-status-quo

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[1173] Stephan Larrabee, *The United States and Security in the Black Sea Region,* RAND Cooperation, Washington: 2010, p. 308.

[1174] Interview No: 11, Appendix L.

foreign policy, did not challenge the Russian position over the post-Soviet countries and cooperated with this country. On the other hand, Bulgaria and Romania attempted to challenge the on-going Mountreux system by establishing military relations with the USA through allowing the construction of American/NATO military bases in their territory and supporting claims that the Mountreux regime was in need of change. However, Turkey and Russia resisted and cooperated to prevent any change in this Convention, thus preserving the status-quo.

5.7 CONCLUSION

During this second term, security and stability in the Region was preserved except in Georgia. It was realized because effect of the regional structure was in contradiction with effect of international system. The Russian Federation managed to maintain anarchical-hierarchic relations and made an effort to preserve the status-quo at the regional level. However, at the global level, the war on terrorism led by the USA, increased the strategic importance of countries around Afghanistan, including the regional ones put ensuring stability through NATO and EU enlargement on the agenda of the non-regional great powers. Within this framework, regional structure also changed. In the Region, the ordering principle was a juxtaposition of 'near to tight anarchical hierarchy' and 'near to loose anarchical hierarchy' within anarchy. The USA and the EU extended their spheres of influence in the Black Sea Region from Turkey to Romania and Bulgaria. While they continued their anarchical hierarchic relations with Turkey since 1952 (the accession of Turkey into the NATO), Turkey would challenge Western policies regarding the Black Sea and cooperate with Russia whenever necessary. However, Romania and Bulgaria supported Western policies and challenged the status-quo in the Black Sea and accordingly Russian and Turkish so-called hegemony over the Black Sea. The Russian Federation, after establishing anarchical hierarchic relations with Ukraine and Georgia during the first decade, tried to preserve the status-quo by intensifying her relations with these countries. Ukraine and Georgia found the international environment suitable for challenging Russian dominance. However, the Russian

Federation prevented the realization of internal demands for change in Ukraine and support for change coming from the outside in Georgia by using her anarchical hierarchic relations. This resulted in the Ukraine again starting to pursue a bandwagoning policy, but Georgia insisted on pursuing a balancing policy, which had a worsening effect on the security situation of this country and the Region.

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union had near to tight anarchical hierarchic relations with regional countries except Turkey, which refrained from any challenge. Turkey's policy was in harmony with the policies of the USA because this Region with the other Warsaw Pact member states was accepted as the Soviet sphere of influence. After the end of the Cold War, Russian influence was limited to the post-Soviet countries and her relations were transformed into loose anarchical hierarchy and Western countries started to establish relations with regional countries and pursue integrative policies with former Warsaw pact member countries. During the first decade, the non-regional great powers (the USA and the EU) refrained from intervening in Russia's relations with the post-Soviet countries. However, in the second decade, they clearly challenged Russian supremacy in the Region and wanted to remove Ukraine and Georgia from her sphere of influence. Their policies changed because of two reasons. Firstly, the international situation changed and made pursuing interfering polices proper. Secondly, they managed to intensify their relations with regional countries and to some extent, transform these countries policy making and constitute a pro-Western politicians and elites. Therefore, it may be said that regional security was vulnerable to the developments in Russian-Western relations. However, during this term, Russia also changed and managed to overcome her weakness, as seen during the 1990s when she accepted Central and Eastern European countries integration into the Euro-Atlantic system but did not accept a new integrative process in the post-Soviet Region. Therefore, efforts of the Western countries to spread their sphere of influence further and attempts of the Russian Federation to preserve her sphere created tension in the Region.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

There has been a relatively secure situation in the Black Sea Region since the end of the WW II and how this security in the Region has been sustained is the main question of this thesis. While doing this, revised Neorealism is consulted. Within this framework, the ordering principle understanding of Neorealism is revised, defining additional categories of ordering principle in addition to anarchy and hierarchy. It is argued that regional structure, which should be defined within this context, is the main determinant of regional security. The main effect of regional structure is that it shapes the security policies of the regional and related non-regional actors. This is analyzed by defining the security situation of the Region and regional structure from 1947 (the beginning of the Cold War) to 2012; in three main periods – the Cold War period, detailed in four different periods, the first decade and the second decade of the post-Cold War period.

In the Black Sea Region, this relatively secure situation had been established with the Convention regarding the regime of the Straits – the Mountreux Convention – which regulated not only passage regime but also created an order in the Black Sea Region; based on balance of power and balance of interest, satisfying the regional and the non-regional countries. As this thesis assumes that for any region, security is related to the absence of aggression and military conflict. Since 1945, there have not been any large scale military conflicts in the Region despite the occurrence of the Georgia-South Ossetia War (1991-1992), the Georgia-Abkhazia military conflicts (1993-1994), the first and second Chechnya Wars (1994-1996 and 1999-2003/2004) and the military confrontation between Georgia and the Russian Federation in 2008.

Since they are destabilizing factors, they did not have the capacity to destroy regional security and status quo. They were small-scale local conflicts, so they did not lead to radical challenges and security was re-produced (after 1996 and then within 2008) and sustained after each military confrontation. Therefore, they were destabilizing factors, not vital threats to Black Sea regional security. After this, it is important to defend regional security by preventing any revisionist policies pursued by regional or non-regional states that could alter the balance in regional politics. In other words, preserving the status-quo is crucial to sustain security in the Black Sea Region. As this thesis shows and contributes to the literature, security has been established and reproduced even after systemic challenges and then sustained and some local conflicts do not have the capacity to destroy security in the Region. The attempts were made by some non-regional actors to change the order, but these initiatives were unable to destroy the status-quo.

As a support for these generalizations, it may be said that this relatively secure situation in the Region has been maintained owing to certain dynamics between regional security and regional structure. The most important feature affecting the regional structure has been the existence of the Soviet/Russian sphere of influence in the Region while its size and intensity was gradually reduced during the period from the Cold War until today. In line with theoretical framework of this thesis, it may be said that special relations between the USSR/RF and its subordinates shape both the distribution of capabilities and the ordering principle of the regional structure. In a region where a sphere of influence exists, the distribution of capabilities is expected to be unipolar. However, in the BSR, the distribution of capabilities has not been unipolar since the beginning of the Cold War due to the presence of Turkey, which may be considered as a staunch ally of the USA.

Besides distribution of capabilities, existence of a sphere of influence leads to create an anarchical hierarchic characteristic to the ordering principle of the regional structure. Here, the most important point is that the ordering principle understanding of Neorealism is accepted, it is anarchy in the international system; however, in some

regions where a sphere of influence exists, the ordering principle of that region is transformed from anarchy into anarchical hierarchy as detailed in Chapter II. It is transformed because of external interventions by the dominant state in the domestic decision-making process, military and external affairs and economies of the subordinate states in her sphere of influence. As a result, many features specific to the hierarchic system of domestic politics start to emerge in relations among separate nations.

In the Black Sea Region, the ordering principle has been anarchical hierarchy within anarchy because of the co-existence of subordinate states of the different great powers. As this scaling indicated in Chapter II, the ordering principle was 'tight anarchical hierarchy' between the USSR and Romania and Bulgaria during the period from 1947 to 1953, 'near to tight anarchical hierarchy' from 1954 to 1985 and 'loose anarchical hierarchy' from 1985 to 1991, accompanied with the 'near to tight anarchical hierarchy' between the USA and Turkey. As international system change, sphere of influence of the Soviet Union was replaced with the sphere of influence of the Russian Federation and the new relationship between the dominant and subordinate states lead to creation of a new ordering principle, 'near to loose anarchical hierarchy.'

As stated above, regional security was reestablished after each regional or international change; however, this does not necessarily mean that it was realized without any transformation. It is appropriate to define these transformations because they led to the emergence of a new regional structure and accordingly this changed the whole process. During the period from 1991 to 1999, the ordering principle was co-existence of 'near to tight anarchical hierarchy' (between the USA and Turkey) and 'near to loose anarchical hierarchy' (between the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Georgia) within anarchy (the positions of Romania and Bulgaria were unclear). In the following period, the ordering principle was co-existence of 'near to tight anarchical hierarchy' (between the USA, Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey) and 'near to loose anarchical hierarchy' (between the Russian Federation, Ukraine and the

break-out regions of Georgia – Abkhazia and South Ossetia) within anarchy (the position of Georgia (central) was unclear). These illustrate that as the size and intensity of spheres of influence change, so does the ordering principle.

This regional structure, which has been shaped by the constant power disparity among regional actors and various forms of ordering principle, has been effective in sustaining or terminating regional security because it affected the policies of the regional and the non-regional actors that could destroy or maintain regional security. Among them, the most influential one has been the regional great power which has anarchical hierarchic relations with others in the Region and her superior position over others urges her to preserve the status-quo and, at the same time, to do this, provides leverages in the domestic politics of her subordinates.

In the Black Sea Region, during the Cold War period, the sphere of influence and control mechanism of the USSR over the Eastern European countries was constituted and re-produced in various forms until 1985 and then reformulated by Gorbachev. During the period from 1947 to 1985, the Soviet Union tried to preserve the status-quo in three different ways: by preventing efforts of regional countries to change the status-quo until the 1985 Gorbachev period, by preserving the Region from negative effects of insecurity in the whole international system and by limiting the effects of policies of the potential extra-regional powers who might have interest in the Black Sea Region. On the other hand, during the Gorbachev period, the USSR pursued revisionist policies within-Bloc relations and external affairs rather than strive to preserve the status-quo; therefore, within a five year period the Eastern Bloc, including the USSR, collapsed. The Gorbachev period displayed that the great power plays a tremendous role to preserve status-quo. If she loses her will to preserve it, whether the subordinates support or not; the status-quo would collapse in a very short time.

After the end of the Cold War, during the period from 1991 to 1996, the Russian Federation made an effort to re-establish regional order and security. To do this, Russia firstly froze all military conflicts (in the post-Soviet geography), which

undermined order and security and created instability in the Region. Secondly, she tried to prevent the efforts of the regional countries in her sphere of influence to create a new order in their relationship vis-à-vis the Russian Federation. Thirdly, she reduced the destabilizing effect of military conflicts which took place in near areas – in the other post-Soviet countries around the Region. Finally, she prevented any regional or non-regional powers from becoming influential in the post-Soviet geography. During the second decade after the end of the Cold War, the Russian Federation tried to prevent the regional countries and the non-regional great powers from creating a new order in the relationships of the Russian Federation with her subordinates in the Region – Ukraine and Georgia.

As has been seen in USSR/Russian case, the role of the great power with a sphere of influence in a region has been crucial to preserving the status-quo and security. Her control over a group of countries gives her an opportunity to end or freeze military confrontations in and around the Region, thus enabling her to fulfill the first condition of a secure region – the absence of military confrontation. To satisfy the second condition, she is able to prevent internal desires for and external attempts (by non-regional great powers or by their partners in the Region) at change and thus preserve status-quo. Finally, her control over countries should protect the Region from negative effects of the international system (if any exists) or from the deterioration of relations between the regional and non-regional great powers. However, protecting the Region from outside effects results in the fact that roles of the non-regional great powers gain more importance.

During the Cold War till 1991, as noted above, the USSR had anarchic hierarchic relations with the Eastern Bloc countries and this anarchic hierarchic relationship prevented any Western Bloc countries from intervening in within-Bloc relations or challenging the existing order and security in the Region. During the first decade after the end of the Cold War, the Western countries established close and intense relations with the ex-Warsaw Pact states, but Russian anarchical hierarchic relations with Georgia and Ukraine and their internal problems limited Western

influence in this part of the Region. Moreover, the USA preferred to leave a free space for Russia and did not challenge the status-quo in this Region. Thus, Russia was able to re-constitute security here according to her interests. However, during the second decade, the Western countries, particularly the USA, challenged Russian supremacy in the Region and wanted to remove Ukraine and Georgia from her sphere of influence but could not manage this. During this period (from 2003 to 2008), the Russian anarchical hierarchic relations were unable to prevent external intervention. Russia continued her relations with countries in her sphere of influence in the same form but it may be said that its size was reduced. However, after 2008, Russia re-organized her relations with countries in her sphere of influence, pressing Ukraine more and replacing Georgia with Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

The ordering principle of the regional structure also affected policies of subordinate states, offering different policy options within different forms of ordering principles. During the Cold War, till the Gorbachev period, they pursued bandwagoning policies with the Soviet Union. Romania's more autonomous policies did not have capacity to challenge to the USSR and the existing structure. After Gorbachev stopped supporting the leadership in 1987, the whole political and regional system changed although it originated from the unwillingness of the dominant power to preserve the status-quo rather than from the political independence struggle of subordinate states. After the end of the Cold War, at the beginning of the first decade, Ukraine and Georgia pursued more autonomous policies but then started to follow a bandwagoning policy with Russia in the Region. However, Georgia after 2003 and Ukraine after 2004 started to challenge Russia and wanted to integrate into the Euro-Atlantic institutions. This was revisionist policies of Georgia and Ukraine which attempted to change status-quo in the Region. Although this was revisionism, it did not lead to prevent re-production of regional security. Though it may be underlined that Russian and Western competitive stances vis-à-vis these two countries created tension in the Region. Only after 2008, the Russian Federation re-constituted her dominance over Ukraine and she again started to pursue a bandwagoning policy, but Georgia insisted on pursuing a balancing

policy that resulted in the so-called independence of her break-away regions-Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which soon after became Russian subordinates and resulted in weakening of Georgia.

In the Region, Turkey did not pursue revisionist policies or attempt to change the structure, which was also in harmony with Western Bloc policies during the Cold War. After the end of the Cold War, Turkey at the beginning followed a challenging policy towards the Russian Federation by establishing close relations with the Caucasus and Central Asian countries until 1993. After that, Turkey preferred to cooperate with the Russian Federation and tried to pursue a balancing policy between her Western allies and Russia during the last twenty years. Thus, Turkey contributed to the re-production of security of regional status-quo, particularly insisting on preservation of the Mountreux Convention. On security related issues, she insists on following a pro-status-quo policy and preserving the Mountreux Convention regime from 1936 until the present and tried to establish security mechanisms for maritime security that would encompass all littoral countries. After the Cold War, Romania and Bulgaria attempted to integrate with the Euro-Atlantic institution and neither supported nor challenged Russian supremacy in the Region. After completing their integration, they supported the US in her attempts to challenge Russia and change the existing status-quo in the Region. Here, the point that should be underlined is that after the Cold War, Romania and Bulgaria attempted to revise the status-quo, trying to achieve integration with the Euro-Atlantic institutions however they were careful not to provoke position of Russia in the Region. Following the EU/NATO membership, Romania and Bulgaria were further attempting to challenge Russian position and existing status-quo, however such an attempt did not result in preventing re-production of status-quo in the Black Sea Region.

Out of case of this thesis, the following generalizations on regional security can be driven out. Firstly, it may be said that regional security is based on status-quo in the Region that is constantly re-produced. When the ordering principle of the regional structure is tight or near to tight anarchical hierarchy and there is a great

power disparity, to enhance and sustain security, the size of the sphere of influence of the regional great power is also important and it should encompass most of the Region. Countries outside of that sphere but in the Region might respect the on-going situation. Only in this way can the vulnerability of the Region to insecurity in the international system be reduced and any possible intervention of non-regional great powers be prevented. Under the umbrella of the regional great power, if the ordering principle is transformed into loose anarchical hierarchy and the status-quo is about change, this process can be completed without any military confrontation. This is because the continuation of or change in the existing status-quo is left under the control of the great power.

Secondly, in a region under a structural transformation, military confrontations may take place. As long as they take place within a limited area and at the local level, they do not pose a threat to the order in the Region; however, they may increase instability and war-proneness in the military conflict host countries. This transformation process brings about a re-constitution of the sphere of influence of the regional great power at the regional level and may also provide protection of the regional relationship from outside intervention at the international level. In this region, it is expected that the regional great power should reconstitute order and produce a new status-quo after a while.

Thirdly, when the ordering principle is transformed from 'tight/near to tight anarchical hierarchy' into 'near to loose anarchical hierarchy', regional security should be preserved with the cooperation of other regional countries found outside of the sphere of influence but inside the Region. At least, they should not challenge the on-going status-quo or supremacy of the dominant state within her sphere of influence. The dominant power should be more active in keeping decision-makers, politicians and elites within these subordinate states in her camp to sustain the status-quo. She should allow them to pursue policies in harmony with the integrative trend of the new (the post-Cold War) period to some extent but should not allow any elite transformation.

If this dominant power cannot prevent elite transformation in her subordinate countries, she will face challenges to the existing status-quo by these countries. The distant hegemon may support these countries, even with military backing if considered necessary and effect of the regional structure conflicts with that of the international system. While the dominant power tries to keep her anarchic hierarchic relations with her subordinates, the importance of that region may increase at the international level and another non-regional great power may extend its sphere of influence over the countries not found in the sphere of influence of the regional great power but inside the Region and may support demands for change by the subordinate states of the regional great power. As is seen in the Black Sea Region case, distant hegemon may not be successful to transform subordinate states in the Region, accordingly the order. However, it may lead to reduce the intensity or dominance of the regional great power's relations with countries in her sphere of influence or the size of this sphere. The looser the intensity of the relations between the superior power and subordinate states and the smaller size of the sphere of influence, the greater the effect of the international system outside the Region. It can be generalized, noting that when the ordering principle is transformed from tight anarchical hierarchy into loose anarchical hierarchy and the size of the sphere of influence becomes limited to only some of the states but not all of them, the effect of the international system and the policies of non-regional actors increases and gains the capacity to destroy the existing status-quo and regional security.

Fourthly, the regional security could become more vulnerable to the effect of the international system. In the event that the regional great power finds this acceptable, then the ordering principle would be transformed into a loose anarchical hierarchy and regional security would become more vulnerable. However, if this situation is unacceptable, a new status-quo would be established according to regional great power's own interests and sustained in either of two ways: if she can, she may revert elite transformation or support politicians/elites in her camp or if that is not possible, she may replace her partner country in her sphere of influence with another international or local actor.

Out of the case of the Black Sea Region, it can be concluded that firstly specifications in a certain region and studies at the regional level may offer many important insights rather than general discourses at the international level. Particularly regions in which a sphere of influence exists provide the opportunity to study regional structure and different forms of ordering principles (other than hierarchy and anarchy), which originate from the anarchical hierarchic relations between dominant states and subordinate countries. Differentiation of ordering principles according to the size of the sphere of influence and the intensity of relations between dominant and subordinate states resulted in pursuance of different policies and diverse positions of regional countries, thus preserving or destroying the status-quo while enhancing security or leading to insecurity. Regional dynamics may lead to the emergence of a security situation different from the security situation of the international system.

Secondly, as Neorealism assumes, the ordering principle is one of the most important mechanisms that affect state policies. However, the ordering principles among nations may differ from each other, therefore leading to different policies. This understanding is more relevant to explaining international politics than the emulation thesis of Neorealism, which is that the policies of the most successful state should be pursued by all other states because of the effect of only one ordering principle – anarchy in the international system.

Besides this, the balance of power politics may be carried out in different ways in such a region. Neorealism focuses on great power politics and assumes the balance of power for them as a reliable policy. However, for other states, including small ones, they may pursue either bandwagoning or balancing policies. Among them, small states in a sphere of influence may also challenge the dominant power under certain conditions, instead of bandwagoning though their policy preferences seem to be limited. If the security situation of the international system may change and the attention of distant hegemon regarding the region increases, then smaller regional states in a sphere of influence may find an opportunity to challenge the

dominant power by cooperating with the distant hegemon or another non-regional great power. This revisionist country, including the smallest one may lead to a military confrontation and create instability in a region, establishing an alliance with other non-regional great powers while the great and the middle range powers are insisting on preservation of status-quo. As this thesis pointed out that balance of power theories about stability and security is not sufficient to explain security situation at regional level.

All in all, this study aimed to contribute to a better understanding of regional security in the international system and its particular relationship to regional structure. Regional structure has the capacity to enhance and sustain or to lead to the destruction of security at the regional level. Thus, it enables researchers to understand and foresee the security situation in a Region because regional structure, with its components of ordering principle and distribution of capabilities, implies the existence or absence of great powers and anarchic, hierarchic or anarchical hierarchic relationship among regional countries and between regional and non-regional actors, which are basic factors for re-establishing or terminating security. While Neorealism assumes an effect of the distribution of capabilities on international security, this thesis underlines the importance of ordering principle with the distribution of capabilities in impacting regional security. Although a comprehensive and theoretical approach for analyzing regional security is still lacking, all conceptualizations (particularly the definition of regional security, the regional structure, the ordering principle of the regional structure, the anarchical hierarchic relations and their forms, the existence of a sphere of influence in a region, the effect of regional structure on regional security by affecting the roles of regional and non-regional great powers and other countries) could be utilized in other cases as well. Regional security studies and literature could be enhanced by not only studying different cases but applying different approaches and methodologies to other regions in the World. It may be finally suggested that other regions should be studied in an academic manner that would enable the development of a grand theory. This picture can only be completed when a grand regional security theory has been worked out.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.   US ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO TURKEY DURING THE COLD WAR (1948- 1991)

Table 60: US Military Assistance to Turkey (1948-1991), Historical US $[1175]

FY1948	FY1949	FY1950	FY1951	FY1952	FY1953	FY1954	FY1955
68.800.000	83.500.000	110.299.000	169.998.000	189.394.000	166.700.000	340.800.000	22.391.000
FY1956	FY1957	FY1958	FY1959	FY1960	FY1961	FY1962	FY1963
189.498.000	91.051.000	154.628.000	210.046.000	136.713.000	151.586.000	187.929.000	182.512.000
FY1964	FY1965	FY1966	FY1967	FY1968	FY1969	FY1970	FY1971
121.306.000	146.737.000	149.286.000	187.644.000	172.273.000	179.179.000	181.179.000	213.753.000
FY1972	FY1973	FY1974	FY1975	FY1976	FY1976tq	FY1977	FY1978
222.136.000	241.850.000	194.838.000	106.181.000	125.000.000	125.000.000	125.000.000	175.104.000
FY1979	FY1980	FY1981	FY1982	FY1983	FY1984	FY1985	FY1986
181.496.000	206.307.000	252.671.000	346.386.000	292.966.000	588.237.000	703.297.000	412.528.000
FY1987	FY1988	FY1989	FY1990	FY1991			
181.316.000	493.461.000	434.158.000	501.221.000	635.381.000			

[1175] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html (accessed on 28.01.2013).

Table 61: US Economic Assistance to Turkey, Historical US \$[1176]

	FY1946	FY1947	FY1948	FY1949	FY1950	FY1951	FY1952	FY1953	FY1954
Economic Support Fund/Security Support Assistance								56,400,000	75,800,000
Inactive Programs	6,100,000	2,800,000	3,300,000						
Other USAID Assistance				33,800,000	71,900,000	49,800,000	69,600,000	2,200,000	2,900,000
Title II							1,000		1,000
	FY1955	FY1956	FY1957	FY1958	FY1959	FY1960	FY1961	FY1962	FY1963
Economic Support Fund/Security Support Assistance	89,200,000	105,600,000	55,500,000	70,000,000	100,000,000	82,000,000	90,000,000	66,800,000	55,000,000
Other USAID Assistance	1,400,000	3,600,000	3,300,000	14,500,000	42,000,000	10,400,000	121,700,000	15,800,000	77,100,000
Peace Corps								100,000	700,000
Title I	13,000,000	100,000	39,500,000	27,500,000	23,800,000	26,200,000	19,600,000	97,600,000	27,700,000
Title II	200,000	12,500,000	700,000	500,000	700,000	1,200,000	1,000,000	15,600,000	4,800,000

[1176] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html (accessed on 28.01.2013).

Table 61 Continued

	FY1964	FY1965	FY1966	FY1967	FY1968	FY1969	FY1970	FY1971	FY1972
Economic Support Fund/Security Support Assistance	16,900,000								
Other USAID Assistance	131,000,000	157,800,000	139,900,000	139,400,000	72,200,000	43,500,000	43,300,000	53,600,000	59,000,000
Peace Corps	1,600,000	3,000,000	3,400,000	2,400,000	1,600,000	1,300,000	1,000,000	100,000	1,000
Title I	27,700,000	27,700,000	9,600,000			22,800,000	33,700,000	21,800,000	
Title II	8,100,000	4,500,000	7,300,000	8,200,000	12,000,000	23,700,000	12,200,000	7,200,000	7,900,000
	FY1973	FY1974	FY1975	FY1976	FY1976 tq	FY1977	FY1978	FY1979	FY1980
Economic Support Fund/Security Support Assistance								50,192,000	198,000,000
Other USAID Assistance	16,800,000	1,800,000	800,000				1,057,000	19,380,000	
Title II	6,100,000	3,700,000	3,600,000			188,000	86,000	73,000	89,000

Table 61 Continued

	FY1981	FY1982	FY1983	FY1984	FY1985	FY1986	FY1987	FY1988 -89	FY1990 -91
Economic Support Fund/Security Support Assistance	200,000 ,000	300,000 ,000	285,000 ,000	138,500 ,000	175,000 ,000	119,625 ,000	100,000 ,000	92,000, 000	264,263 ,000
Narcotics Control	1,000,0 00	1,000,0 00	1,000,0 00	1,000,0 00	900,000		745,000	700,000	750,000
Other USAID Assistance				3,000			2,400,0 00		
Title II	45,000	67,000	33,000	33,000					
Other State Assistance									206,000
tq—In 1976 the U,S, Government changed the fiscal year from July-June to October-September, The Transition Quarter (TQ) reports the 3 month adjustment period of July, August and September in 1976,									

APPENDIX B.   MILITARY EXPENDITURES OF TURKEY, BULGARIA, ROMANIA AND THE SOVIET UNION (1948-1991)

Table 62: Military Expenditures of Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union (1948-1991) (Thousands of current year US Dollars) [1177]

	TURKEY	BULGARIA	ROMANIA	SOVIET UNION
1948	172615	1948,5	59216	13157894
1949	196814	23517	118945	13964622
1950	197876	28347	224597	15510433
1951	230796	75488	318660	20126000
1952	256637	102080	482878	21900448
1953	292743	137849	656301	25527632
1954	331327	138020	412799	28064976
1955	381239	138572	431999	29542096
1956	413928	118502	409844	26749408
1957	452142	125817	377883	27624304
1958	371212	147573	370492	30241936
1959	238692	140505	358383	34498608
1960	266630	155910	378455	36960032
1961	300664	190736	382095	43662960
1962	324115	222395	419868	49976192
1963	349226	230316	439156	47000000
1964	380863	224119	460674	47000000
1965	422677	201202	506645	46000000
1966	440088	215034	541971	48000000
1967	506167	236862	581495	52000000
1968	568172	257135	713125	62622000
1969	594163	297847	783558	68053000
1970	686894	340193	925775	77200000
1971	568948	1273500	1937400	82700000
1972	703957	1430600	2117400	88900000

[1177] Singer, Bremer and Stuckey, *op. cit.*

Table 62 Continued

1973	861625	1596300	2316300	96410000
1974	1136713	1860600	2625800	109000000
1975	2091123	2141300	2922700	128000000
1976	2534791	2100300	3180900	138000000
1977	2765803	2280000	3397200	149000000
1978	2727905	2598000	3744400	163000000
1979	3001094	2704800	3974800	180000000
1980	2203621	3100562	3773856	201000000
1981	2815664	3461788	4053839	221000000
1982	2755065	4105291	4890712	237000000
1983	2469087	4282560	5159423	250000000
1984	2190865	4485000	5295000	264000000
1985	1649000	1656000	1395000	275000000
1986	1830000	1940000	1327000	287600000
1987	2020000	2370000	1183000	303000000
1988	1700000	2465000	809000	317900000
1989	2100000	2465000	1980000	119440000
1990	2980000	2010000	1570000	128790000
1991	4400000	1790000	1150000	133700000

APPENDIX C.   TRADE VOLUME BETWEEN ROMANIA AND THE USA, FRANCE, THE UK, THE GFR, THE USSR (1948- 1990)

Table 63: Trade Volume between Romania and the USA, GFR, the UK, France, Italy and the USSR (1948-1990) (in current US$ Million) [1178]

	USA	UK	GFR	FRANCE	ITALY	USSR
1948	9	17.1		0.3	3.9	
1949	4	16.5		0.9	3.2	
1950	2	5.3		0.5	3.3	
1951	0	12		2.5	6.6	
1952	1	9.7		1.9	5.6	
1953	0	11.7		10.1	7.9	
1954	0	13.4		5.2	9.8	
1955	0	18.2	24	14.3	12.5	498.5
1956	1	12.1	26	11.6	22	470.9
1957	2	12	41	20.5	26.9	459.9
1958	0.75	13.98	53.61	33.19	20.73	514.62
1959	2.05	17.83	45.63	25.91	21.21	508.32
1960	8.93	30.63	92.72	41.72	49.49	574.07
1961	5.42	73.48	121.75	45.01	68.41	680.03
1962	3.35	68.19	149.98	44.86	86.61	751.02
1963	1.95	76.16	140.02	60.43	112.86	852.25
1964	6.72	70.84	157.6	78.91	108.29	964.38
1965	12.05	79.7	193.54	82.95	118.34	885.37
1966	34.41	92.69	238.05	104.89	135.26	843.45
1967	26.44	127.64	369.8	127.56	196.95	869.21
1968	27	172.62	293.07	133.1	191.66	925.57
1969	33.37	171.98	307.38	156.92	202	966.41
1970	79.76	164.42	334.8	176.82	240.76	1079.91
1971	83.22	178.22	377.61	210.26	235.99	1099.82

[1178] Barbieri and Keshk, *op. cit.* While this database contains the export and import amounts of Romania with all trade partners till 1978, there is missing information in various years, including her trade with the USSR from 1938 to 1955.

Table 63 Continued

1972	117.24	220.94	524.22	245.27	309.74	1341.71
1973	227.81	217.16	786.8	307.3	366.76	1578.03
1974	402.72	399.1	1241.57	345.1	436.13	1652.85
1975	299.35	273.61	1032.82	383.25	498.88	2074.69
1976	522.41	271.02	921.19	486.1	446.92	2292.6
1977	569.82	309.56	1048.97	444.88	425.76	2818.28
1978	897.33	330.49	1402.08	587.18	507.44	2992.32
1979	1102.6	353.16	1957.5	780.88	705.76	3410.79
1980	1415.26	424.27	1808.67	769.56	903.63	4520.81
1981	1553.95	382.74	1349.9	1043.34	709.45	4417.8
1982	661.13	334.94	1007.04	541.29	684.05	3578.24
1983	784.21	225.92	790.59	377.33	727.26	3785.56
1984	1266.07	470.4	870.78	426.81	1086.11	3473.27
1985	1243.06	302.01	869.15	447.33	1074.24	4770.19
1986	1116.33	277.71	1067.4	643.86	758.86	5704.54
1987	1045.59	237.47	1046.93	628.3	924.94	5560.83
1988	992.91	255.18	1000.56	560.06	884.87	5700.83
1989	589.98	277.07	1034.53	515.49	966.14	5744.5
1990	724.01	310.54	1902.44	554.18	623.08	4055.98

APPENDIX D.   TRADE VOLUME OF TURKEY WITH THE USA, THE UK, THE GFR, FRANCE, ITALY, NETHERLANDS AND THE USSR (1948- 1991)

Table 64: Trade Volume of Turkey with the USA, the UK, the GFR, France, Italy, Netherlands and the USSR (1948-1991) (in current US$ Million)[1179]

	USA	UK	France	GFR	NL	ITALY	EU Partner	USSR
1948	192.3	93.3	20.5		7	34	154.8	0.1
1949	120.6	81.8	30.1		10.9	20.3	143.1	0.2
1950	136	62.2	24.8		12.9	25.8	125.7	0.4
1951	134.9	98.2	38.5		14.5	41.9	193.1	2
1952	115.8	120	73.8		24.4	60.5	278.7	2.3
1953	151.3	94.6	51.9		24.7	94.4	265.6	2.3
1954	140.9	62	48		16.3	46.7	173	8.6
1955	173.3	63.7	54.4	154.4	16.6	47.4	336.5	13.9
1956	159.8	56.1	35.7	163	13.3	60.5	328.6	12.5
1957	222.8	63.8	39.4	103	11.1	68.9	286.2	17.3
1958	148.8	42.1	27.3	101.9	9.3	49.8	230.4	18.3
1959	185.2	91.4	33.5	176.8	19.8	61	382.5	11.4
1960	185.7	85.1	32.8	170.2	17.3	67.1	372.5	5.9
1961	220.1	100.6	35.9	162.1	18	82.1	398.7	8.4
1962	276.2	111.3	47.7	197.4	19.4	86.1	461.9	6.4
1963	281.6	128.9	53	192.4	21.2	87.1	482.6	8.9
1964	231	108.9	43.1	171.9	21.7	71.7	417.3	17
1965	252.1	106.9	49.5	163.7	23.6	80	423.7	35.2
1966	278.1	127.9	79.9	204.7	28.2	100.2	540.9	44.6
1967	233.8	126.1	62.3	224.8	30	111.9	555.1	56.1
1968	226.7	140.3	63.3	255	32.9	110.4	601.9	60.4
1969	200.11	129.73	67.85	252.84	36.45	127.21	614.08	63.51
1970	245.97	125.57	89.76	287.18	40.85	129.86	673.22	68.11

[1179] Barbieri and Keshk, *op. cit.*

Table 64 Continued

1971	199.85	146.09	138.45	334.18	48.64	177.26	844.62	98.23
1972	287.88	208.81	169.73	463.25	71.21	240.61	1153.61	161.61
1973	319.15	302.64	221.6	671.88	139.25	333.05	1668.42	176.26
1974	501.36	349	345.97	993.94	168.1	406.18	2263.19	172.49
1975	580.79	419.66	365.65	1373.73	182.78	461.04	2802.86	147.3
1976	673.19	518.38	438.4	1307.59	236.82	606.71	3107.9	169.68
1977	660.61	503.52	446.17	1321.08	217.78	659.7	3148.25	162.36
1978	464.78	328.43	513.78	1228.03	179.73	498.61	2748.58	173.57
1979	597.17	369.64	495.18	1119.54	176.95	773.14	2934.45	234.88
1980	628.92	431.16	589.81	1421.51	301.55	581.29	3325.32	349.64
1981	858.86	683.08	674.5	1549.4	261.42	652.34	3820.74	376.67
1982	1098.76	796.5	500.28	1633.79	253.11	717.04	3900.72	242.76
1983	1023	713.57	451.06	1750.14	291.13	928.43	4134.33	335.16
1984	1524.76	706.59	514.94	1999.19	325.3	1170.38	4716.4	464.02
1985	1781.44	1130.58	818.78	2328.2	372.35	1116.88	5766.79	429.66
1986	1855.63	1108.85	897.39	3185.95	443.81	1358.55	6994.55	506.45
1987	2252.24	1520.08	1099.87	4211.97	629.62	1797.73	9259.27	493.33
1988	2581.88	1644.33	1454.39	4201.5	655.74	1957.57	9913.53	741.02
1989	3573.54	1600.98	1496.54	4716.56	757.05	2304.95	10876.08	1400.26
1990	3436.81	1993.01	2223.15	7000.82	962.19	3024.97	15204.14	1831.24
1991	3333.75	1879.76	2077.14		1052.74	2889.18	7898.82	1879.23

APPENDIX E.   THE ACTIVE DUTY US MILITARY PERSONNEL IN TURKEY (1950- 1991)

Table 65: The Active Duty US Military Personnel in Turkey 1950- 1991[1180]

	Total	Shore Activities	Afloat &Mobile
Jun-50	445	445	
Jun-53	1,044	1,044	
Jun-54	1,599	1,316	283
Jun-55	2,393	2,156	237
Jun-56	3,519	3,022	497
Sep-57	10,030	4,663	5,367
Sep-58	6,076	5,990	86
Sep-59	6,651	6,651	
Sep-60	7,454	7,454	
Sep-61	9,122	9,122	
Sep-62	10,495	10,495	
Sep-63	10,475	10,475	
Sep-64	11,133	10,793	340
Sep-65	10,113	10,113	
Sep-66	10,037	10,037	
Sep-67	10,606	10,606	
Sep-68	9,863	9,863	
Sep-69	9,652	9,652	
Sep-70	6,681	6,681	
Sep-71	6,937	6,937	
Sep-72	6,756	6,756	
Sep-73	7,480	7,480	

[1180] The Table is prepared with using data of Military Personnel Historical Report, available in the Military Personnel Statistics, Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) and Department of Defense, USA, http://siadapp.dmdc.osd.mil/personnel/MILITARY/miltop.htm, (accessed on 27.03.2012)

Table 65 Continued

Sep-74	6,599	6,599	
Sep-75	7,448	7,225	223
Sep-76	4,856	4,856	
Sep-77	4,855	4,784	71
Sep-78	4,798	4,751	47
Sep-79	4,918	4,853	65
Sep-80	5,269	5,181	88
Sep-81	5,125	5,044	81
Sep-82	5,162	5,136	96
Sep-83	5,316	5,201	115
Sep-84	5,449	5,330	119
Sep-85	5,268	5,150	118
Sep-86	5,141	5,019	122
Sep-87	5,053	4,924	129
Sep-88	5,034	1,275	3624
Sep-89	4,862	4,724	138
Sep-90	4,382	4,252	
Sep-91	6,342	6,213	
Since 1977, the sum of values of army and air forces is in the shore activities column.			
Since 1977, the sum of values of navy and marine corps is given in the afloat & mobile column.			
Data is not available for 1951 and 1952.			
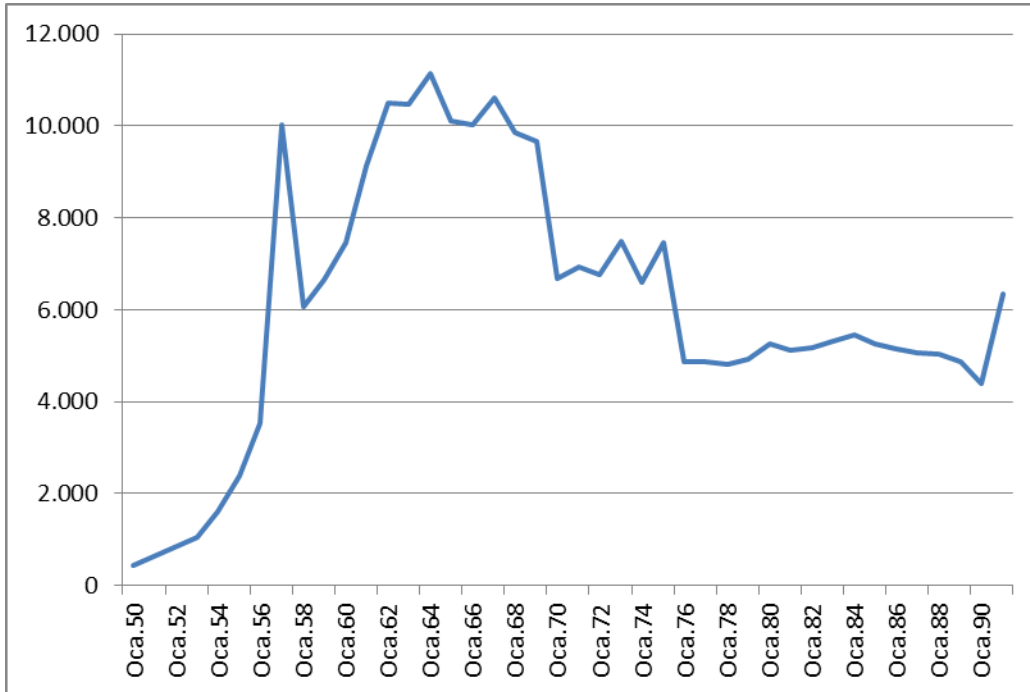
Figure 69: US Military Personnel in Turkey (1950- 1991)

APPENDIX F.   THE USA - TURKEY BILATERAL TREATIES ON DEFENCE AND SECURITY (1951-1987)

Table 66: Bilateral Agreement on Defence and Security between the USA and Turkey (1951- 1987)[1181]

June 19, 1951	Agreement relating to Implementation of the Agreement between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding the Status of their Forces
January 7, 1952	Agreement relating to the Assurances Required by the Mutual Security Act of 1951
June 23, 1954	Agreement amending the Minute of Understanding on Paragraph 7 of the Agreement
May 26, 1955	Agreement relating to Redistributable and Excess Equipment and Materials Furnished Pursuant to the Mutual Defence Assistance Program
March 5, 1959.	Agreement of Cooperation
October 28, 1959	Agreement relating to the Introduction of Modern Weapons into NATO Defence Forces in Turkey
November 30, 1959	Agreement for the Establishment of a Facility for Repairing and Rebuilding M-12 Range Finders in Turkey
March 2, 1960.	Agreement relating to a Weapons Production program
September 24, 1968	Agreement concerning Duty Certificates in Implementation of Article VII of the Agreement between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding the Status of their Forces
October 9 and 10, 1974	Agreement concerning Payment to the United States of Net Proceeds from the Sale of Defence Articles Furnished under the Military Assistance Program
August 15 and 31, 1979	Agreement concerning the Grant of Defence Articles and Services under the Military Assistance Program
March 29, 1980	Agreement for Cooperation on Defence and Economy in Accordance with articles II and III of the North Atlantic Treaty
March 29, 1981	Supplementary Agreement Number 1 on Defence Support

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[1181] "US Treaties in Force", http://turkey.usembassy.gov/treaty_websites.html, (accessed on 26.03.2013)

Table 66 Continued

March 29, 1982	Supplementary Agreement Number 2 on Defence Industrial Cooperation
March 29, 1983	Supplementary Agreement Number 3 on Installations
March 29, 1984	Implementing Agreements
November 14 and December 26, 1984	Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperative Measures for Enhancing Air Defence Capabilities of Selected COBs in Turkey
March 16, 1987	Agreement Supplementing and Extending the Agreement of March 29, 1980 for Cooperation on Defence and Economy

APPENDIX G. FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN TURKEY-GEOGRAPHICAL BREAKDOWN (1980-2012)

Table 67: Breakdown of Authorised FDI according to Home Countries (1980-1990) (million \$)[1182]

FRANCE	1045,61	SYRIA	31,35
U. KINGDOM	877,44	LUXEMBURG	27,95
SWITZERLAND	799,61	AUSTRIA	24,47
U.S.A.	770,59	IFC	21,72
GERMANY	696,43	KOREA	20,59
JAPAN	363,33	BAHRAIN	16,32
NETHERLANDS	322,4	CAYMAN IS.	14,86
ITALY	214,06	JERSEY IS.	9,92
S.ARABIA	125,35	SPAIN	8,26
BELGIUM	87,54	FINLAND	3,4
DENMARK	82,96	RUSSIAN FED.	1,79
IRAN	59,21	TRNC	1,56
SINGAPORE	55,61	LIECHTENSTEIN	1,03
PANAMA	46,83	ISRAEL	0,74
SWEDEN	41,05	GREECE	0,42
UAE	34,59	IRELAND	0,36
CANADA	31,85	OTHER COUNTRIES	582,16
TOTAL	6.421,36		

[1182] Fulya Bayraktar, *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Doğrudan Yabancı Sermaya* Yatırımları, Development Bank of Turkey Publication, January 2003, p. 57, http://www.kalkinma.com.tr/data/file/raporlar/ESA/GA/2003-GA/GA-03-01-01_Dogrudan_Yabanci_Sermaye_Yatirimlari.pdf, (accessed on 24.10.2013)
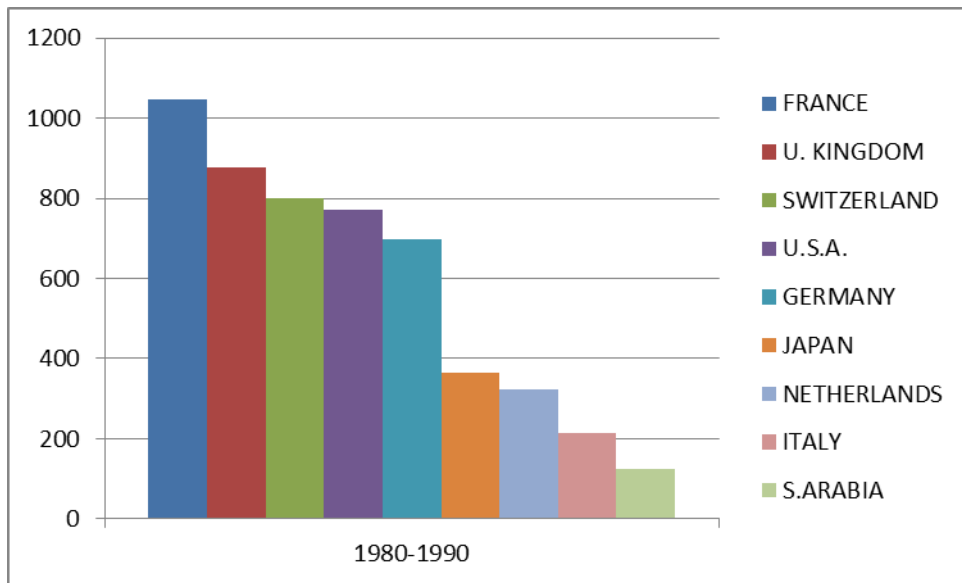
Figure 70: Leading Investors in Turkey (1980-1990)[1183]

[1183] *Ibid.*

Table 68: Foreign Direct Investment in Turkey Geographical Breakdown (1992- 1999) (million $US) [1184]

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	TOTAL
Australia							3		3
Austria	2			1	4	5	3	7	22
BLEU	0	0	0	2	17	34	19	11	83
Denmark	0	0	0	1	0	0	4		5
France	189	233	136	136	35	54	118	46	947
Germany	67	39	166	196	134	125	187	208	1122
Greece	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	1
Ireland	0	0	1	11	22	0			34
Italy	29	34	10	17	32	7	43	40	212
Japan	20	20	24	19	24	37	15	9	168
Netherlands	104	41	64	323	185	254	116	24	1111
Spain	0	0	0	0	8	0		1	9
Sweden							4	5	9
Switzerland	32	30	36	13	33	13	18	8	183
United Kingdom	26	17	8	17	54	43	59	33	257
United States	403	267	162	144	143	217	348	254	1938
OECD - Unallocated	3	31	5				7	1	47

[1184] "FDI Flows by Partner Country", http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=FDI_FLOW_PARTNER#, (accessed on 08.05.2013)

Table 68 Continued

Romania								2	2
Russian Federation								2	2
Ukraine								1	1
Egypt	0	0	0	0		2			2
Libya	0	0	0	2	4	2			8
NORTH AMERICA				144	143	217	348	254	1106
ASIA				22	51	49	18	164	304
ASIA (Excluding OECD countries)				3	27	12	3	155	200
NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST	16	26	8	3	27	12	3	155	250
OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES (Excluding Near and Middle East)	20	20	24	19	24	37	15	9	168
TOTAL	36	34	24	5	31	16	-4	134	276

Table 69: Foreign Direct Investment in Turkey Geographical Breakdown (2000-2012) (million \$US)[1185]

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Australia	0	0	0	0	0	1	108	17	5	15	16	7	169
Austria	2	17	0	8	7	6	1106	395	590	1048	1746	2264	*7189*
Belgium	0	5	6	54	29	1131	3451	381	886	-24	54	80	6053
BLEU	3	10	19	38	37	1171	3694		5135	725	354	545	11731
Canada	0	0	7	8	61	25	120	12	27	54	59	27	400
Czech Republic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	467	36	9	512
Denmark	1	14	14	24	7	79	62	79	187	42	50	24	583
Finland	0	0	-1	0	142	1	140	81	25	-55	9	7	349
France	47	190	18	115	85	2132	433	378	634	606	652	1011	6301
Germany	58	124	55	174	42	-333	323	1134	1222	591	650	911	4951
Greece	13	0	0	2	60	-17	2772	2366	764	54	423	123	6560
Hungary	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	11	3	2	3	21
Ireland	0	9	20	9	15	76	48	69	52	37	61	334	730
Israel											9	3	12
Italy	261	1632	268	-25	19	697	119	90	244	296	33	-281	3353
Japan	121	139	63	58	6	33	0	-44	11	62	352	226	1027

[1185] "FDI Flows by Partner Country", http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=FDI_FLOW_PARTNER#, (accessed on 08.05.2013)

Table 69 Continued

Korea, Republic of (South Korea)	0	0	2	1	1	2	2	73	54	169	20	50	374
Luxembourg	3	5	13	-16	8	39	243	580	4249	499	164	-39	5748
Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	640	311	165	97	706	520	5175	5701	1779	944	735	1513	*18286*
Norway	0	0	-1	1	6	294	33	47	44	130	53	101	708
Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	8	3	3	12	28
Portugal	0	0	0	0	0	1	24	701	32	0	1	-4	755
Spain	14	12	5	0	4	66	57	519	876	191	144	2212	4100
Sweden	7	0	6	-5	1	15	9	15	68	16	54	67	253
Switzerland	40	54	79	-5	-34	-10	95	184	197	169	126	325	1220
United Kingdom	86	527	217	162	250	102	555	1111	1679	528	510	958	6685
United States	210	280	115	52	141	175	916	3613	870	233	361	1419	*8385*
Russian Federation			0	0	3	1617	9	122	90	132	11	821	2805
Brazil	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	466	52	7	6	5	537
Asia (Excluding Oecd)	184	0	5	41	55	1735	1918	1316	2304	793	505	1745	10601
Near And Middle East	184	0	5	41	55	1687	1903	598	2176	411	481	1527	9068

APPENDIX H.   USA- TURKEY BILATERAL AGREEMENTS (1990- 2005)

Table 70: USA- Turkey Bilateral Agreements (1990- 2005)[1186]

14- Feb and 14 Mar- 90	Memorandum of understanding concerning the operation of the BUREAUFAX service
14-Jun-94	Agreement relating to scientific and technological cooperation
31- Oct and 30-Nov-94	Agreement concerning trade in cotton and man-made fiber textiles and textile products, signed in 1988, amendment and extension
5-May-95	Agreement for cooperation in the Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment (GLOBE) Program
28-Mar-96	Agreement regarding mutual assistance between customs administrations
28-Mar-96	Agreement for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income
12-Aug-96	Acquisition and cross-servicing agreement, with annexes
13-Sep-96	Agreement concerning the reimbursement of costs arising from the transit of United States Government employees and their families
27-Nov-96	Arrangement relating to radio communications between amateur stations on behalf of third parties
27-Nov-96	Agreement relating to the reciprocal granting of authorizations to permit licensed amateur radio operators of either country to operate their stations in the other country

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[1186] This table is prepared, benefitting from "US Treaties in Force", http://turkey.usembassy.gov/treaty_websites.html, (accessed on 05.06.2013)

Table 70 Continued

2-Apr-99	Agreement concerning the closure of Belbasi installation and the activation of a new seismic research station
23-Nov-99	Agreement relating to the employment of dependents of official government employees
2-Apr-99	Memorandum of understanding concerning scientific and technical cooperation in the earth sciences
26-Jul-00	Agreement for cooperation concerning peaceful uses of nuclear energy, with agreed minute
1-Dec-00	Support and procedures arrangement
2-May-00	Air transport agreement
31-May and 6-Jun- 01	Memorandum of understanding for a bilateral missile defense architecture analysis
30- Dec and 31- 04	Letter of agreement concerning the use of the Turkish NATO Pipeline System
14-Jun-05	Agreement regarding cooperation to facilitate the provision of assistance for preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction
5- Jan and 10- Feb- 05	Administrative arrangement concerning accommodation, facilities, services and assistance made available to personnel of the Armed Forces of the United States of America at Headquarters NATO Rapid Deployable Corps-Turkey (NRDC-T)

APPENDIX I. FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN UKRAINE AND GEORGIA- GEOGRAPHICAL BREAKDOWN (1991-2011)

Table 71: Foreign Direct Investment in Ukraine and Share of Russian Companies (2003-2011)[1187]

Years	Germany	RF	UK	Cyprus	Netherlands	Austria	France	USA
2003	6.2	5.7	10.1	10.4	7	4		16.4
2004	7.1	5.5	10.4	14.1	6.8	4		13.6
2005	6.6	5.8	11	15.3	6.2	3.7		12.8
2006	28.6	4.6	7.6	11	6.9	8.3	3.8	7
2007	21.4	5	6.8	18.5	8.1	7.5	3.8	5.3
2008	18.1	5.6	6.2	22.7	8.6	6.8	3.4	4
2009	17.1	5.3	6.1	21.3	9.9	6.6	4.1	3.6
2010	16.5	7	5.4	22.5	9.6	6.3	4.1	2.9
2011	15	7.1	5.2	24.9	10.1	7.1	4.6	2.2
Total	136.6	51.6	68.8	160.7	73.2	54.3	23.8	51.4

[1187] All tables regarding FDI in Ukraine are prepared according to FDI values as of 01 October of every year by benefitting from data in ""Direct Foreign Investment (Equity Capital) From Countries of the World to Ukraine Economy", the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, http://www.ukrstat.gov.ua/, (accessed on 13.07.2012).

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Table 72: Foreign Direct Investment in Georgia (1999-2011) [1188]

FDI in Georgia (1000 USD)							
	EU	RF	Azerbaijan	Turkey	US	UAE	Virgin Island, British
1999	8561.4503	1,072.6		9,831.1	59,151.3		
2000	41,550.8	6,139.0		28,601.0	38,717.7		
2001	71,930.0	5,072.8		8,456.1	23,281.2		
2002	58,446.0	7,809.7		8,847.6	82,183.1		
2003	95,783.2	42,659.4	29,697.5	17,275.1	72,064.9	291.1	6,225.5
2004	195,542.3	43,796.1	69,099.4	33,927.2	81,164.2		6,893.6
2005	243,749.0	38,737.6	66,920.2	21,812.5	15,025.6	280.5	4,900.2
2006	407,189.7	34,210.0	77,804.5	129,727.8	182,651.5	422.6	58,586.2
2007	1,132,726.1	88,996.5	41,368.1	93,871.1	84,412.2	130,858.7	187,815.5
2008	476,655.2	26,212.2	23,942.7	164,525.1	167,920.7	306,576.3	156,847.3
2009	224,722.2	10,253.4	29,824.4	97,939.7	-10,026.0	162,756.5	35,434.2
2010	248,211.4	47,881.0	57,962.0	91,786.5	135,818.5	55,530.7	40,235.9
2011	543,051.8	52,329.3	44,763.7	77,393.7	29,000.8	-55.651.3	40,765.5
Total	3,748,119.2	405,169.6	441,382.5	783,994.5	961,365.6	601,065.1	537,704.0

[1188]"Foreign Direct Investments by Countries", National Statistics of Georgia, http://www.geostat.ge/index.php?action=page&p_id=140&lang=eng, (accessed on 16.07.2012)

Table 73: Leading Investors in Georgia within the EU[1189]

	Cyprus	Germany	UK	Italy	France	NL	Austria	Denmark
1999	895.0	2,227.6	5,036.2	127.3				
2000	3,921.1	3,209.8	4,824.0	2,971.6		4,422.1		
2001	19,209.1	13,377.8	8,508.7	6,975.8	17,391.7	1,500.6		
2002	1,062.7	4,227.5	17,530.2	9,864.2	6,287.1			
2003	675.7	4,144.9	37,629.7	15,895.7	16,709.5		18,108.4	
2004	21,333.1	5,140.5	87,831.2	32,453.0	22,854.3		23,157.2	
2005	47,537.3	5,031.8	132,925.8	22,833.5	14,383.3	492.0	14,732.2	319.0
2006	40,071.2	20,380.8	186,824.1	47,219.1	17,221.7	18,530.2	10,749.3	42,477.8
2007	148,643.6	56,987.8	145,474.8	15,228.1	43,726.0	299,277.2	11,384.4	158,126.2
2008	26,165.8	40,590.6	148,907.6	6,047.8	8,179.7	135,870.2	51,463.4	256.3
2009	-1,612.1	21,345.0	72,313.2	1,683.8	11,958.4	32,586.4	29,709.0	-427.3
2010	40,387.7	12,848.0	58,964.2	5,140.8	-7,820.1	73,362.2	10,045.0	18.1
2011	94,244.1	24,619.3	37,224.2	-5,664.2	5,469.0	213,373.7	22,169.2	99,944.3
Total	442,534.4	214,131.4	943,993.8	160,776.5	156,360.4	779,414.6	191,518.1	300,714.4

[1189] "Foreign Direct Investments by Countries", National Statistics of Georgia, http://www.geostat.ge/index.php?action=page&p_id=140&lang=eng, (accessed on 16.07.2012)

APPENDIX J. US ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO BLACK SEA STATES (1991-2011)

Table 74: US Military Aid to Black Sea Countries (1991-2011), Historical US $ [1190]

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Bulgaria		333.000	279.000	300.000	474.810	5.818.809	3.908.397
Georgia				63.000	82.000	302.000	1.012.000
Romania			309.000	312.000	4.797.329	10.033.000	7.422.000
Russia		3.528.305	17.111.296	28.033.471	60.728.178	45.576.862	18.085.177
Turkey	635.381.000	503.288.000	487.014.761	412.511.509	361.110.579	432.478.450	177.154.528
Ukraine		77.000	379.000	47.141.598	11.869.424	3.734.152	6.265.000
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Bulgaria	5.150.000	10.374.000	6.000.000	14.569.000	9.712.000	20.324.000	9.912.000
Georgia	5.766.000	9.271.200	3.639.000	9.686.000	108.755.000	9.109.500	13.528.030
Romania	14.994.000	7.611.000	7.293.000	18.206.000	10.356.000	26.551.000	10.473.000
Russia	38.805.468	52.057.865	113.661.562	92.550.515	64.743.579	57.003.508	71.590.625

[1190] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)

Table 74 Continued

Turkey	5.723.536	15.582.057	3.690.294	1.836.660	71.592.044	20.405.393	39.997.000
Ukraine	5.050.000	6.304.000	4.588.000	8.677.000	41.848.000	7.198.000	6.809.000
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Bulgaria	8.449.000	11.480.000	11.056.000	8.259.000	9.228.000	10.968.000	11.310.000
Georgia	13.734.750	13.990.500	11.021.500	10.028.000	13.538.000	17.806.000	17.965.000
Romania	14.985.000	14.297.000	15.926.000	14.678.000	13.646.000	15.132.000	15.435.000
Russia	75.056.781	159.063.536	125.613.287	75.240.010	75.040.581	87.763.115	41.575.219
Turkey	37.444.000	17.875.000	17.807.000	9.772.000	4.319.000	5.116.000	4.843.000
Ukraine	4.830.000	12.638.000	11.356.000	8.090.000	10.163.000	13.443.000	11.161.000
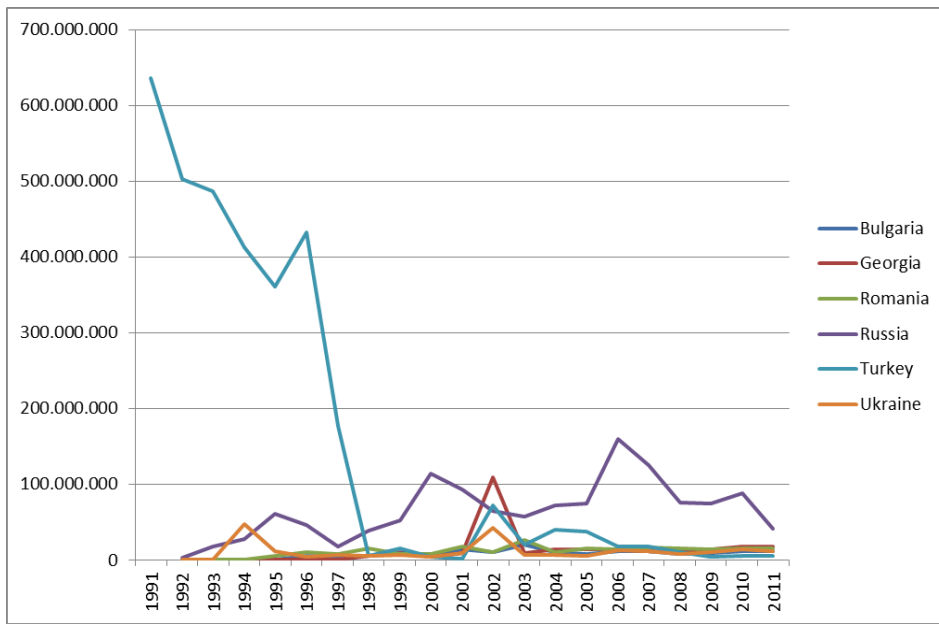
Figure 71: US Military Aid to Black Sea Countries (1991-2011) (Historical $US)[1191]
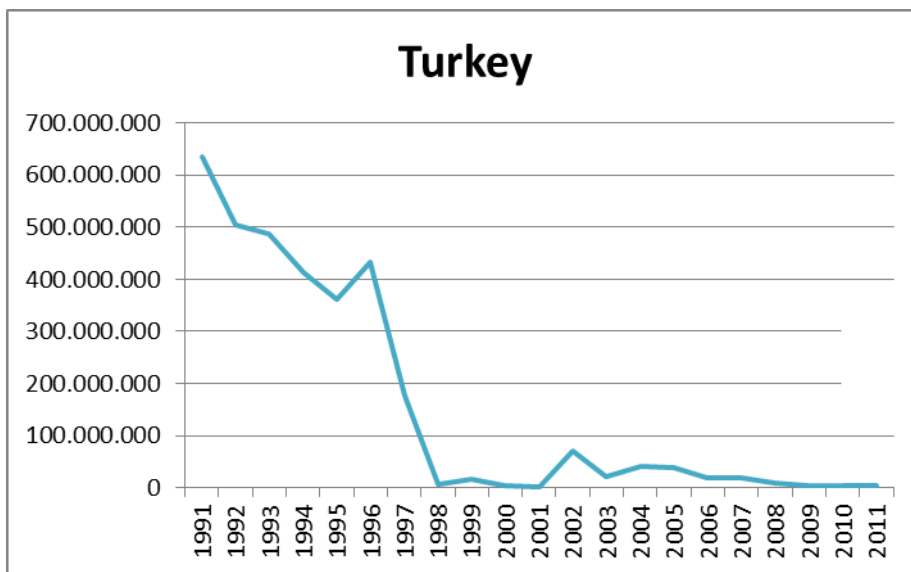
Figure 72: US Military Aid to Turkey (1991-2011)

[1191] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)
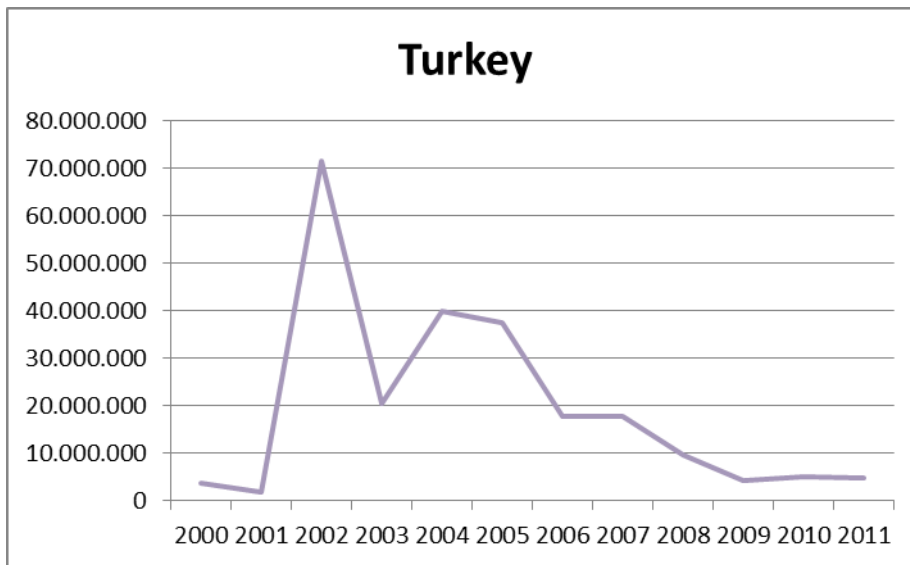
Figure 73: US Military Aid to Turkey (2000-2011)
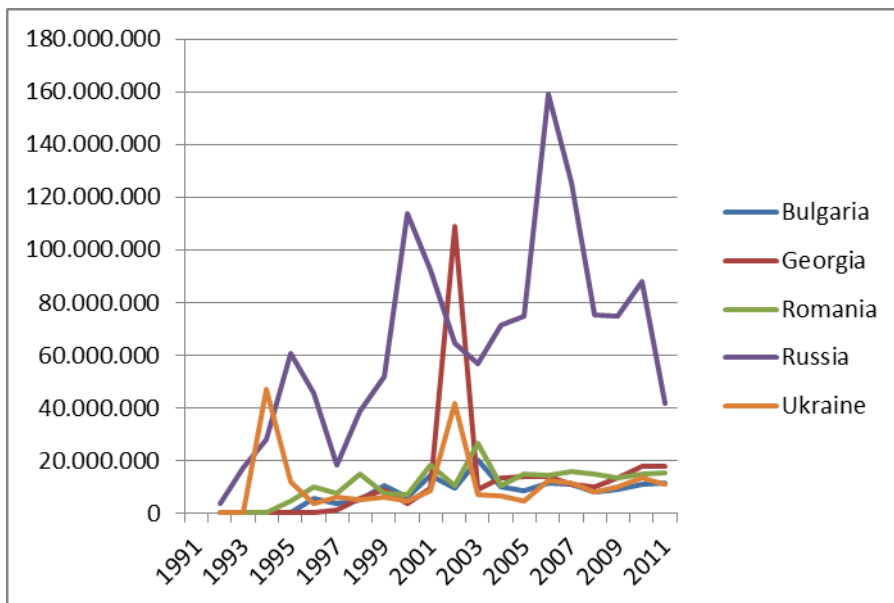
Figure 74: US Military Aid to Georgia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, and Romania (1991-2011) (Historical $US)[1192]

[1192] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 06.05.2013)
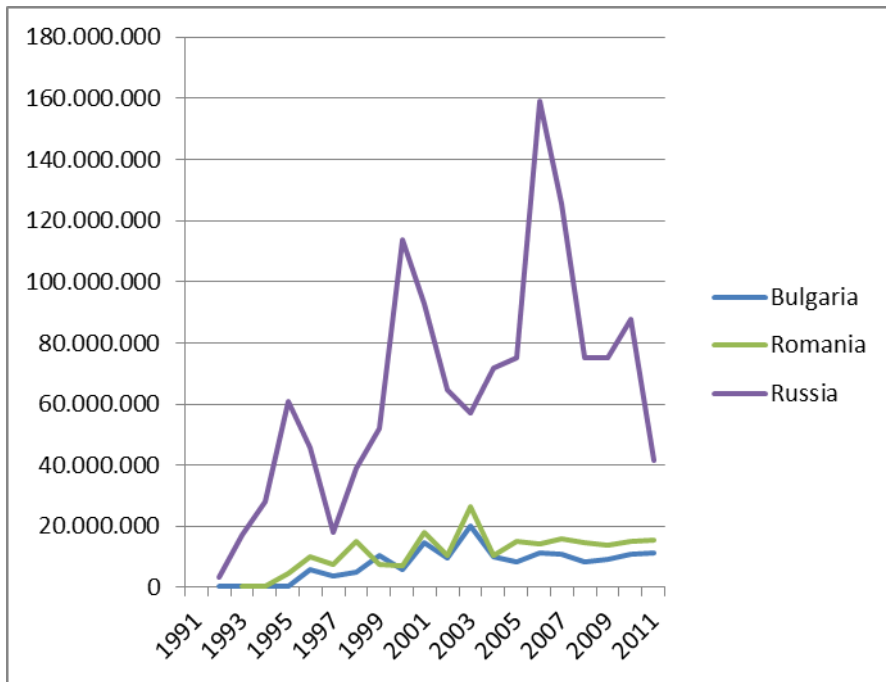
Figure 75: US Military Aid to Russia, Romania and Bulgaria (1991-2011)[1193]

[1193] *Ibid.*
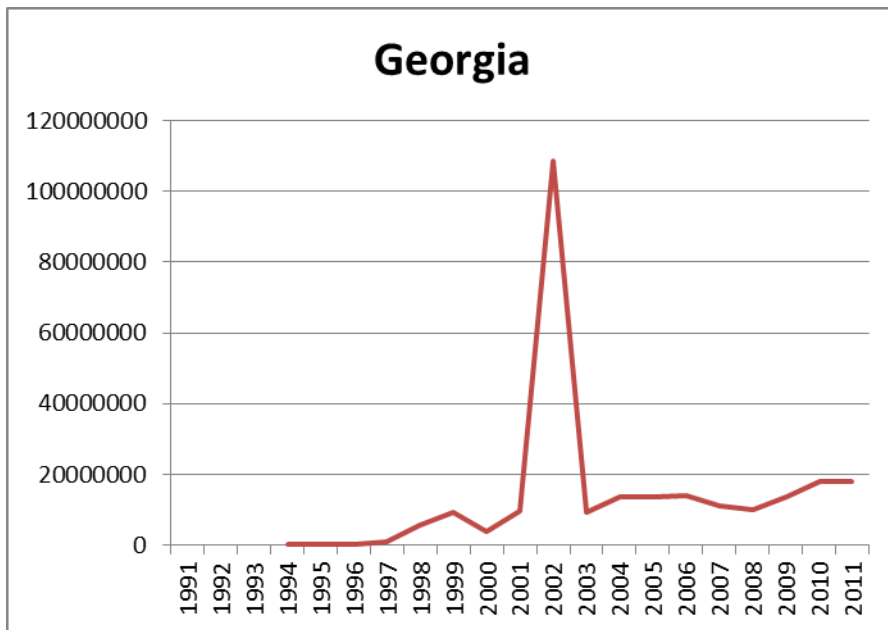
Figure 76: US Military Aid to Georgia (1991-2011)[1194]

[1194] *Ibid.*
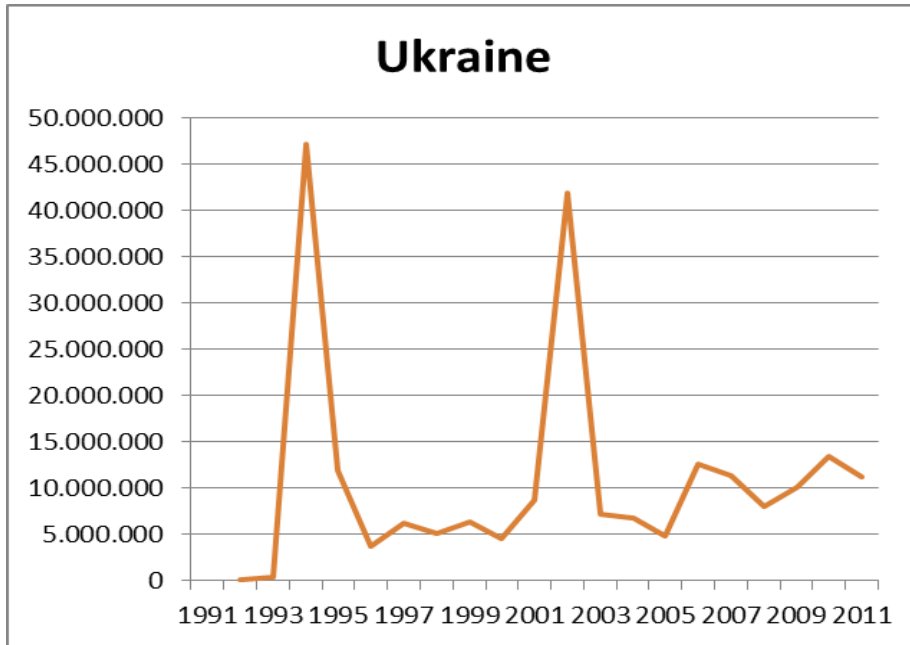
Figure 77: US Military Aid to Ukraine (1991-2011)[1195]

[1195] *Ibid.*

Table 75: US Economic Aid to Black Sea Countries (1991-2012) (Historical $US)[1196]

Country	FY1991	FY1992	FY1993	FY1994	FY1995	FY1996	FY1997
Bulgaria	538.786	674.000	16.285.735	10.468.642	39.076.263	33.111.110	7.070.138
Russia	993.692	8.206.613	624.837.883	1.649.219.632	482.048.108	316.504.178	305.041.179
Turkey	250.506.100	1.450.000	200.448.817	471.583	166.418.744	34.784.970	24.026.905
Ukraine	309.740	435.938	137.332.835	332.567.233	248.914.725	168.886.224	98.442.894
Georgia	0	14.000.000	114.208.945	81.394.920	96.144.079	61.012.050	5.221.685
Romania	37.312.286	12.541.960	13.737.338	8.369.920	40.071.892	29.607.273	4.891.907
	FY1998	FY1999	FY2000	FY2001	FY2002	FY2003	FY2004
Bulgaria	40.414.274	29.133.903	42.806.456	43.789.906	46.171.410	35.022.757	34.305.727
Russia	353.296.019	1.549.742.254	594.903.345	494.965.643	416.887.709	698.160.975	888.862.418
Turkey	11.042.998	6.021.418	1.781.957	4.615.716	204.530.194	7.520.562	9.680.692
Ukraine	272.792.822	281.469.454	194.873.467	139.402.839	130.906.674	91.588.414	128.483.936
Georgia	79.048.916	100.774.796	108.723.404	95.902.067	88.490.932	88.212.640	111.050.634

[1196] "Historical Dollar Data Foreign Assistance 1946-2011", US Overseas Loans and Grants (Greenbook), USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services, http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/data/detailed.html, (accessed on 18.06.2013)

Table 75 Continued

Romania	38.894.518	59.452.301	38.829.252	48.451.108	46.184.625	40.565.556	40.991.884
	FY2005	FY2006	FY2007	FY2008	FY2009	FY2010	FY2011
Bulgaria	37.540.293	29.531.992	17.744.510	20.566.056	14.047.738	14.476.750	2792930
Russia	1.528.201.0 75	1.392.644.4 83	1.484.245.2 04	1.367.630.2 93	464.328.524	418.558.222	88.860.384
Turkey	16.267.103	5.275.941	13.092.760	11.542.651	14.511.028	22.785.283	13846279
Ukraine	155.932.243	153.785.964	168.962.281	121.746.792	176.885.017	304.412.268	99404669
Georgia	95.899.304	369.132.835	89.722.812	132.601.597	588.873.053	419.543.540	95078464
Romania	50.454.892	41.059.876	21.897.242	13.501.719	10.137.179	12.305.717	3372998

Table 76: US Economic Aid to Black Sea Countries per Capita (1991-2000) (Historical $US)[1197]

Countries	FY1991	FY1992	FY1993	FY1994	FY1995	FY1996	FY1997	FY1998	FY1999	FY2000	TOTAL
Bulgaria	0,06	0,08	1,92	1,24	4,65	3,96	0,85	4,89	3,55	5,24	26,44
Russia	0,01	0,06	4,21	11,12	3,25	2,14	2,07	2,41	10,59	4,07	39,92
Turkey	4,55	0,03	3,52	0,01	2,83	0,58	0,40	0,18	0,10	0,03	12,21
Ukraine	0,01	0,01	2,63	6,41	4,83	3,31	1,95	5,44	5,67	3,96	34,21
Georgia	0,00	2,87	23,26	16,74	20,31	13,22	1,15	17,62	22,63	24,61	142,41
Romania	1,62	0,55	0,60	0,37	1,77	1,31	0,22	1,73	2,65	1,73	12,54

[1197] Figure 3, Table 3 and Table 4 are prepared using data of American Foreign Assistance (*Ibid*) and "World Development Indicators", World Bank, http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators, (accessed on 18.06.2013)

Table 77: US Economic Aid to Black Sea Countries per Capita (2001-2011) (Historical $US)

Countries	FY2001	FY2002	FY2003	FY2004	FY2005	FY2006	FY2007	FY2008	FY2009	FY2010	FY2011	TOTAL
Bulgaria	5,46	5,87	4,48	4,41	4,85	3,84	2,32	2,70	1,85	1,92	0,38	38,067
Russia	3,39	2,87	4,83	6,18	10,68	9,77	10,45	9,63	3,27	2,94	0,62	64,629
Turkey	0,07	3,13	0,11	0,14	0,24	0,08	0,19	0,16	0,20	0,31	0,19	4,822
Ukraine	2,86	2,72	1,92	2,71	3,31	3,29	3,63	2,63	3,84	6,64	2,17	35,716
Georgia	21,86	20,31	20,38	25,72	21,99	83,93	20,45	30,25	133,51	94,22	21,19	493,805
Romania	2,19	2,12	1,87	1,89	2,33	1,90	1,02	0,63	0,47	0,57	0,16	15,145
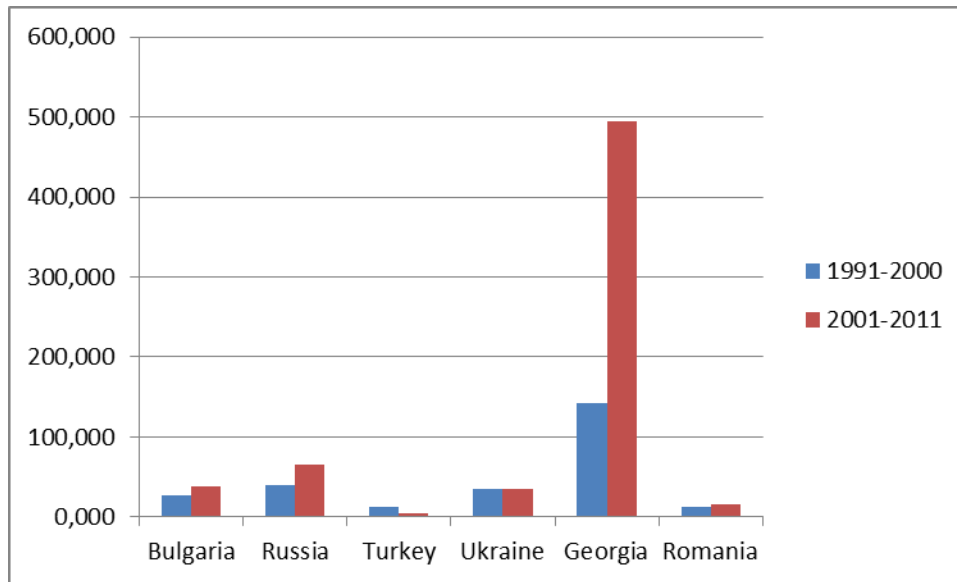
Figure 78: US Economic Aids to Black Sea Countries per Capita (1991-2011) (Historical $US)

Table 78: US Aid and GDP and Percentage of US Aids to GDP of Black Sea Countries (1991-2011) (Historical $US)[1198]

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
GEORGIA- GDP	6.337.314. 651,84	3.691.110. 627,68	2.701.180. 603,90	2.513.870. 708,80	2.693.731. 879,97	3.094.915. 506,10	3.510.540. 843,58
GEORGIA- USAID	0	14.000.000	114.208.94 5	81.394.920	96.144.079	61.012.050	5.221.685
GEORGIA- PERCENTAGE	0	0,379	4,228	3,238	3,569	1,971	0,149
TURKEY- USAID	250.506.10 0	1.450.000	200.448.81 7	471.583	166.418.74 4	34.784.970	24.026.905
TURKEY-GDP	151.041.24 8.184	159.095.00 3.188	180.422.29 4.772	13.690.172 .297	169.485.94 1.048	181.475.55 5.283	189.834.64 9.111
TURKEY- PERCENTAGE	0,1659	0,0009	0,1111	0,0034	0,0982	0,0192	0,0127
BULGARIA_USAI D	538.786	674.000	16.285.735	10.468.642	39.076.263	33.111.110	7.070.138
BULGARIA-GDP	109435487 24	103719004 99	108319995 17	970487767 3	130690949 69	889031677 8	100534690 55
BULGARIA- PERCENTAGE	0,0049	0,0065	0,1503	0,1079	0,2990	0,3724	0,0703

[1198] Table 23 was prepared using data of American Foreign Assistance (*Ibid- Foreign Assistance...*) and "World Development Indicators", (*Ibid- World Bank...*)

Table 78 Continued

RUSSIA-USAID	993.692	8.206.613	624.837.883	1.649.219.632	482.048.108	316.504.178	305.041.179
RUSSIA-GDP	509.381.638.906	460.205.414.726	435.060.123.491	395.086.555.837	395.528.488.656	391.721.392.325	404.926.534.140
RUSSIA-PERCENTAGE	0,0001951	0,0017832	0,1436210	0,4174325	0,1218744	0,0807983	0,0753325
ROMANIA-USAID	37.312.286	12.541.960	13.737.338	8.369.920	40.071.892	29.607.273	4.891.907
ROMANIA-GDP	288.468.587.629.662	250.903.038.172.126	263.611.619.475.699	300.726.238.419.863	354.770.556.181.753	353.336.776.957.067	352.858.884.821.073
ROMANIA -PERCENTAGE	0,0000129	0,0000050	0,0000052	0,0000028	0,0000113	0,0000084	0,0000014
UKRAINE-USAID	309.740	435.938	137.332.835	332.567.233	248.914.725	168.886.224	98.442.894
UKRAINE-GDP	77464043753	73942294099	65648559195	52549555010	48213868185	44558077827	50150399813
UKRAINE -PERCENTAGE	0,0003999	0,0005896	0,2091940	0,6328640	0,5162720	0,3790249	0,1962953
	2000	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**
GEORGIA-GDP	3.057.453.460,85	3.219.487.823,05	3.395.778.661,40	3.991.374.539,82	5.125.273.877,25	6.411.147.323,20	7.761.900.179,11
GEORGIA-USAID	108.723.404	95.902.067	88.490.932	88.212.640	111.050.634	95.899.304	369.132.835
GEORGIA-PERCENTAGE	3,556	2,979	2,606	2,210	2,167	1,496	4,756

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Table 78 Continued

TURKEY-USAID	1.781.957	4.615.716	204.530.194	7.520.562	9.680.692	16.267.103	5.275.941
TURKEY-GDP	266.567.531.990	196.005.288.838	232.534.560.775	303.005.302.818	392.166.274.991	482.979.839.238	530.900.094.505
TURKEY-PERCENTAGE	0,0007	0,0024	0,0880	0,0025	0,0025	0,0034	0,0010
BULGARİA_USAID	42.806.456	43.789.906	46.171.410	35.022.757	34.305.727	37.540.293	29.531.992
BULGARIA-GDP	12903546765	13868600710	15979194511	20668176834	25283228366	28895083540	33209188739
BULGARIA-PERCENTAGE	0,3317	0,3157	0,2889	0,1695	0,1357	0,1299	0,0889
RUSSIA-USAID	594.903.345	494.965.643	416.887.709	698.160.975	888.862.418	1.528.201.075	1.392.644.483
RUSSIA-GDP	259.708.496.267	306.602.673.980	345.110.438.694	430.347.770.733	591.016.690.743	764.000.901.161	989.930.542.279
RUSSIA-PERCENTAGE	0,2290658	0,1614355	0,1207983	0,1622318	0,1503955	0,2000261	0,1406810
ROMANIA-USAID	38.829.252	48.451.108	46.184.625	40.565.556	40.991.884	50.454.892	41.059.876
ROMANIA-GDP	37.052.636.395.228	401.807.461.120.503	458.245.298.731.734	595.073.456.514.609	754.894.403.638.256	989.133.924.732.736	122.641.508.766
ROMANIA -PERCENTAGE	0,0001048	0,0000121	0,0000101	0,0000068	0,0000054	0,0000051	0,0334796

Table 78 Continued

UKRAINE-USAID	194.873.467	139.402.839	130.906.674	91.588.414	128.483.936	155.932.243	153.785.964
UKRAINE-GDP	31261527363	38009344577	42392896031	50132953288	64883060726	86142018069	107.753.069.307
UKRAINE - PERCENTAGE	0,6233652	0,3667594	0,3087939	0,1826910	0,1980239	0,1810176	0,1427207
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**Average of 21 Years**	
GEORGIA- GDP	10.172.260.738,49	12.799.337.249,97	10.766.836.276,56	11.638.236.642,85	14.366.527.680,29		
GEORGIA-USAID	89.722.812	132.601.597	588.873.053	419.543.540	95.078.464,00		
GEORGIA-PERCENTAGE	0,882	1,036	5,469	3,605	0,662	**2,5**	
TURKEY-USAID	13.092.760	11.542.651	14.511.028	22.785.283	13846279		
TURKEY-GDP	1.309.276.000	1.154.265.100	1.451.102.800	2.278.528.300	1.384.627.900		
TURKEY-PERCENTAGE	0,0020	0,0016	0,0024	0,0031	0,0018	**0,025**	
BULGARİA_USAID	17.744.510	20.566.056	14.047.738	14.476.750	2792930		
BULGARIA-GDP	42113656147	51824867998	48568714012	47727325909	53514380731		

Table 78 Continued

BULGARIA-PERCENTAGE	0,0421	0,0397	0,0289	0,0303	0,0052	**0,15**
RUSSIA-USAID	1.484.245.204	1.367.630.293	464.328.524	418.558.222	88.860.384	
RUSSIA-GDP	1.299.705.764.824	1.660.846.387.626	1.222.648.134.225	1.487.515.608.183	1.857.769.676.144	
RUSSIA-PERCENTAGE	0,1141986	0,0823454	0,0379773	0,0281381	0,0047832	**0,15**
ROMANIA-USAID	21.897.242	13.501.719	10.137.179	12.305.717	3372998	
ROMANIA-GDP	169.282.491.900	1.660.846.387.626	1.222.648.134.225	1.487.515.608.183	1.857.769.676.144	
ROMANIA -PERCENTAGE	0,0129353	0,0008129	0,0008291	0,0008273	0,0001816	**0,0023**
UKRAINE-USAID	168.962.281	121.746.792	176.885.017	304.412.268	99404669	
UKRAINE-GDP	142.719.009.901	179.992.405.832	117.227.769.792	136.418.622.767	165.245.009.991	
UKRAINE -PERCENTAGE	0,1183881	0,0676400	0,1508900	0,2231457	0,0601559	**0,29**

Table 79: Arm Exports to Turkey (2000-2012) (in 1990 US$ million)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Canada											3	12	9	24
China	6					8	8	8						31
France	156	170	193	15									10	543
Germany (FRG)	303				21	602	330	404	287	172	126	40	54	2338
Israel		46	94	48	10	3	6	99	97	320	69	17	17	826
Italy	10	15	15	15		35	30		30	5	5	8	175	343
Netherlands	22					27	13		13	13	13	42	25	169
Norway		6	6									12		24
Russia										16	16			32
Saudi Arabia												58		58
South Korea					29	44	44	44	73	73	81	106	98	590
Spain													111	111
Switzerland	23													23
UK	150	135	142	14	14	38	14	26	26	26	25			610
USA	498	152	456	249	129	310	5	25	49	9	150	606	772	3408

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Table 80: Arm Exports to Bulgaria (2000-2012) (in 1990 US$ million)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Belgium						132			80	102				314
Canada				4										4
France							22	29	15	15	7	7	3	97
Israel									0	3	0			4
Italy								14	14			14		42
Switzerland				2	8									10
USA								4	6			4		14

Table 81: Arm Exports to Georgia (2000-2012) (in 1990 US$ million)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Bulgaria		10			0		5	2		2		2		20
Czech Republic	6	67		1	0	18	44	4		2				142
Greece					31									31
Israel						0		13						13
Kazakhstan							6							6
Poland								8						8
Turkey		2						6	25	25				58
Ukraine					14	53	43	143	75	1				329
USA		6												6
Uzbekistan					4									4

Table 82: Arm Exports to Romania (2000-2012) (in 1990 US$ million)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Canada											5	5		10
France				6	6			12	6					29
Germany (FRG)					48	48	42	36	37	6				216
Israel	17	19	15	11	11	20	15	18	18	18	7			168
Italy					3	3					28	42	28	104
Netherlands						199								199
Norway								6	6					12
Russia	1													1
Spain												1		1
Switzerland								0	4	4				8
UK			1	1	218	219	1							440
USA	3	1				14	3	22	2	32	63	48	8	195

APPENDIX L.   INTERVIEW LIST

1. Kimberly Martin, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, USA, 01 May 2012

2. Stephen Larrabee, Chair in European Security at the RAND Cooperation, Washington DC, USA, 10 May 2012

3. Charles King, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington DC, USA, 11 May 2012.

4. Jeffrey Mankoff, Visiting Fellow, Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, USA, 14 May 2012

5. Henry Hale, Director, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, the George Washington University, Washington DC, USA, 14 May 2012

6. Cory Welt, Associate Director, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, Elliott School, the George Washington University, Washington DC, USA, 14 May, 2012

7. Olga Oliker, Senior International Policy Analyst, RAND Cooperation, Washington DC, USA, 15 May, 2012

8. Private Interview, the US Department of State, Washington DC, USA, 16 May, 2012

9. Alexander Cooley, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, USA, 21 May 2012

10. Lincoln A. Mitchell, the Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York, 29 May 2012

11. Dmitri Trenin, Director, Carniege Endowment For International Peace, Carneige Moscow Center, Moscow, Russian Federation, 6 September 2012, (with Prof. Dr. Mustafa Türkeş)

12. Dmitry Polikanov, Vice President of the PIR Center (The Russian Center for Policy Studies), Moscow, Russian Federation, 6 September 2012, (with Prof. Dr. Mustafa Türkeş)

13. Pavel Podlesny Institute for the US and Canadian Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation, 10 September 2012, (with Prof. Dr. Mustafa Türkeş)

14. Alexander Rytov, Stella Art Foundation and Moscow State University, Moscow, Russian Federation, 10 September 2012, (with Prof. Dr. Mustafa Türkeş)

15. Private Interview, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation, 11 September 2012, (with Prof. Dr. Mustafa Türkeş)

16. Private Interview, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies- RISS Center, Moscow, Russian Federation, 11 September 2012, (with Prof. Dr. Mustafa Türkeş)

17. Pavel Felgenhauer, RIA NOVOSTI, Moscow, Russian Federation, 14 September 2012

18. Mihail Troitsky, Moscow State Institute of International Relations , University of MFA of Russia,(MGIMO), Moscow, Russian Federation, 18 September 2012

19. Nadia Arbatova, Head of Department on European Political Studies, Institute of World Economy and International Relations- IMEMO Center, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation,19 September 2012

20. Eduard G. Solovyev, Institute of World Economy and International Relations- IMEMO Center, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation, 19 September 2012

21. Boris Kagarlitsky, Activist, politician, Moscow, Russian Federation, 20 September 2012

22. Andrey Boldirew and Dr. Nataliya Ulchenko, Turkish Studies Department, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow, Russian Federation, 24 September 2012

23. Alexey Vlasov, Director General, Moscow State University Analytical Center, editor-in-chief Vestnik Kavkaza (Caucasus Bulletin), Moscow, Russian Federation, (He answered my questions via e-mail on 24 September 2012)

24. Victoria Vladimirovna Panova and Yakub Korejba, Moscow State Institute of International Relations, University of MFA of Russia,(MGIMO), Moscow, Russian Federation, 25 September 2012

25. Anastasia Mitrofanova, Diplomatic Academy of Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow, Russian Federation, 27 September 2012

26. Vladimir I. Batyuk, Director Center for Military Political Studies, Institute for the US and Canadian Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russian Federation, 28 September 2012

27. Nana A. Gegelashvili, Institute for the USA and Canadian Studies, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow, Russian Federation, (She answered my questions via e-mail on 2 October 2012)

28. Burcu Gültekin Punsmann, Senior Researcher, Economic Policy Research Foundation (TEPAV), Ankara, Turkey, 14 December 2012

29. Hasan Karasar, Department of International Relations, Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey, 14 December 2012

30. Kamer Kasım, Vice Director, International Strategic Research Organization, USAK, Ankara, Turkey, 17 December 2012

31. Mitat Çelikpala, Head of Department of International Relations, Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences, Kadir Has University, İstanbul, Turkey, 24 December 2012

32. Mustafa Aydın, Rector, Kadir Has University, İstanbul, Turkey, 25 December 2012

33. Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, Department of International Relations, Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences, Kadir Has University, İstanbul, Turkey, 26 December 2012

34. Private Interview, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, Ankara, Turkey, 9 January, 2013

35. Private Interview, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, Ankara, Turkey, 22 January, 2013

36. Private Interview, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, Ankara, Turkey, 22 January, 2013

APPENDIX M TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü   ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü   ☒ X

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü   ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü   ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü   ☐

<u>YAZARIN</u>

Soyadı : ANLAR
Adı   : ASLIHAN
Bölümü : ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER BÖLÜMÜ

<u>TEZİN ADI</u> : SECURITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

<u>TEZİN TÜRÜ</u> : Yüksek Lisans ☐   Doktora ☒ X

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒ X

<u>TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ</u>:

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TURKISH SUMMARY: KARADENİZ BÖLGESİ'NDE GÜVENLİK: DEVAMLILIK VE DEĞİŞİM

Karadeniz Bölgesi stratejik konumu nedeniyle tarih boyu pek çok çatışmalara sahne olmuş, daha sonra Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun egemenliğine girmiş ve sakinleşmiştir. Ancak çatışma süreci Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda gelişen milliyetçilik hareketleri ile tekrar başlamış, bölge yeni devletlere sahne olmuştur. Birinci Dünya Savaşı ise bölgeye yeni bir konjonktür getirmiş ve bölgede var olan devletler arasında bir denge ve düzen oluşmuştur. Türkiye dışında bölge devletleri İkinci Dünya Savaşı'na katılmış olsalar da, bu tarihten sonra bölgede bir düzen ve ona bağlı olarak da güven ortamı tesis edilmiş ve sürdürüle gelmiştir. Anılan durumun nasıl her değişim sürecinden sonra yeniden inşa edildiği ve devam ettirildiği bu tezin asıl sorunsalını oluşturmaktadır.

Karadeniz Bölgesi'ni öne çıkaran özelliklerden bir tanesi Bölge'de önce Sovyetler Birliği'nin daha sonra da Rusya Federasyonu'nun etki alanının bulunmasıdır. Var olan bu etki alanı bölgenin yapısını, güçler dağılımı ve düzenleyici ilkesi ile beraber değiştirmektedir. Bölgedeki güvenliğin sürdürülmesinde temel etken, diğer bölgelere nazaran farklılıklar gösteren bu bölgesel yapıdır. Çünkü bölgesel yapı farklı konumlardaki bölge aktörlerinin politikalarını etkilemekte, onları statükocu ya da revizyonist politikalar izlemeye itmekte ve dış güçlerin bölgeye yönelik müdahale girişimlerini bu nedenle şekillendirmektedir. Bu nedenle bu tezde bölgesel güvenlik ile bölgesel yapı arasındaki ilişki; Karadeniz Bölgesi'ndeki bölgesel yapının güçler dağılımı ve düzenleyici ilkesi ile beraber incelenmesi ile ortaya konulmaya çalışılacaktır. Tezde incelenen zaman aralığı Soğuk Savaş'ın başlangıcından 2012 tarihine kadar geçen altmış

beş yıllık dönemdir ve Soğuk Savaş Dönemi, 1991-1999, 2000-2012 olmak üzere üç dönemde ele alınmıştır.

Bu çalışma yapılırken, teorik çerçeve olarak Neorealizm seçilmiş, onun "uluslararası yapı" kavramı bölgesel yapıya uyarlanmış; bu çerçevede ortaya çıkan değişiklikleri anlatmak için "düzenleyici ilke" söylemi revize edilmiştir. Şöyle ki Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* isimli çalışmasında iç ve dış politika arasındaki farklılıkları anlatırken, anarşi ve hiyerarşi olarak iki düzenleyici ilkenin varlığından bahsetmiş ve bu ikisinin uluslararası sistemdeki dinamikleri açıklamakta yeterli olacağını iddia etmiştir.[1200] Ancak dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde devletler arasındaki ilişkilerin farklı düzenleyici ilkelerin oluşmasına sebep olabilecekleri birçok uluslararası ilişkiler uzmanı tarafından dile getirilmiştir.[1201] Bu tez de Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde "anarşik hiyerarşi" olarak tanımladığı farklı bir düzenleyici ilkenin olduğunu iddia etmekte ve bölgesel yapıyı tanımlayıp, bölgesel güvenlik arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çerçevede, kronolojik olarak Soğuk Savaş dönemi ile başlanıp, Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemi iki farklı bölümde incelenmektedir. Her bölümde önce bölgesel güvenlik tanımlanmakta, daha sonra daha geniş çerçevede uluslararası sistemin durumuna ve etkisine bakılmakta, en son olarak da bölgesel yapı tanımlanmakta ve bölgesel güvenliğin şekillenmesinde rol alan etmenler arasındaki bağlantı ortaya konularak açıklanmaktadır.

Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde güvenlik konulu çalışmalar literatürü ana olarak altı başlıkta toplanabilir. Jeopolitik rekabet, yeni ortaya çıkan yumuşak güvenlik tehditleri, Karadeniz Ekonomik işbirliği Örgütü'nün güvenliği tesisinde üstlenebileceği roller, enerji güvenliği, Avrupa Birliği ve ABD'nin bölgeye yönelik politikaları. Bölgesel çalışmalar üzerine literatür daha geniş perspektifte çalışmalardan oluşmakta ise de onları

[1200] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Random House, New York: 1979.
[1201] Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2000, pp. 87-97 ve David Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London: 2009.

da şu alt başlıklarda toplamak mümkündür: ABD'nin bölgesel politikaları, bölgelerle büyük güçlerin ilişkileri, Barry Buzan'ın bölgesel güvenlik üzerine çalışmaları, bölgesel düzeyde savaş ve barış çalışmaları.

Bu tezde teorik çerçeve olarak kullanılan Neorealizm iki yönden revize edilmiştir. Bu teorik yaklaşımın kabul ettiği dünya görüşü, uluslararası sistemde devletlerin politikalarından doğan ve onları etkileyen bir yapı olduğu, devletlerin politikalarının arkasındaki temel etkinin düzenleyici ilke olduğu varsayımları kabul edilmiştir. Ancak uluslararası yapı kavramı bölgesel yapıya uyarlanmış, bölgesel yapı Waltz'ın kriterleri ile tanımlanmaya çalışılmıştır. İkinci olarak sistemin düzenleyici ilkesi revize edilmeye çalışılmış, anarşi ve hiyerarşiden başka bir düzenleyici ilke olduğu ortaya konmuş, bu farklı düzenleyici ilkenin varlığını incelemek için çeşitli göstergeler bulunmuştur. Öncelikle böyle farklı bir yapının varlığı için dış bir gücün egemen başka bir devlete ya da devletler topluluğunun iç işlerine müdahalesi şarttır. Siyasi, ekonomik ve askeri alandaki dış müdahaleler anarşik yapıyı değiştirecek kertede olabilir. Bunu araştırmak için kullanılan göstergelerden ilki başka bir devletin askeri gücünün diğer bir devlette konuşlanmasıdır. İkinci gösterge zayıf devletlerin kendilerine müdahale eden devletten başka destekçi ya da müttefik konumda olabilecek başka bir büyük devletin bulunup bulunmamasıdır. Üçüncüsü, büyük ve etkin devletin, kendisine bağlı olan küçük devletin, bir iç karışıklıkla karşılaştığı durumda, küçük devletin daveti ya da kendiliğinden bu olaylara müdahil olması ve durdurmasıdır. Egemen devletin istekleri karşında küçük devletler boyun eğmek durumunda kalabilirler, uymadıklarında karşılaştıkları cezalandırılma yöntemleri de bu devletler arasındaki ilişkinin hiyerarşik yapısını ortaya koyan göstergeler arasındandır. Küçük devletlerin askeri mühimmatının büyük ölçüde egemen devletten satın alınması, askeri müttefik olmaları, ortak askeri manevralar yapmaları, büyük devletin askeri danışmanlar göndermesi de egemen devletin etki ve müdahalesini artıran faktörlerdir.

Ekonomik alandaki müdahale göstergeleri ticari bağımlılık, herhangi bir ekonomik sistemin dikte edilmesi, ekonomik bütünleşme, ortak ekonomik bölge kurulması, gümrük birliğine gidilmesi olarak gösterilebilir. Ancak egemen devlet ile bağımlı devlet arasında ne kadar yoğun ekonomik ilişkiler varsa, egemen devlet o kadar etkili olabilecektir. Bu nedenle, küçük devletin egemen devlete olan borçları, egemen devletin ekonomideki yeri ve doğrudan dış yatırımları da egemen devletin ekonomideki etkinliğini ölçmemize olanak tanıyacak verilerdir. Siyasi alandaki göstergeler de siyasi bir rejimin dikte edilmesi, lider değişiminin sağlanması, diaspora ya da yandaş gruplarla müdahale ve etnik unsurların kullanılması yoluyla müdahale şeklinde özetlenebilir.

Bu müdahalelerin yoğunluğuna göre anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkide çeşitli düzeyler oluşmaktadır. Buna göre anarşik hiyerarşi, küçük devletlerin büyük devlete herhangi bir şekilde meydan okuyabilme kriterine göre katı ve gevşek anarşik hiyerarşi olarak ikiye ayrılır. Bu iki kategoride katı ve katıya yakın ve gevşek ve gevşeğe yakın anarşik hiyerarşi olarak tekrar ikiye ayrılır. Böylece dörtlü bir sınıflandırmaya gidilmiş olur. Tüm bu anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkiler Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde sözü edilen dönemlerde görülmektedir (Tablo 1).

Tablo 1: Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde Düzenleyici İlke

Düzenleyici İlke	Ülkeler	Zaman Aralığı
Katı Anarşik Hiyerarşi	Sovyetler Birliği, Bulgaristan, Romanya	1947-1953
Katıya yakın Anarşik Hiyerarşi	Sovyetler Birliği, Bulgaristan, Romanya	1954-1985
Gevşek Anarşik Hiyerarşi	Sovyetler Birliği, Bulgaristan, Romanya	1985-1991
Gevşeğe yakın Anarşik Hiyerarşi	Rusya Federasyonu, Ukrayna, Gürcistan	1991-2012

Bölgesel yapı ile bölgesel güvenlik arasındaki ilişki temel olarak bölgede büyük gücün oynadığı rolle doğrudan bağlantılı olsa da bununla sınırlı değildir. Esasen bölgesel yapı, bölgedeki büyük gücün, ona bağımlı devletlerin, eğer varsa, büyük gücün etki alanında olmayan bölgedeki diğer devletlerin ve bölgeye dıştan müdahale edecek devletlerin politikalarını ve böylece uluslararası sistemin etkisini etkiler. Bunun sonucunda güvenlik artabilir ya da azalabilir. Bu nedenle, bu tezde önce bölgenin güvenlik durumu tespit edilmiştir

Bölgedeki güvenlik durumunun tespiti temel olarak bölgede askeri bir çatışmanın olup olmamasına, bölge devletlerinin askeri harcamaların belirgin bir artış gösterip göstermediğine, dış devletlerin herhangi bir müdahaleci tutumunun olup olmadığına ve bölge devletlerinin tehdit algılamalarına bakılarak tanımlanmıştır. Ayrıca uluslararası sistemin ve yakın çevrenin etkisine de değinilecek, Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönem için büyük gücün etki alanı yeniden tanımlanacaktır.

Çalışma ilk olarak Soğuk Savaş dönemi ile başlamaktadır. Soğuk Savaş'ın başlangıcı 1947, sona erdiği tarih de 1991 olarak kabul edilmiştir. Soğuk Savaş döneminde bölgede güvenlik korunmuştur. Öncelikle bölgedeki devletler arasında hiçbir savaş yaşanmamıştır. Bölgedeki devletlerin birbirine karşı tehdit algılamaları yüksekse de bu durum, bölge devletlerinin birbirlerine yönelik politikalarından ziyade, bloklar arası rekabetten kaynaklanmıştır. Bölgede yalnızca daha bağımsız politikalar izlemeye çalışan Romanya Sovyetler Birliği'ni tehdit olarak algılamış; ancak katı anarşik hiyerarşik sistem aralarındaki sürtünmelerin düzeni ve statükoyu bozacak düzeye gelmesine engel olmuştur. Askeri harcamalar kademeli olarak artmış, belirgin bir artış görülmemiştir. Bloklar arası ilişkiler de en düşük seviyede cereyan etmiş, Batılı devletler bölgeye yönelik müdahaleci politikalar izlememişlerdir. Bu nedenle, bölgede güvenlik sağlanmış ve korunmuştur.

Aynı dönemde, her ne kadar Neorealizm iki kutuplu sistemi en istikrarlı ve güvenli yapı olarak tanımlasa da, uluslararası sistemde birçok istikrarsızlık faktörünün varlığı görülecektir. Bu faktörler beş dönemde incelenmiş ve tablo 2'de özetlenmiştir. Tabloya bakıldığı zaman, üç dönemde (1948-1953, 1954-1968 ve 1979-1985) bu faktörler büyük ölçüde varlığını korurken, tek bir dönemde (1985-1991) hemen hiç biri görülmemektedir. 1969-1979 Yumuşama döneminde ise iki faktör görülmezken, dünyanın çeşitli bölgelerinde üç savaş yaşanmıştır ki en önemli istikrarsızlık faktörlerinden biridir.

Soğuk Savaş döneminde beş dönemde farklı istikrarsızlık faktörleri farklı düzeylerde etkin olurken, bölgede güvenlik bütün dönem boyunca korunmuştur. Bu nedenle, bölgesel güvenliğin uluslararası sistemin olumsuz etkisine maruz kalmadığı söylenebilir. Bu hususta bölgesel yapının koruyucu etkisi dışında, Sovyetler Birliği ve Türkiye özel çaba sarf etmişlerdir. Bunun tek istisnası Küba krizi ve Türkiye'deki Jüpiter füzeleri sorunudur. Süper güç olarak Sovyetler Birliği bölgede güçler dengesini ve statükoyu bozacak herhangi bir eyleme izin vermeyeceğini açıkça göstermiştir.

Soğuk Savaş süresince Türkiye Batı Blokuna mensup ve NATO üyesiydi. ABD ile aralarında Sovyetler Birliği ile Doğu Bloku üyeleri arasındakine benzer anarşik hiyerarşik (katıya yakın anarşik hiyerarşi) bir ilişki bulunuyordu. Ancak bu bölgedeki yapıya zarar vermedi. Çünkü Türkiye, ABD etkisi altında, küresel düzeyde Batı Bloku ile uyumlu politikalar izlemekten ve gerektiğinde Sovyetler Birliği ile karşı karşıya gelmekten kaçınmadı ancak bölgedeki ilişkileri küresel düzlemdeki gerginlikten farklı olarak değerlendirdi ve bölgede Sovyetler Birliği'nin kurduğu ilişkiler ağına saygı duydu ve statükoyu ve düzeni bozacak politikalar izlemedi.

Tablo 2: Uluslararası Sistemde İstikrarsızlık Faktörleri

Dönemler	İstikrarsızlık Faktörleri			
	Büyük güçlerin birbirlerinin etki alanları müdahaleleri	Askeri Çatışmalar	Büyük güçlerin tehdit algılamaları	Nükleer silahların etkisi
1948-1953	Yunanistan iç savaşı, Berlin ablukası, Kore Savaşı, Fransa-Endonezya çatışması	Kore Savaşı	Yüksek	Hiçbir düzenleme yok.
1954-1968	Guatemala'da ABD operasyonu, Kuzey güney Vietnam çatışması, Küba krizi	Macaristan ayaklanması, Vietnam Savaşı ve Laos Savaşı	Yüksek	Nükleer Silah Denemelerinin Kısmi Yasaklanması Ant. ve Nükleer Silahlarının Yayılmasını Önleme Ant.
1969-1979	Kuzey Vietnam'a Sovyetler Birliği'nin askeri mühimmat sağlaması	Vietnam Savaşı ve Laos Savaşı	Alçak	Stratejik Silahların Sınırlandırılması Ant, Anti-balistik Füzeler Antlaşması
1979-1985	Doğu Afrika ve Etiyopya ve Somali Savaşı	Yok	Yüksek	Görüşmeler kesildi.
1986-1991	Yok	Körfez Savaşı	Alçak	AKKA ve Orta Menzilli Nükl. Kuvvetler Ant.

Türkiye'nin diğer bölge ülkeleri ile ilişkilerinde görüleceği üzere Türkiye ve diğer ülkeler zaman zaman ilişkilerinde ciddi gerginlikler yaşamış olsalar bile Türkiye her zaman onların toprak bütünlüklerine saygı göstermiş, Bulgaristan ya da Yunanistan'daki Türk azınlığı ya da Kafkasya'daki Türki milletleri kullanarak onların iç işlerinde bir karışıklık yaratma yoluna gitmemiştir. Revizyonist politikalardan ya da bölgedeki düzeni değiştirmeye yönelik girişimlerden kaçınmıştır ki bu da Batı Bloku'nun politikalarıyla da uyumludur. Bu dönemde Batılı ülkeler ve ABD Sovyet üstünlüğünü ve Komünist ideolojinin yayılmasını, Orta Doğu'dan Uzak Doğu'ya kadar pek çok bölgede engellemeye çalıştılar ancak sadece Doğu Avrupa'da serbest bıraktılar çünkü burası Sovyet etki alanı olarak genel kabul görmüştü.

Bölgesel yapı bu dönemde çeşitli dönemlere göre farklılık gösterse de kuvvetler dağılımı ilkesi aynı sayılabilir. Sovyet Birliği karşılaştırmaya sığmaz bir güce sahipken diğer ülkeler birbirinden az farklılıklar göstermektedir. Ancak yine de bölge Batı bloku üyesi Türkiye'nin bölgede bulunması sebebi ile tek kutuplu olarak kabul edilmez.

Düzenleyici ilke de Soğuk Savaş'ın ilk dönemi olan 1948-1954 döneminde katı anarşik hiyerarşidir çünkü bu dönemde Sovyetler Birliği'nin Bulgaristan ve Romanya da dahil olmak üzere Doğu Bloku ülkelerine yaptığı dış müdahale en üst seviyededir. Sonraki iki dönem olan 1954-1968 ve 1969-1985 yılları arasında ise müdahale seviyelerinin düşmesi sebebi ile düzenleyici ilke katıya yakın anarşik hiyerarşi olmuştur. Tüm Doğu Bloku ülkelerinde siyasi ve ekonomik sistem yerleştikten sonra ekonomik bütünleşmeye gidilmiş ve siyasi alanda da liderler üzerinde kontrol sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Askeri alanda ise Varşova Paktı kurulmuş, birçok ortak tatbikat düzenlenmiştir. Bu yıllarda 1985'e kadar Romanya ile Sovyetler Birliği arasında çeşitli sürtüşmeler yaşanmış ancak Romanya Doğu Bloku içinde varlığını sürdürmeye devam etmiş, katiyen Varşova Paktı ya da Komekon'dan çıkmak gibi bir girişimde bulunmamıştır.

Soğuk Savaş'ın son dönemi olan 1985-1991 döneminde Sovyetler Birliği'nin askeri, ekonomik ve siyasi politikalarının değişmesi sonucu, düzenleyici ilke gevşek anarşik hiyerarşi olmuştur. Sovyetler Birliği lideri Mihail Gorbaçov bu dönemde Doğu Avrupa ülkeleri üzerindeki siyasi kıskacı gevşetmiş ve baştaki liderlere herhangi bir tehlike ile karşılaştıklarında destek vermeyeceğini belirtmiş, sonunda değişim hareketleri karşında sessiz kalmış; 1956, 1968 ya da 1981'deki gibi müdahale etmemiştir. Doğu Bloku'nun askeri örgütü Varşova Paktı ve ekonomik örgütü Komekon bu dönemin sonunda dağılmıştır. En sonunda, Sovyetler Birliği de yıkılmış, tüm Doğu Bloku'nda yaşanan değişim sonucu bölgedeki düzen de tamamen değişmiştir.

Soğuk Savaş döneminde yukarıda değinildiği gibi Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde göreli bir güvenlik hâkim olmuştur. Bu dönemde Sovyetler Birliği, anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkisinin imkânlarını kullanarak, üç şekilde statükoyu korumaya çalışmıştır. Öncelikle Doğu Bloku içinde değişim isteklerini engellemiştir. Gorbaçov ise bu görevi bırakmış ve değişim taleplerine izin vermiştir. İkinci olarak dışardan gelebilecek herhangi bir müdahaleye fırsat vermemiştir. Açıkçası, bu dönemde, Batılı devletler ve ABD de bölgedeki sıkı yapı nedeniyle bölgeye müdahale etmekten çekinmiş, Gorbaçov döneminde bile Doğu Bloku'ndaki olaylara müdahaleden kaçınmışlardır. Son olarak da Sovyetler Birliği bölgedeki etki alanını uluslararası sistemdeki gergin ortamından azade tutmuş, böylece herhangi bir istikrarsızlığın buraya sıçramasını engellemiştir.

Sovyetler Birliği'nin etki alanındaki devletler de, Romanya'nın yaşadığı çeşitli sürtüşmeler dışında, katı kontrol ve anarşik hiyerarşik sistemin altında SSCB'ye karşı herhangi bir çatışmaya girmekten kaçınmış ve onunla benzer politikalar izlemiş; böylece bölgedeki statükonun korunmasına katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Ancak 1985 yılı ile başlayan süreçte Gorbaçov, desteğini çektikten sonra bu devletlerde değişim hareketleri ortaya çıkmış; bu da sistemin tamamen değişmesiyle sonuçlanmıştır.

Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesi ile bölgede büyük bir istikrarsızlık ortamı ve bunun yanı sıra üç yeni devlet (Rusya Federasyonu, Gürcistan ve Ukrayna) de ortaya çıkmıştır.

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Romanya ve Bulgaristan'da da ekonomik ve siyasal sistem tamamen değişmiştir. Bunların arasından Rusya Federasyonu eski Sovyet cumhuriyetleri ile anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkileri yeniden kurmuş ve bölgede bir düzen sağlamaya çalışmıştır. Bölgede Sovyetler Birliği yıkıldıktan sonra çeşitli askeri çatışmalar çıkmış, fakat 1996'ya kadar düzen yeniden sağlanmış ve göreli güvenlik ortamı tekrar tesis edilmiştir.

Bunun nasıl sağlandığı konusunda, ilk olarak, değişen etki alanlarına bakıldığında, Rusya'nın bölgedeki etki alanının daraldığını, daha çok Baltık devletleri hariç Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu devletleri ile sınırlı kaldığını söylenebilir. Bu devletlerle Batılı devletler arasındaki ilişkiler incelendiğinde, hem eski Varşova Paktı üyeleri hem de eski Sovyet cumhuriyetleri, Rusya Federasyonu da dahil olmak üzere Batılı devletlerle ilişkiler kurmuştur. Ancak bu ilişkiler ağı içerisinde, bölge ülkelerine bakıldığında Rusya Federasyonu bu dönemde Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu ülkelerinden Ukrayna ve Gürcistan üzerinde etki kurduğu söylenebilir. Romanya tamamen bu alanın dışına çıkmıştır, Bulgaristan ise bu iki konumun arasında bir yerde bulunmaktadır. Çünkü Rusya'nın Bulgaristan'ın iç işlerine müdahale gibi bir niyeti olmasa da 1997'ye kadar Bulgar hükümeti Rusya ile ilişkilere önem vermiştir. Ayrıca Rusya Bulgaristan'ın hem dış ticaretinde hem de askeri mühimmat temininde önemli bir yere sahip olmuştur. Bulgaristan, kısaca Rus etki alanının ne içinde ne de dışında yer almıştır.

Batılı devletler de bölge ülkeleri ile ilişkiler kurmuş, ancak Rus etki alanına doğrudan müdahale etmek yerine Rusya'yı işbirliği ortamlarına çekmeye çalışmış, eski Sovyet coğrafyasında ona serbest bir manevra alanı bırakmıştır. Tüm NATO ve Avrupa Birliği programları Rusya'yı da içine alacak şekilde geniş coğrafyadaki ülkelere yönelik açılmıştır. Ukrayna ve Gürcistan kesinlikle ne NATO ne AB üyeliği için başvuruda bulunmuşlardır. Bulgaristan bile NATO üyeliğine başvurmak için 1997'ye kadar beklemiştir. Bu dönemde Rusya gerek ABD gerekse diğer Batılı devletlerle NATO'nun Sırbistan müdahalesi gibi çeşitli konularda çatışma ve görüş ayrılığına düşmüşlerdir.

Ancak bölge olası bir rekabetten dolayı gerginlik yaşanmamıştır. Çünkü Batılı devletler eski Doğu Bloku ile yakın ilişkiler kurarken, eski Sovyet coğrafyasına daha temkinli yaklaşmışlardır. Rusya'nın Gürcistan ve Ukrayna ile kurduğu anarşik hiyerarşik ilişki ve bu ülkelerin iç karışıklıkları bölgedeki Batı etkisini sınırlamıştır. Rusya da bölgede kendi çıkarlarını uyan bir düzen kurmayı başarmış ve reaktif politikalar izleme gereği duymamıştır.

Bu çerçevede, bölgede Soğuk Savaş döneminin sona ermesi ile yeniden yapılanma dönemi başlamış ve bu da çeşitli istikrarsızlık ve krizlere neden olmuştur. Bölgenin birçok yerinde ve yakın çevresinde pek çok silahlı çatışmalar başlamıştır. Bu nedenle 1996 yılına kadar bölgede güvenliğin olduğundan bahsedilemez. Ancak bu tarihten sonra, birçok çatışma ya çözülmüş ya da dondurulmak suretiyle sona erdirilmiştir. Ülkelerin gerek askeri harcamalarına gerekse de güvenlik doktrinlerine bakıldığında tehdit algılamalarının düştüğü görülecektir. Bu kısmen Rusya'nın bölgede kurduğu anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkilerin bir sonucudur. Bölgede çatışmaların ortasında bunları sona erdirecek yegane güç Rusya Federasyonu olmuştur. Ukrayna ve Gürcistan en başta Rusya'nın egemen pozisyonuna karşı çıkmak istemiş, lider değişikliğinden sonra kabullenmişlerdir. Romanya ve Bulgaristan kendi iç ve dış ilişkilerini düzenlemekle meşgul olduklarından, Rusya'nın kurmaya çalıştığı bu yeni düzene karşı çıkmamışlardır. Batılı devletler de daha çok Orta ve Doğu Avrupa'ya yöneldikleri için Bölgeye yönelik herhangi bir müdahaleden kaçınmışlardır. Tüm bu etmenlerin sonucunda bölgede güvenlik hakim olmuştur.

Bu dönem Türkiye'nin bölgeye yönelik politikalarını yeniden oluşturduğu bir zaman dilimidir. Balkanlar ve bölge ülkeleri ile ilgili Türkiye her zamanki düzen yanlısı politikasını sürdürmüş, Romanya ve Bulgaristan'ın Batı'ya entegrasyon çabalarına destek vermiştir. Balkanlar, Orta Doğu ve Kafkasya'da ABD ile işbirliği yapmıştır. Bu dönemde ABD bölgeye daha mesafeli bir yaklaşım izlerken, Türkiye modeli söylemi ile Türkiye'yi iteklemiştir, Bakü Tiflis Ceyhan boru hattı projesinde açıktan desteklemiştir.

Türkiye, Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemin ilk yıllarında Rusya'ya karşıt, eski Sovyet coğrafyasında etki oluşturacak politikalar izlediyse de 1993'ten sonra bu politikaları bırakmıştır. Türkiye zikri geçen bu iki durum dışında statükocu bir politika izlemiş, Batı ile Rusya arasında dengeli bir dış politika çizgisi çizmeye çalışmıştır. Bu açıdan Türkiye bölgedeki güvenliğe olumlu etki yapacak politikalar izlediği söylenebilir.

Bölgesel yapı incelendiğinde güçler birliği özelliği bir önceki dönemle benzerlik göstermektedir. Devletler arasında ciddi güç farklılıkları bulunmakta ve Rusya Federasyonu önemli ölçüde öne çıkmaktadır. Düzenleyici ilke ise Rusya Federasyonu, Gürcistan ve Ukrayna arasındaki ilişki sebebi ile gevşeğe yakın anarşik hiyerarşi olmuştur. Türkiye ile Batı dünyası arasında ise katıya yakın anarşik hiyerarşik ilişki varlığını sürdürmektedir. Romanya ve Bulgaristan Batı ile entegrasyon çabası içinde olup, bu süreç tamamlanmamıştır. Bu nedenle düzenleyici ilke anarşi içinde katıya yakın anarşik hiyerarşi ile gevşeğe yakın anarşik hiyerarşinin beraberliği şeklinde tanımlanabilir. Geçmiş dönemle en büyük farklılık Rusya ile Ukrayna Gürcistan arasındaki ilişki gevşeğe yakın anarşik hiyerarşi olmasıdır. Bunun öncelikli sebebi Rusya Federasyonu'nun Sovyetler Birliği ile Romanya ve Bulgaristan arasındaki ilişkiyi eski Sovyet cumhuriyetleri arasında kuramamış olmasıdır. Sovyetler Birliği'nin tüm müdahaleleri en üst ya da ona yakın düzeyde gerçekleşmiştir. Ayrıca Sovyetler Birliği etki alanındaki ülkelerde Gorbaçov dönemine kadar lider değişimine izin vermemiştir. Fakat Ukrayna ve Gürcistan'da önce milliyetçi liderler başa geçmiş ve hem Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu'na girmeyi hem de Kolektif Güvenlik Antlaşması'nı imzalamayı reddetmişlerdir. Hâlbuki Soğuk Savaş döneminde, Sovyetler Birliği ile aralarındaki gerginliğin en üst düzeyde olduğu dönemlerde bile Romanya ne Varşova Paktı'ndan ne de Komekon'dan ayrılmaya cesaret edememiştir. Ancak gevşek anarşik hiyerarşik sistem de değildir çünkü Rusya Federasyonu her meydan okumadan sonra anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkisini tekrardan kurmayı başarmıştır.

Bu dönemde de bölgesel güvenlik ile bölgesel yapı arasındaki ilişki incelendiğinde bölgesel yapıda Rusya Federasyonu'nun eski Sovyet coğrafyasında egemen konumda olduğu ve bu egemen konumun ona statükoyu korumak için gereken gücü verdiği görülmektedir. Rusya, Karadeniz Bölgesi'ndeki mevcut düzeni korumak için dört farklı yöntem kullanmıştır. Öncelikle çatışmaları dondurmak suretiyle ateşkes ortamını temin etmiştir. Aynı şekilde bölge çevresinde fakat eski Sovyet coğrafyasındaki çatışmaları da ya dondurmuş ya da çözülmesine ön ayak olmuştur. Üçüncü olarak bölgede yeni bir düzen oluşması ve Rusya ile ilişkilerini yeniden düzenlemek isteyen devletlerin değişim isteklerini engellemiş, var olan düzeni kabul edip onlara eklemlenmelerini sağlamıştır. Düzeni bu şekilde sağladıktan sonra onu korumaya önem vermiş, değişimi engellemek için askeri müdahaleden çekinmemiştir.

Son olarak bölgede etkin olmak isteyen Türkiye, İran ya da Çin gibi diğer devletlerin bu isteklerini aman vermemiştir. Yeltsin özellikle "yakın çevre" terimini kullanmış, Rusya'nın bu bölgede özel hak ve sorumlulukları olduğunu ilan etmiş ve bu şekilde bu devletlere açık bir mesaj göndermiştir. Esasen diğer büyük güçler de bölgeye direkt müdahale etmemiş, daha çok kendilerine yakın devletleri desteklemeyi tercih etmişlerdir. Özellikle ABD küresel düzeyde Rusya'nın onayını almak için, onu eski Sovyet coğrafyasında serbest bırakmıştır.

Rusya'nın egemenliğindeki devletler de var olan çatışma ortamından ve Rusya'nın da kendi iç dönüşümü ile meşgul olmasından yararlanarak, Soğuk Savaş'ın ilk yıllarında bağımsızlıklarını güçlendirmeye çalışmışlardır. Ancak Rusya'nın bölgede yeniden hakim olmasından sonra onunla uyumlu politikalar izlemiş; egemenliklerine odaklı politikalarını gevşetmişlerdir. Örneğin Ukrayna Karadeniz Filosu'nun Sivastopol'de konuşlanmasına onay vermiş, Gürcistan ise Rus askerlerini ülkesine kabul etmiştir.

Bölgedeki diğer devletler olan Romanya ve Bulgaristan ise Rus etki alanının dışındadır; fakat ne NATO ne de AB üyesi olduklarından Batı etki alanının dışında da

sayılabilirler. Dönüşüm sürecinde oldukları için de Rusya'nın kurmakta olduğu düzene karşı da çıkmamış destek de olmamışlardır. Bu çerçevede Romanya ve Bulgaristan'ın bölgesel güvenliğe katkıda bulundukları söylenebilir. Bu dönemde, altı çizilmesi gereken önemli bir husus da devletlerin çoğunluğunun Rus etki alanından çıkmasına rağmen, Batılı devletlerin bölge devletlerinden ziyade Orta Avrupa devletlerinin dönüşümlerine odaklanmaları ve bölge ile ilgili konularda Rusya'yı serbest bırakmışlardır. Bu sebeblerle Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde güvenlik korunabilmiştir.

Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesinden sonraki ikinci dönem olan 2000-2012 tarihler arasında Karadeniz Bölgesi uluslararası sistemdeki gelişmeler sonucu daha çok öne çıkması sebebi ile diğer devletlerin de ilgi odağı haline gelmiştir. Bu nedenle, bölgede sürekli olarak statüko değiştirilmeye çalışılmış, ancak her seferinde tekrar tesis edilmiştir.

İlk olarak bölgedeki etki alanlarına bakıldığında bir önceki dönemden farklılıklar gösterdiği görülecektir. Bu dönemde bölgeyi etki alanları açısından üçe ayırmak mümkündür: Rusya ve etki alanları altındaki devletler, Batı'nın etki alanları altındaki devletler ve küresel düzeyde Batı müttefiki bölgesel düzeyde Rusya ile işbirliği içinde olan Türkiye. Rusya'nın etki alanlarındaki devletlerin de bir önceki dönemden farklı olduklarını söylemek gerekmektedir. Gürcistan Rusya'nın etki alanında bulunmakta ancak çıkmak istemektedir. Üstelik Batı'nın desteğine de sahiptir. Fakat aynı şey Ukrayna için geçerli değildir. Ukrayna da Turuncu devrimden sonra Batı yanlısı politikalar izlemeye başlamış fakat özellikle 2008'den sonra politika değişikliğine gitmiştir. Ukrayna'daki asıl sorun hem elit tabakanın hem de toplumun Batı yanlıları ile Rusya yanlıları olarak parçalanmış olmasıdır. Bu nedenle iktidar değişikliği ile politika değişikliğine gidilebilmektedir.

Bu dönemde özellikle ABD de bölgeye yönelik politikalarını yoğunluğunu arttırmıştır. Ukrayna ve Gürcistan'ın Batı'ya entegre olma çabalarını desteklemiş fakat Rusya'nın anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkisi nedeniyle gerçekleştirememiştir. Bu iki devletten

özellikle Gürcistan ile askeri ilişkiler de olmak üzere ikili ilişkilerini derinleştirdiğini söylenebilirse de ABD ve Gürcistan arasında anarşik hiyerarşik bir ilişkinin varlığından bahsetmek zordur. Çünkü ABD Gürcistan ile kurduğu askeri ilişkilere rağmen, 2008 çatışmasında desteğe gelmemiş, askeri desteğinin aslında içi boş olduğunu, Gürcistan için Rusya ile karşı karşıya gelmeyeceğini açıkça göstermiştir. Oysa Rusya askeri kuvvetleri ile Abhazya ve Güney Osetya'nın yanında yer almıştır.

Diğer yandan, Bulgaristan ve Romanya'nın bu dönemde Batı ile bütünleşmeleri tamamlanmış ve NATO ve AB üyesi olmuşlardır. Rusya zaten bu konuda herhangi bir olumsuz tavır takınmamış; ancak benzer politikalar eski Sovyet coğrafyası için de izlenmeye başladığında tavrını ortaya koymuş ve 2008'de kırmızı çizgilerini açıkça göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla Batı ile Rusya'nın izledikleri rekabetçi politikaların bölgede gerginlik yarattığı belirtilmelidir.

Bu çerçevede bölgede güvenliğin Gürcistan dışında sağlandığı söylenmelidir. Bu dönemde Gürcistan'ın tehdit algılaması yükselmiş, ülkesi askeri çatışmaya sahne olmuş ve beklediği dış desteği de bulamamıştır. Bu dönem Gürcistan'ın Rusya'nın bölgenin kuzey doğu kısmında kurmaya çalıştığı egemen konuma karşı çıkmaya çalıştığı ancak bu çabalarının zaten kötü olan durumunu daha da kötüleştirdiği fakat bu istisna ile bölgedeki güvenlik ve istikrarın korunduğu söylenebilir.

Bölgedeki bu dalgalı durumun bir ölçüde Rusya'nın anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkilerinin kapsama alanının ve yoğunluğunun azalması ile ilgili olduğu da iddia edilebilir. Bu dönemde Ukrayna ve Gürcistan Rusya'nın pozisyonuna tekrar karşı çıkmışlardır. Fakat Rusya Ukrayna'da tekrar etkinliğini sağlamıştır; çünkü Ukrayna yukarıda da söylediği gibi parçalanmış bir toplum olup, devamlı bir dış politika çizgisine sahip değildir. Gürcistan ise her ne kadar zor durumda olsa ve etnik çatışmalar yaşa da merkezde elitler ve toplum uyumlu olup, istikrarlı bir dış politika çizgisine sahip olabilmektedir. Ancak Rusya da Gürcistan'da etnik çatışmalarını kullanmış ve ayrılıkçı bölgeleri tanımıştır.

ABD ve AB'nin de bu son dönemde bölgedeki düzene açıkça meydan okudukları anlaşılmaktadır. Hem Rusya'nın etki alanındaki ülkelerin NATO üyeliğini desteklemiş, Gül ve Turuncu devrimlere politik destek vermiş ve özellikle Karadeniz'e giriş kapıs olan boğazlar geçiş rejiminin yeniden düzenlenmesi gerektiği, denizde bir güven boşluğu olduğunu ve Aktif Çaba Operasyonlarının burada da faaliyet göstermesi gerektiği söylemini oluşturmuşlardır. Romanya ve Bulgaristan da önceki dönemin aksine bu söylemi desteklemiş ve topraklarında Amerikan askeri üslerinin açılmasına izin vermişlerdir. Fakat Rusya ve Türkiye Montrö rejiminin korunması konusunda işbirliğine gitmişler ve 1871 Londra Konferansı'nda veya 1923 Lozan Antlaşması görüşmeleri esnasında yaptıkları gibi kendi çıkarlarına uymayan düzenlemeleri kabul etmemişlerdir.

Türkiye 2000-2012 dönemde Batı ile var olagelen katıya yakın anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkilerini sürdürürken, Rusya ile ilişkilerini azami ölçüde geliştirmiş, ekonomik bağlantılar doruk noktasına ulaşmıştır. Bölgede statüko yanlısı politikasını izlemeye devam etmiş, Rusya'nın egemen pozisyonuna karşı çıkmamış ve 2008'de Montrö Sözleşmesi'nin delinmesine izin vermemiştir. Türkiye, bölgenin sorunlarının kendi içinde çözülmesi taraftarı olmuş ve farklı tarafları bir araya getirebilen uluslararası platformlar ve güvenlik mekanizmaları oluşturmaya çalışmış ve güvenliğe olumlu katkıda bulunmuştur.

Bölgesel yapıya bakıldığında düzenleyici ilkenin de bu dalgalanmalardan etkilendiği söylenebilir. Rusya Ukrayna'da etkin konumunu ve bu ülke ile kurduğu gevşeğe yakın anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkisini devam ettirirken; Gürcistan ne içinde ne dışında gri bir alanda bulunmaktadır. Onun yerine Rusya dış müdahale araçlarını Abhazya ve Güney Osetya için kullanmış ve aslında bu iki ülkeyi Gürcistan ile değiştirmiştir.

Bölgesel yapı ile bölgesel güvenliğin ilişkisine gelindiğinde, 2000-2012 yılları bölgesel yapının Rusya'ya yüklediği pozisyon ve statüko koruma isteği ile bölge

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devletlerinin bu yapıdan çıkma taleplerinin çatıştığı bir dönem olmuştur. Üstelik bu talepler dışardan destek bulduğu için bölgesel dinamiklerle uluslararası dinamiklerin ters düşmesi sebebi ile bölgesel güvenlikte kısa süreli bir kırılma yaşanmış fakat daha sonra bölgesel yapı içindeki taraflar değişse de Rusya bölgede düzeni kurmuş ve istikrar ve güvenliği Türkiye'nin de katkısı ile tekrar sağlamıştır.

Sonuç olarak bu tezde Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan bu yana güvenliğin varlığı ve nedenleri irdelenmiştir. Aslında bu düzenin başlangıç noktası 1936 Montrö Sözleşmesi olarak kabul edilebilir. Bu tezde bölgesel güvenlik için şart görülen ilk koşul bölgede askeri çatışmaların olmamasıdır. 1945'den bu yana uzun süren ve geniş kapsamlı hiçbir savaş yaşanmamıştır. Sadece Soğuk Savaş'ın bitişinin hemen ertesinde kısa süreli ve yerel düzeyde askeri çatışmalar yaşanmış, onlar da 1996'ya kadar ya çözülmüş ya da dondurulmuştur. 2008'deki çatışmada yerel düzeyde olmuş ve altı gün sürmüştür. Bu nedenle bölgedeki güvenliği tehdit edecek kapasitede bir karışıklığa sebep olmamıştır. Esasen bu tür çatışmaları, tehdit yerine, istikrarsızlık faktörü olarak tanımlamak daha doğru olacaktır. Eğer bir bölgede askeri çatışma yoksa, diğer önemli koşul mevcut düzeni korumak ve revizyonist politikaların izlenmesinin önlenmesidir. Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde mevcut düzenin korunmasına bölgesel büyük güç tarafından özel önem verilmiştir.

Esasen bölgesel güvenliğin korunmasında kendisi ile bölgesel yapı arasındaki dinamiklerin etkisi büyüktür. Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde bölgesel yapıyı farklı kılan şey Rus/Sovyet etki alanının bulunmasıdır. Rusya Federasyonu/Sovyetler Birliği ile ona bağlı devletler arasındaki özel ilişki hem bölgesel yapının güçler dağılımı ve düzenleyici ilkesini değiştirmiştir. Farklı büyük güçlerin etki alanında olan devletlerin aynı zamanda bu bölgede bulunması sebebi ile güçler dağılımı hiçbir zaman tek kutuplu olmamış ancak aktörler arasında büyük bir güç farklılığı bulunmuştur. Aynı zamanda etki alanı bölgenin düzenleyici ilkesini de anarşiden anarşik hiyerarşiye çevirmiştir. Ancak

1945'den 2012'ye kadar çeşitli dönemlerde büyük gücün müdahale yoğunluğuna göre anarşik hiyerarşinin değişik formları var olagelmiştir.

Bölgesel yapının bölgesel güvenlik üzerinde etkisini kuran bağlantı bölgesel yapının hem bölgesel hem de bölge dışı aktörlerin güvenliği artırabilecek ya da azaltabilecek politikalarını etkilemiş olmasıdır. Öncelikle anarşik hiyerarşik yapı hangi formda olursa olsun büyük gücü statükocu politikalar izlemeye itmiştir. İkinci olarak büyük gücün etkisi altında olan devletler de anarşik hiyerarşinin katı ya da gevşek olmasına göre büyük güçle uyumlu ya da ona karşıt politikalar izlemeye karar vermişlerdir. Anarşik hiyerarşinin katı olduğu zamanlarda uyumlu politikalar izlemişler ve bölgede güvenlik hâkim olmuştur. Gevşek olduğu zamanlarda ise çatışmacı politikalar izlemişler, hâkim düzene meydan okumuşlar ve istikrarı bozabilecek durumlara neden olmuşlardır. Sovyetler Birliği döneminde gevşek anarşik hiyerarşinin yaşandığı dönemlerde Gorbaçov'un politikalarının etkisiyle de tüm Varşova Paktı devletlerinde farklı iktidarlar başa gelmiştir ve kısa süre sonra tüm sistem çökmüştür. Burada dikkat edilmesi gereken husus büyük gücün bu değişime izin vermesidir. Bu nedenle Gorbaçov dönemi büyük gücün düzeni korumak istemediğinde statükonun çok kısa bir zaman içerisinde değişebileceğini göstermesi açısından önemlidir.

Aynı şekilde bölgesel yapının gevşek ya da katı olması bölge dışı güçlerin bölgeye yönelik politikalarını da etkilemekte, onlara müdahale etmek için imkan vermekte ya da onları herhangi bir ilişkiden alıkoymaktadır. Bölgesel gücün etki alanında olmayıp da diğer güçlerin etki alanında olan bölge ülkelerine gelince onlar da diğer büyük güçlerle ilişkilerinin yoğunluğuna ve bölgedeki anarşik hiyerarşinin yoğunluğuna gore farklı politikalar izlemişler, uygun zamin olduğunda dış güçlerin müdahaleci politikalarına destek vermiş ve küresel düzeyde uyumlu olan politikalarını bölgesel düzeye taşımışlardır. Ancak bazı durumlarda bölgesel devlet (Türkiye örneğinde olduğu gibi) kendi için hayati konularda küresel düzeyde uyumlu politikalarını bölgeye taşımayabilir, daha özerk politikalar izleyebilir. Türkiye'nin bölge

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politikalarını kendisinin ABD ile arasındaki anarşik hiyerarşik ilişkisinden azade tutan yaklaşımı sayesindendir ki Rus etki alanı bölgede küçülse de statüko korunabilmiştir.

Bu doğrultuda bölgesel güvenlik ile ilgili şu çıkarımlarda bulunulabilinir: Öncelikle bölgesel güvenlik büyük ölçüde statükonun korunması ile yakından ilgilidir. Bölgede zaman zaman askeri çatışmalar meydana gelebilir, kısa süreli ve yerel düzeyde kaldığı takdirde bu istikrarsızlık faktörleri bölgesel düzene zarar verebilecek kapasiteye ulaşamazlar. Bölgede düzenleyici ilke katıya yakın anarşik hiyerarşiden gevşeğe yakın anarşik hiyerarşiye döndüğü zaman, statüko ancak etki alanının dışında olan bölgesel devletlerin desteği ile sürdürülebilir, en azında karşı çıkmamaları gerekir. Aynı zamanda bölgesel etkin güç kendi etki alanındaki devletlerdeki dönüşümleri iyi takip etmeli, onlara belli bir özgürlük alanı bıraksa da katiyetle elit dönüşümüne izin vermemelidir. Elit dönüşümünü engelleyemediği durumlarda, eğer bir de uluslararası sistemde kendi etki alanındaki devletlere destek varsa, o zaman iki seçenek olası duruma gelir. Eğer bölgesel güç bunu kabul edilebilecek durumda ise o zaman anarşik hiyerarşik düzen tamamen değişebilir; ancak kabul edilmezse o zaman büyük güç ya bölgede yapabildiği kadar elit dönüşümünü tersine çevirecek ya da böyle bir imkan varsa bölgede kendine yandaş başka aktörler bulacaktır.

Karadeniz Bölgesi örneği öncelikle uluslararası sisteme ilişkin genellemeler yerine bölgesel düzeyde çalışmaların çok farklı yaklaşımlara ulaşılmasına imkan tanıdığını ve ayrıca farklı düzenleyici ilkeler olabileceğini, bunun da farklı politikaların izlenmesine yol açtığını göstermiştir.

Ayrıca güçler dengesi politikaları konusunda da Neorealizm'den farklı çıkarımlarda bulunabilmemize imkân tanımıştır. Neorealist teori güçler dengesini genellikle büyük güçler için izlenebilecek bir politika olarak görmüşlerdir. Fakat belli koşullarda küçük ülkeler de güçler dengesi politikası izleyebilirler, hatta bir büyük gücün etki alanında bulunan küçük bir ülke bile çatışmacı ve meydan okuyan politikalarıyla yerel düzeyde de olsa istikrarsızlık sebebi olabilir.

Bu çalışma ile uluslararası düzeyden bağımsız olarak bölgesel güvenliği anlamaya ve özellikle onunla bölgesel yapı arasındaki özel ilişkiyi ortaya koymaya çalışılmıştır. Ancak bölgesel güvenlik, dünyadaki diğer bölgelerin de farklı metodolojiler ve teorik yaklaşımların uygulanması suretiyle oluşturulabilecek büyük bir teori ile tam olarak anlaşılabilir.