

**ISTANBUL KULTUR UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**UKRAINIAN CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON TURKEY**

**Master of Art Thesis by**

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Programme: International Relations**

**Supervisor: Prof.Dr.Mensur AKGÜN**

**AUGUST 2016**

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

EU	European Union
ISC	Independent States Community
Ibid	Ibidem (meaning in the same place)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty
NEP	New Economic Policy
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USRP	Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
RF	Russian Federation
TİKA	Turkish Cooperation and Development Administration Presidency
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **UKRAINIAN CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON TURKEY**

**Zeynep Naz Güler**

Developments in Ukraine at the end of 2013 have brought to mind the Cold War years. With the outbreak of crisis, security concerns come to the front in the Black Sea geography. This high level of war risk crisis has taken place on the international agenda for a long time.

The developments in Crimea together with Ukrainian Crisis, had led to increase of question marks about the future of Crimean Tatars. Indeed, after the outbreak of crisis, the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation today is still considered illegal in terms of compliance with international treaties by many countries. At the same time, all of the backgrounds of these developments are highlighted by several sources stating the rivalry between the Western World and the Russian Federation. Among the reasons that Ukraine especially Crimea have great importance for Russia in military, economic and historical factors have come forth. In this context, Russia who wants to keep Ukraine in his near abroad, acts toward his own interests in the region.

If we look from the view point of Turkey, the condition of Crimea and Crimean Tatars has a great importance. The main reason is historical, cultural, religious and national ties between the Republic of Turkey and Crimean Tatars. In this context, Turkey has been active in the region in the field of education, health and cultural issues.

As a result of Ukrainian Crisis and its impact on Turkey mainly intensifies on the current status of the Crimean Peninsula, worries about the future of Crimean Tatars and Turkey's relationship with Russia.

**Key Words: Ukrainian Crisis, Ukrainian History, Crimea, Crimean Tatars.**





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## **ÖZET**

### **UKRAYNA KRİZİ VE TÜRKİYE'YE ETKİSİ**

**Zeynep Naz Güler**

2013 yılının son aylarında, Ukrayna'da yaşanan gelişmeler akıllara Soğuk Savaş yıllarını getirmiştir. Krizin patlak vermesiyle birlikte Karadeniz coğrafyasında güvenlik kaygıları ön plana çıkmıştır. Yüksek seviyede savaş riskine sahip olan bu kriz uzun süre uluslararası gündemde yer almıştır.

Ukrayna Krizi beraberinde Kırım'da yaşanan gelişmeler Kırım Tatarlarının geleceği açısından soru işaretlerinin artmasına neden olmuştur. Krizin patlak vermesinden sonra Rusya Federasyonu'nun Kırım'ı ilhak etmesi bugün hala birçok ülke tarafından uluslararası antlaşmalara uygunluk bakımından illegal olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Aynı zamanda bütün bu gelişmelerin temelinde, Rusya Federasyonu ile Batı dünyası arasında yaşanan rekabet durumunun olduğu birçok kaynak tarafından vurgulanmaktadır. Ukrayna'nın ve özellikle Kırım yarımadasının Rusya açısından büyük öneme sahip olmasının nedenleri arasında askeri, ekonomik ve tarihsel unsurlar ön plana çıkmaktadır. Ukrayna'yı yakın çevresinde tutmak isteyen Rusya bölgede kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda hamleler yapmaktadır. Türkiye açısından ise, Kırım ve Kırım Tatarlarının durumu çok büyük bir öneme sahiptir. Bunun başlıca sebebi Kırım Tatarları ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti arasında bulunan tarihi, milli, dini ve kültürel bağlardır. Kırım Tatarları için Türkiye ikinci bir vatan konumundadır. Türkiye bu bağlamda, Kırım Tatarları için bölgede eğitim, sağlık ve kültürel konularda faaliyetlerini sürdürmektedir.

Sonu olarak Ukrayna Krizinin Trkiye'ye etkisi, Kırım yarımadasının gncel durumu, Kırım Tatarlarının geleceęi konusundaki kaygılar ve Trkiye'nin Rusya ile olan iliřkileri zerine yoęunlařmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler: Ukrayna Krizi, Ukrayna Tarihi, Kırım, Kırım Tatarları**



## INTRODUCTION

Crises are outcome of irresolvable conflicts between states in the international system. All crises have war risk and also they are consisting of four important processes these are: Pre-crisis, escalation, detente and out-break of crisis. Ukraine Crisis 2014, had a number of important possible factors would be turn into a war. However, dynamics of the crisis did not pick a war between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. The results of the conflicts in Ukraine purely concentrated on Russian-Ukraine relations and condition of the Crimean Peninsula.

Developments encountered in Crimea in 2014, created tension between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on the international scale. According to many political scientists, crisis in Ukraine has been seen as a geopolitical shock on the base of international security after the Cold War. Annexation of Crimea by Russia raised the protests in Ukraine. Many groups from the universities played an important role in Ukraine's fate by demonstrations they started in Maidan Independence Square on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2013. "Actually, the roots of the Ukraine Crisis 2014 based on the same political and social unrest with the Orange Revolution in 2003. The social and political unrest that led directly began against then-president Viktor Yanukovich and his decision to abandon and agreement with the EU that would bring closer political and trade ties, and instead ally more closely with Russia."<sup>1</sup> The complexity of the situation in Ukraine would be evaluated in many ways.

Initially, accelerating relations between European Union and Ukraine after 2003 especially, in the area of trade and the aim of enlarging integration with constitution of the EU, were always displeased by Russia. As consequences of these developments between the EU and Ukraine, both parties decided to sign the Eastern Partnership Agreement. In this point, Russian actions in Ukraine need to be

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<sup>1</sup> Antony Ramicone, The Ukrainian Crisis: A Disputed Past and Present, Harvard Top Policy Brief, May 2014.

understood within both the particular historical context of Ukraine and a broader Russian pattern of behavior in the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

The matters that constitute importance of Ukraine for Russia, initially Ukraine have been seen as a Soviet heritage for Russia. At this point we should stress the undeniable historical tie between Ukraine and Russia. Since times immemorial, they have common historical experiences and political transformations. In addition to this, Ukraine has a special position for the Slavs all over the world. Since the fifth century Ukraine has been accepted as a homeland of Slavs. Also Kiev which is the capital of Ukraine today, witnessed the rise of the Slav world. Moreover, in respect to security of Russia in the Black Sea and the Russia's Eurasian Project makes Ukraine important for the Russian Federation. Also, Russian actions in Ukraine today occur in the context of its continued involvement in a number of territorial and ethnic disputes throughout the post- Soviet space which threaten the sovereignty of these states like Crimea.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from these, we should stress ethnic tensions in Ukraine after the crisis. Ukraine encompasses a region eastern and western cultures have merged considerably in the past, creating an environment of ethnic and cultural pluralism.<sup>4</sup> According to current consensus data in Ukraine, majority of Ukraine's population consists of ethnic groups in the Soviet Union period. In other words, there are thousands of people immigrated from different republics in Ukraine. Today, %78 of Ukrainian population is made up by ethnic Ukrainians, %17 by ethnic Russians and %5 made up by Crimean Tatars and %5 by ethnic groups like Bulgarians, Polishes. Russians who lived in Ukraine were in more advantageous situation ethnically and kept their strong ties with Russia. Today, Ukrainian population is under the influence of two main ethnic groups. These are ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians. Especially, when the Crimea Crisis broke out, two groups were divided as the proponents of Russia or Ukraine. It is evident that, the referendum which was held for the fate of Crimea, supported by ethnic Russians in Ukraine.

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<sup>2</sup> House of Lords, *The EU and Russia: before and beyond the crisis in Ukraine*, 6th Report of Session 2014-15, European Union Committee, published 20 February 2015, p. 9

<sup>3</sup> House of Lords, *Ibid.* p.9

<sup>4</sup> Antony Ramicone, *The Ukrainian Crisis: A Disputed Past and Present*, Harvard Top Policy Brief, May 2014, p.14

The Crimea crisis reveals the competition between NATO, the EU and Russia in the post-Cold War era. Transatlantic reaction to the Russian annexation of the Crimea raises the reactions by the members of the EU states and the USA. In effect, it was a reaction to the EU enlargement by Russian Federation. One of the major reasons for the current Ukrainian Crisis is that Moscow has feared that a closer Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine will prove to be trade diverting, not trade creating, from the Russian perspective Moscow has also, feared that EU goods could enter Ukraine, free of import duties, and then be re-exported to Russia, thus competing with Russian domestic good.<sup>5</sup>

It appears clear that Moscow seeks going to assert Russian hegemony over Ukraine. Moscow's rapid pre-emptive intervention in Crimea showed that, Moscow was intended to prevent the new Euro Maidan government in Kiev from evicting the Russian Black Sea fleet from Sevastopol, while concurrently hoping to check closer Ukrainian ties with the European Union plus eventual Ukrainian membership in NATO.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these developments, the Russian Federation does not prefer being stalemated in the Black Sea. EU's growing influence in the Black Sea region promoted Russia's anxiety. When the EU launched its Eastern Partnership Policy, in a short time Russia developed the alternative project in the region.

Besides these, when we focus on the foreign policy of Ukraine, we can find some problems which has facilitated the crisis. After the break up the Soviet Union, Ukraine has had generally unstable political structure. Neither any specific opinion or party nor any party in state governance had dominance over Ukraine's internal politics. For instance, coalition governments generally in Ukraine had the duty in the parliament in its multiple system in the elections held in the years between 1990 and 2014. Thus, instability in Ukraine's political system facilitated foreign interventions by Russia. Accordingly, developments in 2014 in Crimea, was a major foreign intervention to Ukraine's unity. Although, Russian Annexation in Crimea was considered as illegal according to 1945 UN Treaty and, but attempts did not be a remedy for Ukraine's internal policy because, the Russia Federation did not give an

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<sup>5</sup> Hall Gardener, NATO, *the EU, Ukraine, Russia and Crimea: The "Reset" that was Never "Reset"*, Briefing Paper No.49, 3 April 2014, published by NATOWATCH.org, p.4

<sup>6</sup> Hall Gardener, *Ibid*, p.6

inch from its illegal annexation in Crimea. When Crimea joined the Russian Federation, both Russia and the European Union tried to legitimate their arguments. For instance, according to Russia, Ukraine had chaos and unstable political atmosphere in 2014. Especially, a state of chaos concentrated on Crimea peninsula. As Russia, this condition could be a real threat for ethnic Russians in Ukraine. This point was an important justification of its politics in Ukraine crisis 2014.

This study will mainly focus on Ukraine Crisis and its impacts on Turkey. The first chapter of study will focus on the history of Ukraine and it will explain the historical relations between Russia and Ukraine.

The second chapter of study will elaborate the process of the Ukrainian Crisis. Firstly, it explains the pre crisis era in Ukraine, after it shows that the results of the crisis.

The third chapter of study will explain the importance of Ukraine for both the European Union and Russia. It mainly focuses on their interest politics on Ukraine. And, it is supported from recent datas and evidences.

The final chapter of study will focuses on Ukrainian Crisis and its impact on Turkey. This chapter has aim to show the historical ties between Crimean Tatars and Turkish Republic. First of all, it narrates the Turkish existence in Crimea and the historical flow of Crimean Turks. After, it reflects the status quo of Crimean Turks and their demands. Lastly, it continues with the attitude of Turkey in Ukrainian Crisis and impact of the crisis on Turkey.

## CHAPTER I

### UKRAINIAN HISTORY

#### 1.1 Ukraine in Ancient Times

Even though Ukraine declared its independence in 90's, it has a very deep history in reality. The beginning of first Ukrainians basically, is predicated on Slavic principality which was founded in Kiev in the mid 800's. This principality, at the same time, adopted Christianity as the official religion. But, today's Ukrainian land has hosted a number of communities throughout history before Kiev Principality that is Slavic. Beforehand, it is possible to chance on the existence of Goths and Hun tribes within Ukrainian land between the second and the fifth centuries.

On the other hand, the existence of Slavs had been seen since the fifth century. That is, Lubor Niederle (1902) who was Czech origin archaeologist defined the northwest region of Ukraine as the homeland of Slavs.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Today's Ukrainian land had been attached the interest of ethnic groups like Turks (Khazars), Pechenegs, Polovtsians and Mongols since the seventh century and had been occupied by these groups from time to time. Economic, political and cultural retrogression was on the front line in this period in which various ethnic groups' dominance was appeared in Ukrainian land.

In the mid of ninth century, Kiev Principality was founded in Ukrainian land as being the first Russian- East Slavic State. "Kiev Principality was the first state which didn't have any relation to any kind of external governance, among the states which was founded in the land where Russian-East Slavic ethnic lived."<sup>8</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>7</sup> Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, Printed in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Second Edition, 2010, p.41

<sup>8</sup> Cem Karadeli, *Ortaçağ'dan Günümüze Ukrayna'nın Kısa Tarihi*, Uluslararası Politikada Ukrayna Krizi, Beta, İstanbul, 2014, p.2

Byzantium with Europe, Abbasids had got to important commercial centers which were located between Khazars and Caucasia, on key trade roads. Kiev which was widening along the banks of Dnieper River in Ukrainian land has been accepted as the center of ancient Russian cities since those times.

In the eleventh century, Ukraine was the greatest political authority center of Europe in middle ages and at the same time, a principality which had most gorgeous cities. “Kiev Principality had its place as a powerful actor on European political stage throughout its life that had lasted almost three hundred years.”<sup>9</sup> However, Kiev had started to descend in an irreversible way accompanied by the death of Volodymor Monomakh. Princes request for autonomy of the regions which they had control over, brought along political fragmentation. As a result of this, many regions, as being apart from Kiev declared their “de facto” independence. Moreover, Kiev started to live its economic downturn, at the same time. The reasons of this were the new trading connections discovery of Italian merchants and the increasing Crusaders’ pressure over Constantinople. Apart from this, those attacks of wandering tribes made the Black Sea region’s south parts hard to control.

Kiev was occupied in the year of 1240 by Mongols as the result of all this bad going. Some of Ukrainian and Russian land was under the Mongolian rule between the years 1240 and 1533. The places that were conquered by Mongols were being controlled by “Golden Horde”. This heterogeneous group which was consisted of Turkish soldiers and mostly Mongols conquered the biggest part of Asia between the years 1237 and 1241 and took Russians under its rule. Later, Russian sources were called these occupying groups as “*Tatar*”.<sup>10</sup>

Until 1380; a big part of Belarus land and East Ukrainian land was occupied by Poland and Lithuania. A large part of Ukraine’s land was under the control of Poland and “Kingdom of Poland (Lehistan)”. This would cause Poland to be in difficult situation because of the religious difference with respect to Orthodox sect.

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<sup>9</sup> Cem Karadeli, Ibid, p.2,3

<sup>10</sup> Walter G. Moss, *A History of Russia Volume I: To 1917*, Anthem Press, London, Second Edition, 2005, Chapter 5, p.67.



Since, a large majority of Ukrainian public that was Ukrainian Kazakhs belonged to Orthodox sect and the public, at that time had the thought that their church had under the pressure of the king, unreligious administrators related to the king's hierarchy and clergy. They realized that Ukrainian nobility and Brest community turned to Catholicism, at the end. This sectarian diversity was the reason for many riots.

In 17th century, a large part of Ukraine was out of Russian control, as the result of Cossacks rebellion's failure. However, the real great rebellion happened under the rule of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and it wasn't easy to appease. Bohdan Khmelnytsky was, at the same time, among the legendary leaders in Ukrainian history. The rebellion showed a great success in the beginning. Because of that reason, Cossack Hetmanate was established and Polish influence decreased. At this point, it is suitable to mention about the cultural and religious relationship between Ukrainians and Russians. Russian Czars had the tendency to see Ukrainians as Russians and Ukrainian land as Russian land. "At the same time, Ukrainians were called as *Little Russians*".<sup>11</sup>

In 1654, Khmelnytsky had started looking for external support for himself against Poland. Having Moscow's support was seen more advantageous at that point, since Russia has interests on Ukraine. These interest areas were mainly to widen Russian Tsardom towards the west, to worsen Poland and to advocate the people's rights who were Orthodox. When it was come to January of the year 1654, Khmelnytsky accepted the rule of Tsar by Pereiaslav Treaty. Russia occupied Poland land, after the treaty had already been signed. Russia and Poland had battle for Ukrainian land, later.

In 1667, Ukrainian land was separated by Andrusovo Treaty. Both of the sides accepted the conditions of Andrusovo Treaty and the sovereignty of the west of Ukraine and Kiev in the east of Poland was accepted as a condition of the treaty. The struggle among Russians, Kazakhs, Tatars and Polishes for Ukrainian land had continued until the year 1686 that was until pseudo-permanent peace agreement acceptance. As a result, in 1686, Russia and Poland confirmed the divisions that had

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<sup>11</sup> Walter G. Moss, Ibid, p.45

been actualized in 1667 by Andrusovo treaty. As an addition to this, intervention right was given to Russia to protect Orthodox religion and this situation was accepted as a humiliating factor for Poland. In conclusion, Khmelnytsky riot had been envisaged for Ukraine's autonomy and unity, it ended with splitting of Ukraine between Russia and Poland.

At the end of 1700's that was after the split of Ukrainian land by Poland Habsburg Dynasty came to rule. Habsburg Dynasty had been the main power since the World War I starting from the years of 1500. At the same time, Austrian land was being ruled by this dynasty. Poland was at a rundown position by Prussia, Russia and Austria, at that time. Austria bereaved Bukovnia from attenuated Ottoman Empire, in the year 1774. Bukovnia was a mountainous region which had an ethnically composite population mostly involving Ukrainians in Galicia. The last remaining part of Poland, Austrian's part in Galicia that was the part with high Polish ethnical proportion, west and east Galicia were all united as being one province, in the year 1795. Habsburgs, as reverse of Russians (Romanovs) didn't try to assimilate the prevailing culture in Ukraine. Ukraine which was ruled by Austria had a remaining dominant Polish culture in a large part of its land. "That was till the year 1818, primary school education language was Polish. It was only German and Polish in university education".<sup>12</sup>

## **1.2 Ukraine On the way to The World War I**

The first movements of nationalism in Ukraine had become appearing since the second half of 19th century. Especially, across Europe in 1848, some sort of national groups rebelled against imperialist system. Polishes, Italians and Hungarians were the leaders of these groups. Even Polishes organized to establish a national council for Galicia's autonomy.

Ukrainians began to experience its ideological transformation towards the end of 19th century. Ukrainian activists, they undoubtedly constituted a small percentage of the population; determined Ukrainian independence as the final

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Kubicek, *The History of Ukraine*, Greenwood Press, London, 2008, p.67

purpose of Ukrainian nation movement throughout 1890's. Ukrainian identity in Austria-Hungary Empire, reverse of Romanovs, was accepted easily by authorities. Ukraine was known in terms of literature in 1893 at the same time. Since, there were over 2,500 primary schools having Ukrainian education language in Galicia and private schools in different 16 states, until 1914.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, publishing activities in Ukrainian language were allowed. 70 magazines appeared in Ukraine, by this way.<sup>14</sup> Ukrainian political movement started being shaped in 1890's, at that time.

Ukrainians created some sort of tension between Austria-Hungary Empire and Russia with respect to its location, during the years of World War I. As result of this, competition between Romanovs and Habsburgs was in the front line, throughout 19th century. Russians had some plans, especially related to Slav nation who lived out of the Empire. However, the increasing independence ideas among Ukrainian people weren't overlapping with Russian requests. Russia wanted to hold the control over Ukrainian people's living land by demolishing the Ukrainian nationality idea. But, political movements related to nationalism started to be lived in 1890's in Ukraine. The main example of this can be given over the newly established parties in Galicia. *Radical Party* which was established as being inspired by the ideas of Socialist Mykhaylo Drahomanov advocated the idea of Ukraine's autonomy and finally, its independence. *National Democratic Party*, which was more moderate, was established in 1899 as being apart from socialist party. This party advocated Ukraine independence at its base just like socialist party. *Social Democratic Party* came into existence apart from these two parties by Marxists in 1899. Ukraine's national awakening apart from political movements was supported by intellectuals, in this period. The best example to be given for this is Professor Mikhaylo Hrushevsky. Hrushevsky, by being a member of National Democratic Party, advocated the idea that Poland and Russia should have been separate areas for Ukraine. Moreover, he brought forward that Russians and Ukrainians were different races at their base. In the same way, Bachynsky like Hrushevsky underlined the issue that Ukraine must have been an independent state.

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<sup>13</sup> Paul Kubicek, Ibid, p.71

<sup>14</sup> Paul Kubicek, Ibid, p.71

The First World War started in July of 1914 and ended on 11th November 1918. The whole series of events that increased at large extent and were fueled by nationalism as the result of the murder of Austria-Hungary Empire's crown prince - Fransuva Ferdinand by a Bosnian- Serbian started the war. Everything turned into a general war situation by Austria-Hungary Empire's levying war on Serbia. Ukrainian people were conscripted by both Austria-Hungary Empire, which was in their border and Tsarist Russia's army in World War I period. However, Ukrainians couldn't have any success during the war. The most important reason of this was that they couldn't come together. Because, some of Ukrainians were under the dominance of Tsarist Russia and some part of them was in Austria-Hungary Empire. They were obliged to fight with each other by being two competitive empires, in this sense. Besides, minority groups in these two empires that was at a quite big proportion, that couldn't be minimized, in Tsarist Russia, was forced to succeed in the final sense. There, already, had been discontent among minority nations. The outbreak of the war increased the distrust in the minorities. "For instance, a minority group that consisted of approximately one million people involving Russian Jews, Germans and Polishes sent into exile to the internal parts of the empire by the Russian army".<sup>15</sup>

In the middle of World War I, there happened a very significant revolution in Russia. This revolution which was actualized in 1917 opened a way to establish a socialist state system and caused the pervasion of socialism all over the world. In short, this was one of the most important developments that were took place in 20th century in the world history. The most significant Bolshevik Revolution in the world history or so called 1917 October Revolution's aim in its base was to collapse an autocratic system, to take Russia out of World War I that was an imperialist war and to establish the government which would consist of working classes.

If we mention the importance of this revolution with respect to Ukraine, between the years 1917 and 1920, both Tsarist Empire and Habsburg Empire were erased from history. The way for birth of political movements in the nationalism sense was opened by 1917 Revolution in Ukraine. These movements, actually had

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<sup>15 15</sup> Walter G. Moss, *A History of Russia Volume I: To 1917*, Anthem Press, London, Second Edition, 2005, p.511

been being lived until 1917, but they were restricted with minority movements as a result. “The modern Ukrainian history’s character started to change after 1917, by this way.”<sup>16</sup> The stage of the nation idea forming was completed during revolution years, basically. Parties evinced their sides in various ways, by the end of Tsarist regime, in Ukraine’s *Central Rada* in Kiev. “For instance, *The Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Federalists* became one of the most moderated and advocated Ukraine’s independence which could be in the body of a Russian state.”<sup>17</sup> “*The Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party (USRP)* that Hrushevsky jointed to, on the other hand, had a more radical land reform calling and held the procurement of food and land to peasants over everything.”<sup>18</sup> This socialist party became one of the revolutionist parties by becoming powerful in Ukraine, in front of Russian Empire, in the course of time. Political movements in the west of Ukraine existed, in the same way. When there was a little time for the end of World War I, *Western Ukrainian People’s Republic Party* declared the necessity of Ukraine’s independency in Ukraine National Council in Lviv.

However, there wasn’t the lack of problems in Ukraine in political sense. One of the reasons of this, even though some of the established parties supported the idea of independent state; some, still, supported the structure that was tied to Russia and Bolsheviks. That was reason that a powerful alignment couldn’t be established. As a result of all these, a big civil war out broke. “Millions of Russians and Ukrainians were killed in the civil war as the result of fights or famine and diseases. Around a hundred thousand Jews in the country were murdered or injured and as the result; nationalists had to run away from the country”.<sup>19</sup> “Poland- Ukraine treaty was signed on 21th April 1920 to prevent Ukraine’s dependence to Bolsheviks but Kiev fell when Poland declared its possession of Ukraine on 27th May 1920.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ivan L. Rudnytsky, *The Role of the Ukraine in Modern History*, Slavic Review, Vol: 22, No: 2. (Jun 1963) , Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, p.202

<sup>17</sup> Paul Kubicek, *The History of Ukraine*, Greenwood Press, London, 2008, p.80

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.80

<sup>19</sup> Cem Karadeli, *Ortaçağ’dan Günümüze Ukrayna’nın Kısa Tarihi*, Uluslararası Politikada Ukrayna Krizi, Beta, İstanbul, 2014, p.6.

<sup>20</sup> Cem Karadeli, Ibid, p.7

The event which caused the end of this revolutionary period was 1920-1921 Soviet-Poland War. At the end of this war situation between Poland and Soviet Russia which was on the effort of gaining ascendance over Ukraine, the border of the Soviet Union and Poland by Riga Treaty. The west land part of Belarus Republic and Ukraine and land in the east of Poland were given to Russia, on 18th march 1921 by this border treaty which wouldn't change until 1939.

### **1.3 Ukraine in The Soviet Union Period**

On December of year 1922, Ukraine was one of four main establishers of the Soviet Union, at that time. The roots of Soviet Communism were in and also spreading out of Russia. This movement was especially supporting Marxism that was a brand of revolutionary point of view. In the last ten years of 19th century, a pressure and resistance by Tsarist regime against reforms came into existence. Slavery heritage, problems that were related to payments that couldn't be solved, brought about social contradictions by the ascension of working class. The blockage over reforms weakened the opportunity of Russia for a universal and political transformation. As a result of this, Marxism started to gain power in Russia and was accepted by a certain group in a short time.

Revolution became an important improvement not only of Russia, but also in the interest of whole world, at an extent that would change the lives of crowds. Majority of Ukrainians was living under the umbrella of the Soviet Union in the biggest part of twentieth century. The Soviet Union was a communist state which consisted of 15 different republics and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was one of them. Although the republics in the union had actually, some basic rights, important decisions were made by the leader of Russian-dominant Soviet Communist Party. Ukraine lived changes with respect to industrialization and urbanization in Soviet Union period. In reality, even though communism made welfare promises about vital subjects like freedom and economy, these promises weren't valid especially for Ukraine where a lot of political pressure and a big famine existed.

After Communist Party Leader Lenin had died in 1924, there were an authority gap and struggle for power in the party. Stalin won out of this struggle and got the position of leadership in the Soviet Union. There were many changes made with Stalin. First of all, Stalin finished NEP (New Economic Policy) application that was reminiscent of capitalism. That was an economic application by Lenin that had been accepted with a decision made in the party's 10th General Congress in 1921. The purpose of NEP policy was to regulate the country's economy which had been damaged in seven years lasting civil war.

Stalin was the strongest person at the top level of the USSR. He was ruling the Soviet Union in a strict and cruel bureaucratic system. Ukraine had its part from this drastic governing. The best example of this was "Great Famine" that was taking place between 1932 and 1933 in Ukraine. Besides, it was called as "Holodomor" in many sources. Holodomor means *murder by hunger* in Ukrainian language. The reason behind this famine disaster was the cease of agricultural production by the state's discontinuance in cooperative application and Stalin's turning a blind eye to this situation by continuing exporting grain. There were dreadful deaths because of this government policy by which grain and other food that was grabbed from Ukrainian peasants' home. Approximately five million people, most of whom were Ukrainians died under similar conditions. However, even though the main reason of famine was the wrong application of agricultural policy, the other one was Ukrainian nationalism. "Secret polices started arresting Ukrainian intellectuals and the members of illegal Ukrainian nationalism political bodies in the year 1929."<sup>21</sup> Because, Stalin knew that Ukrainian nationalism's roots based on village people.<sup>22</sup>

Apart from the Great Famine, one of the most important improvements in Stalin's period was the Second World War. It was out broken by the occupation of Poland's east border by German army in 1939 .On 22th June 1941; German forces started attacking to the Soviet Union by Barbarossa Operation. The Soviet Union joined to allied sates because of Hitler's betrayal. At this moment, on 30th June

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<sup>21</sup> Paul Kubicek, *The History of Ukraine*, Greenwood Press, London, 2008, p. 102

<sup>22</sup> Kubicek, *Ibid*, p.102

1941, an initiation was actualized to establish an independent Ukrainian State, but it ended with failure.<sup>23</sup> The reason of this was that an independent Ukrainian state did not compatible with German's interest. In August of 1941, a large part of Ukraine was occupied by Germans. There was a lot of demolition during the war in Ukraine. That was why, the constructions like bridges, dams and factories were taken down by Soviet forces for the sake of not leaving them to German occupation. At the same time, a number of ethnical groups were forced to migrate by the Soviet Union under the presidency of Stalin between the years 1941 and 1944. There comes Germans who was living in East Europe at the top of these and Finnes, Karmics, Chechens, Ingushetias, Meskhetian Turks and Crimea Tatars follows Germans. In 1943 Soviet forces started beating back Germans. Especially Stalingrad War and made operations constituted a very important turning point for the Second World War. Germans, who had realized that the fight would continue, had to come back from Caucasus in January of 1943. Thus, control over Don and Donets regions, that Russia had lost were controlled again.

In conclusion, even though Ukraine had started modernizing as a result of improvements made for the sake of industrializing in first years in Stalin, it started going back as the results of demolition in the Second World War I and the Great Famine. Terrorism already had been being lived at a great extent under Stalin period of Soviet Russia. Ethnic groups as minorities were always under risk and were seen as Russian enemies. Despite, Ukrainian people were ruled under such a repressive regime, organizations made for the sake of Ukrainian nationalism continued.

After such repressive Stalin governance, *Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchev* came to the ruling of Soviet Union in 1953. Khrushchev had taken the responsibility between 1939 and 1949 in Ukraine Communist party and had the position of the Soviet Union Communist Party general secretary. Cold war between the Soviet Union and the USA was on the front line in Khrushchev period. Tension increased at a considerable rate by Cuban Crisis, world came in the front of a nuclear war and just after this, a political thaw period with the USA started. Mutual political conversations in September of 1959 were started upon the invitation of the USA.

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<sup>23</sup> Kubicek, Ibid, p.108



Khrushchev as having just the reverse understanding of Stalin had some initiations for the sake of eliminating negativeness created by him, in his period. In short, Khrushchev minded cleaning of strict policies and wrong actions applied by Stalin in the Soviet Union. “The best example that can be given for this is that allowance for the other nations except Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans and Meskhetian Turks that had been forced to migrate during the Second World War, to come back to their own land.”<sup>24</sup>

Khrushchev governance brought positive improvements for Ukraine, in general. Khrushchev had promoted Ukrainian state authorities to Moscow by taking Ukraine’s power as the base. His preference can be explained by his old job in Ukraine communist party. His most important political decision was that Crimea was taken from the Russian Federation and given to Ukraine. The allowance of the nations that had been forced to immigrate, to come back to their own land provided the correction of a historical mistake.

Khrushchev gave more control right to Ukrainian organizations over Ukrainian economy. Another realized positive improvement was actualized in agricultural sector. Khrushchev, as being a leader of the Soviet Union, spent most of his time by being interested in the rural part’s problems. He tried many different methods for the sake of overcoming the lagging in agriculture.<sup>25</sup> The inequality between workers and farmers was corrected by the help of these jumps. As a result of more investment of the state into agriculture, the income obtained from food stocks and agriculture has increased since 1950.<sup>26</sup>

Khrushchev period was very influential in terms of eliminating the problems created by Stalin period in general terms and for the sake of correcting wrong policies. A detente atmosphere prevailed in the policies followed within Soviet Union in general.

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<sup>24</sup> Cem Karadeli, *Ortaçağ’dan Günümüze Ukrayna’nın Kısa Tarihi*, Uluslararası Politikada Ukrayna Krizi, Beta, İstanbul, 2014, p.10

<sup>25</sup> Peter Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End*, Second Edition, Cambridge University Press, 1999-2006, p.196

<sup>26</sup> Paul Kubicek, *The History of Ukraine*, Greenwood Press, London, 2008, p.112

Leonid Brejnev appointed as the Soviet Union Communist Party General Secretary, after Khrushchev, in 1964. One of the most crucial developments of Brejnev period in term of Ukraine, according to Tolga Bilener's article ( *Ulus-Devlet Olma Sürecinde Ukrayna*), is that localization policy was shelved, Immediately in 1970's by Şçerbitski (*Ukraine communist Party First Secretary*). Since, Brejnev was talking about the notion of a *Soviet Public*. This means in Soviet Union for example, Ukraine must start supporting a *Soviet Public* idea instead of supporting Ukrainian nationality "In this period, Ukrainian nationalist dissenters, declaimed against Russification of Ukraine nation and tried to let Ukrainian culture that they consider as being a part of East Europe, to prosper".<sup>27</sup>

In Brejnev period, second vitally important development was that the USA and Western countries' official recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' borders that had been active since the end of the Second World War. Thus, the land that was joined to the Soviet Socialist Republics from Poland officially became a part of Ukraine and when it became independent in 199, its land was delineated with respect to the decisions taken in Helsinki.<sup>28</sup>

In the year of 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev had the leadership position in the Soviet Union. An independent Ukraine idea was tried to be, substantially, in the front line by certain parts of the society, in this period. But, when the conditions of that period were taken into consideration, this situation was thought not to pass the border line between imagination and reality. In short, because of the Soviet Union's repressive attitude and a period in which mostly a Russian Public idea was imposed, an independent Ukraine idea wouldn't have much sympathy.

By Gorbachev's coming to the power in the Soviet Union some new policies and reforms were become reality. The first of these reforms Glasnost (*openness*), the other was *Perestroyka* (*restructuring*). Glasnost policy aimed to save USSR, which

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<sup>27</sup> Tolga Bilener, *Ulus-Devlet Olma Sürecinde Ukrayna*, Değişen Dünyada Rusya ve Ukrayna, Phoenix, Ankara, 2004, p.317

<sup>28</sup> Cem Karadeli, *Ortaçağ'dan Günümüze Ukrayna'nın Kısa Tarihi*, Uluslararası Politikada Ukrayna Krizi, Beta, İstanbul, 2014, p.12

had had a close economy and politics since its establishment, from closeness by opening it to the world. The second step that was Perestroyka had the purpose of integrative structuring of USSR to the world from economic, political, social and military perspectives.<sup>29</sup> The third reform was *demokratizatsiia* (*democratization*). However, Gorbachev's increasing reform actions couldn't find an exact solution for economic and social problems, increasing in the country. There was, even, some identification about social reforms' triggering effect to start nationalist movement, indeliberately and to accelerate the collapse of the Soviet Union. Financial responsibilities have been increased by the acceleration of armament that means competition with the USA added to increasing economic problems that have existed since 1970's.

What has to be careful about here is *glasnost*' that was first reform applied by Gorbachev and means openness. Glasnost reform based mostly on media and freedom of expression. This meant that less censorship and encouragement of new ideas' discussion. Thus, public had the opportunity to criticize the mistakes made by Soviet authorities. Nationalist groups gained power by being organized together with the opportunities brought by Democratization reform. This situation started to be seen, especially, towards the end of 1980's, in Ukraine.

However, the real breaking point is *Chernobyl Disaster*, which was occurred in April of 1986. "The accident that happened in Nuclear Energy Power Plant in Chernobyl, which locates in the south of Ukraine, was actualized in number 4 reactor safety building and led the blowup of the roof causing radioactive material spreading in air."<sup>30</sup> A great amount of radioactive material outspreaded especially the places around Belarus, Soviet Federation and Ukraine, by this way. This disaster was registered as being the greatest environmental disaster of 20th century and its effects have been seen in Europe and Russian Federation for years.

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<sup>29</sup> Orhan Savaş, Gorbacov'un İlimli Siyaseti ve Eriyen SSCB, <http://akademikperspektif.com/2014/03/24/gorbacovun-ilimli-siyaseti-ve-eriyen-sscb/> (24.03.2014).

<sup>30</sup> Prof. Dr. Hasan Saygın, *Nükleer Enerjiye Geçişte Türkiye Modeli: Büyük Nükleer Kazalar ve Nükleer Enerji Teknolojisinin Evriminde Doğurdıkları Sonuçlar*, EDAM (Ekonomi ve Dış Politika Araştırmalar Merkezi), 2011, İstanbul, p.57.

The point to be discussed here is that, Glasnost that was presented by Gorbachev means openness in state policies. Because, the Soviet Union announced the reactor accident that happened on 26th April 1986, on 30th April 1986 to the world that was four days after the accident. Especially, Ukrainian nationalists questioned Ukraine's place in the Soviet Union, after accident. At the same time, this situation caused environmental movement and some political discussions' momentum gain.

#### **1.4 Dissociation of Ukraine from The Soviet Union and Its Independence**

The independence movements in Ukraine started increasing at great extent after Chernobyl Disaster and the construction of independent Ukraine started by the year 1989. The majority of Ukraine's population was organized against Soviet communist authorities' influences, politically. They had some cultural and economic demands accompanied by this. "Three big events in 1989 made the acceleration easy for the independence of Ukraine. " Ukrainian Action for Restructuring" that is known as "*rukh*" published a draft program, in February of the same year."<sup>31</sup> They had the inspiration of some organizations behind this structuring. For instance, Ukrainian Writers Union, Ukraine Taras Shevchenko Language Community, Ukraine Helsinki Union and organizations like Green Planet played an important role for Ukraine action " In the election that was held in March of 1990, in Ukraine High Soviet elections *Rukh had a big success by getting 117 of 450 chairs .*"<sup>32</sup> It was certain by this result that there would be great changes in Ukraine. In the same way, people in Galicia started to have an active role in civil society organizations for public independence action. "A number of republics including Baltic countries and Ukraine declared their independence until the beginning of 1991. The Soviet Union's future has been seen as dark since that time and economy started worsening."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Paul Kubicek, *The History of Ukraine*, Greenwood Press, London, 2008, p.126

<sup>32</sup> Tolga Bilener, *Ulus-Devlet Olma Sürecinde Ukrayna*, Değişen Dünyada Rusya ve Ukrayna, Phoenix, Ankara, 2004, p.319

<sup>33</sup> Paul Kubicek, *The History of Ukraine*, Greenwood Press, London, 2008, p.134

While all these were being lived, Gorbachev had a last step to hold the Soviet Union together. This step consisted of a unification treaty that would be signed to save the Soviet Union's federal structure. Thus, the republics including Ukraine who declared their independence must have supported this unity treaty. However, civil society organizations in Ukraine boycotted this treaty. Since, the idea of being in a unity dominated by Soviet wasn't being an independent state, have been supported. "In the referendum that was held on 17th March 1991, related to Unity Treaty, 70% of Ukrainians voted for the direction of continuity of the Soviet Union, but in the same a referendum, yes answer given to the question of whether Ukraine should sign new unity treaty in the frame of independence or not reached to 80%."<sup>34</sup>

There were very important developments experienced in Moscow, following the rise of Gorbachev. After the referendum, before the signing of the Unity Treaty in Moscow from communist party that was anti-Gorbachev, some segments made an attempt on the state by claiming that the reforms actualized by Gorbachev would bring the end of Soviet system. The decision of Ukrainian public was on the side of independence as the result of the referendum that was actualized after the failure of the attempt on the state and just after that Ukraine refused signing the Unity Treaty. Ukraine enounced its independence on 24th August 1991, following this. The Soviet Union was officially dispersed on 26th December 1991 .After the independence enouncement, Leonid Kravchuk was elected as the president of Ukraine.

In the period after independence Ukraine had to live a transformation. Ukraine that was an important part of the Soviet Union had to change its internal policy according to only one governing understanding apart from a system. This political transformation process was very crucial for Ukraine because border security, the preparation of new constitutional law and everything that will provide the establishment of a new state were main important subject matters. There had to be some transformations to be done economically besides the political transformations, at the same time. For example, the currency that had been used after independence was *ruble* that had been used in the Soviet Union period in Ukraine

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<sup>34</sup> Tolga Bilener, *Ulus-Devlet Olma Sürecinde Ukrayna*, Değişen Dünyada Rusya ve Ukrayna, Phoenix, Ankara, 2004, p.320

and it had to be changed. Because of that reason, the process of splitting from Soviet Union after independence in Ukraine caused the appearance of some problems between Ukraine and Russia. According to E. Büyükakıncı, these problems consist of four important headings and played a decisive role in Russia-Ukraine relationships, after independence.

- a- Dismantling of nuclear weapons in Ukraine and their transportation to Russia;*
- b- Sharing of the Black Sea fleet and bilateral conferences about the legal status of Crimea;*
- c- Recognition and development of minority rights of more than eleven million Russian population who was living in Ukraine;*
- d- The transformation of perception process of Russia with respect to Ukraine's independence and Ukraine's view point with respect to Commonwealth of Independent States ( CIS)BDT.<sup>35</sup>*

After the dispersion of the Soviet Union in its relationship with Ukraine, the priority in the agenda of the Soviet Union was about the conditions of nuclear weapons that was Soviet heritage. The USSR had an important amount of investment in terms of nuclear weapons, in the Cold War period with regard to increasing armament competition. Its competitor the USA had nuclear weapons, similarly and it had been testing them. There had been its nuclear weapons in three countries in the Soviet Union, before it was dispersed. These were Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. The countries that held nuclear weapons except Ukraine, accepted consignment of them to Russian Federation by Minsk treaty that was signed in 1991 and Almaty Report. However, firstly, Ukraine couldn't consign by stipulating economic reasons. Ukrainian's unwillingness in giving the weapons back to the Russian Federation caused some disputes. As the result of the crisis, the USA had mediation role, for the purpose of determining the end of nuclear weapon case. The problem between the Russian Federation and Ukraine was solved in January of 1994 by the support of the USA. "By an official notification that was agreed by both sides, Ukraine's liability

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<sup>35</sup> Erhan Büyükakıncı, , *Bağımsızlık Sürecinde Ukrayna-Rusya İlişkileri*, Değişen Dünyada Rusya ve Ukrayna, Phoenix, Ankara, 2004 p.414.

claim about uranium was approached and Ukraine accepted compensation payment to the Russian Federation and assuring free fuel for nuclear power plant. On 5th December 1994, Ukrainian parliamentary was approved NPT (Non- Proliferation Treaty) and their transportation was completed in the year 1996.”<sup>36</sup>

Thus, Ukraine consigned its weapons, provided recognition of its territorial integrity in the international system by, also, having the USA’s guarantee.

Another important heading in the Ukraine-Russia relationships was the sharing of the Black Sea fleet and the legal status of Crimea in the period after the Soviet Union. Firstly, the Black Sea fleet was one of the military forces of Russian Federation that had remained after USSR. One of fleets which were in three different port cities was located in Ukraine’s Sevastopol city. The first step related to the sharing of the military fleet was taken by the diplomatic conferences in 1992. “However, Crimea’s independence issue was realized as the base of this sharing problem in these conferences that were held between the years 1992 and 1997.”<sup>37</sup> As it was mentioned before, in the Soviet Union period Crimea was an autonomous republic as being taken from the Russian Federation and tied to Ukraine by Khrushchev. But, this matter will be examined more in detail, in the following chapters. Mostly, Russian population was placed in Crimea instead of Tatars who were exiled in Stalin’s era. In this context, Russian population supported the bonding of Crimea to Russian Federation during the Black Sea fleet sharing conferences. As a result of such a solution, the end of the fleet in the Black Sea would be concluded as being in favor of Russia. Because of this reason, there was conflict between Russia and Ukraine as in the case of nuclear weapon’s sharing. “The fleet that was talked about consisted of 300 battle ships, 45 above-water ship, 14 submarines, 300 planes and helicopters having naval and land bases.”<sup>38</sup> The status of the fleet which had this rich infrastructure wasn’t reported clearly in an agreement like ISC (Independent

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<sup>36</sup> Ali Servet Öncü, *Türkiye ve Ukrayna İlişkilerinin Başlaması ve İlk Yılları Üzerine Genel Bir Bakış (1991-1994)*, Karadeniz Araştırmaları, 2014, No.41, p.46

<sup>37</sup> Erhan Büyükkakıncı, *Bağımsızlık Sürecinde Ukrayna-Rusya İlişkileri*, Değişen Dünyada Rusya ve Ukrayna Phoenix, Ankara, 2004, p.414

<sup>38</sup> Akexei Arbatov, Abraham Chayes, Antonia Handler Chayes, and Lara Olson editors, *Managing Conflict in the former Soviet Union-Russian and American Perspectives*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, London England, 1997, p 120

States Community). Because of all these reasons, Ukraine could have a claim to fleet as much as the Russian Federation and the attitude of Ukrainian nationalists were on that direction. Ultranationalist attitudes of both sides, government structures lacking economic and political stability were on the base of most of the crisis between Russia and Ukraine, after the dispersion of the Soviet Union. These crises were overcome by a series of treaties between Russia and Ukraine. Kravchuk and Yeltsin settled on some subject matters, in June of 1992, before Dagomys summit that was in May. Reconciliation was reached between two sides on Yalta Treaty in August in the same year.

According to this treaty,

- a-) The Black Sea Fleet will be taken out of the military command ISC and let the guidance of a board which is under the mutual control under Ukraine and Russia,*
- b-) Coordination period will be limited with three years and another treaty which would have the conditions of a final sharing will be signed and accepted,*
- c-) the fleet's Russian sailors' oath of allegiance for Ukrainian government will be invalid.*<sup>39</sup>

According to the clauses of the treaty, Russia and Ukraine agreed on Ukraine's fleet transfer to ISC and its bilateral control. This was sharing of the fleet at fifty percent rate. Moreover, Russia would be able to use Sevastopol port after 1995. The committee that had been established for the sharing of the fleet would criticize this regulation, later and as a result, it would demand that Sevastopol base would be left to Russian. Yalta Treaty had been sabotaged, by this way. In the next treaty, Russia advised buying the half of the fleet in the Black Sea, corresponding to Ukraine's energy debt. The possible actions of Ukraine which had approximately, 2.5 million debts were limited, then.

On the date of 15th April 1994, a treaty which provided the apportionment of the fleet between Ukraine and Russia was signed. Ukraine would be able to use around

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<sup>39</sup> Erhan Büyükakıncı, *Bağımsızlık Sürecinde Ukrayna-Rusya İlişkileri*, Değişen Dünyada Rusya ve Ukrayna, Phoenix, Ankara, 2005, p.415



15%- 20% of the fleet and rent the half of it to Russia, according to the content of the treaty. The treaty conditions between two sides were continuously changing, but the final agreement couldn't be reached, anyhow. The presidents of both of the states resolved the problem of the Black Sea fleet's sharing on 28th May 1997. According to the treaty, the Russian Federation will rent Sevastopol port that was in Ukraine, for 20 years from Ukraine. As addition to this, debt of Ukraine would be decreased by Russia. Both sides signed the Friendship- Solidarity Treaty in the following several days.<sup>40</sup>

As it is realized, Ukraine continued its relationship with the Russia Federation over some problems after its independence. These two countries that have been border neighbors after all would feel the effects of Soviet heritage at the present day, in their foreign policies in a great extent.

### **1.5 The Orange Revolution in Ukraine**

Ukraine's economic problems became mostly evident in the first years of its independence. Ukraine already hadn't been a rich country in the Soviet Union period with increasing economic problems which were caused by political ones. After its gain of independence rising inflation, unemployment, declining in the growth rate in Ukraine caused a number of businesses to go into bankruptcy. In short, there had to be economic reforms radically, in the country, but Kravchuk government didn't show willingness with respect to these reforms, yet. Ukraine's agriculture based economy came to almost its end because of the policies applied in Stalin era. Political problems continued being in the front line even in 2000's in Ukraine which couldn't meet the international expectations, in the period after independence in the first decade. The Orange Revolution was the biggest political event after independency in Ukraine. Crisis was broken out during presidential elections, in 2004, in Ukraine. According to many analysts in Europe and North America, The Orange Revolution is

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<sup>40</sup> Tarja Langström, Transformation in Russia and International Law, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, London, 2003, p.231

defined as Ukraine's, which is a semi-pluralist young state with an authoritarian past, democratic leap.<sup>41</sup>

Ukraine started to be governed by republican type presidential system after it had gained its independence. The period of service of the ones who were on the presidential level was limited with 5 years period, in the country. Firstly, Leonid Kravchuk was on the president chair in Ukraine between the years 1991 and 1994. Leonid Kuchma took over the position after Kravchuk on 19th July 1994. Kuchma governed the country throughout ten years. “, when Kuchma rose to the power, in the election held in 1999 ,again; deepening the relationship with the European Union, actualizing Ukrainian people's European option and being included in “European Atlantic” structure by prosperous European countries club were emphasized as being among Ukrainian foreign policy's priorities.”<sup>42</sup> But, in 1999, Kuchma who was keeping his position by Europe promise tended to more authoritarian regime, Ukraine's relationship with the West was weakened; instead its relationship with Russia came first. When he wasn't able to be the one for the third candidanship of Ukrainian fundamental law, he started to support his successor, Yanukovich<sup>43</sup> As a result of this Yushchenko and Yanukovich competed with each other, in the presidential elections actualized in 31th October 2004. Yanukovich had the support of Russia and Yushchenko had the one of the West. However, in the first round of the elections, none of the candidates came first by having more votes than the others. Yushchenko had 46.7% with his party “*Our Ukraine*” and Yanukovich had 49.4 % with his party “*Party of Regions*” in the second round elections. Yushchenko claimed that there was fraud in the elections and took legal action, following the election results. Later, country was split into two. While, the west of Ukraine recognized Yushchenko, its east was the supporter of Yanukovich governance. As a result of this, Yushchenko constituents took to the streets, protest started in *the Independence square* in Kiev. Since, Yushchenko's election campaign color was orange; this protest act is called as *Orange Revolution* in the history. The election was repeated as

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<sup>41</sup> Ingmar Bredies, Andreas Umland, Valentin Yakushik, *Aspects of the Orange Revolution IV*, Germany, 2014, p.11

<sup>42</sup> Igor Torbakov, *Rusya'dan Ayrı Ya da Rusya'nın Bir Parçası: Ukrayna-Rusya İlişkilerinin Kederli Bir Destanı*, Avrasya Dosyası, Rusya Özel, Winter 2001, Vol:6, No:4, p.309.

<sup>43</sup> Fehim Taştekin, Portre: Ukrayna Seçimleri ve Turuncu Devrim, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=135711>, ( 29.11.2004).

the result of protests and because of the decision taken by the court. According to the result of the new election that was held in January 2005, Yushchenko sat on the president chair by having 51.99% of the votes.

The Orange Revolution, actually, was a deeper case than its being a candidacy competition of Yushchenko and his winning. The reason for that, the government on the duty was perceived as degenerated by the public in Ukraine. That was there wasn't any positive return of economic growth from the point of Ukrainian public. That's why they believed that the monetary sources of the country will be used for *oligarchs and organized crimes*, if Yanukovych comes to the governance.<sup>44</sup> In this context, 2004 elections was a turning point for Ukrainian public. After a century lasting Russian dominance, public came to the point of decision between west and east for their country's future. Moreover, since Ukraine's Orange Revolution was freedom and justice based act, it was supported and sympathized, internationally.

## 1.6 Today's Ukraine

Majority of today's Ukraine's population consists of ethnic groups in Soviet Union period. In other words, there are thousands of people immigrated from different republics in Ukraine. While skilled workers worked for the development of the Soviet Union economy, most of them had their place in Red Army in the Soviet Union period. Today, 78% of Ukrainian population is made up by ethnic Ukrainians, 17% by ethnic Russians and 5 % by Crimean Tatars and 5% by ethnic groups like Bulgarians, Polishes.

Today, Ukrainian population is under the influence of two main groups. These are ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Russians. Ethnic Ukrainians take the west and ethnic Russians take the east of Ukraine under their influence. "*Ethnic Ukraine*

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<sup>44</sup> Andres Aslund and Michael Mcfaul, Introduction: Perspectives on the Orange Revolution Article <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/AslundIntr1.pdf> (July 2004), p.4

*nationality suggests the idea that the ones who come from Ukrainian genealogical line and/or Ukrainian culture and language Ukraine nation-state must be the main integrating power.*"<sup>45</sup> Ethnic Russians were living under one roof before the dispersion of the Soviet Union. However, after the Soviet Socialist Republics declared their independence one by one, many of them left their homeland and adopted other nations' citizenship. Russians who lived in Ukraine were more advantageous situation ethnically and kept their strong ties with Russia by this way.

If religion in Ukraine is touched on, most of the population belongs to Orthodox sect of Christianity. Thus, Orthodox people are linked with mainly two churches. "The ones who are close to Moscow to Ukraine Metropolitan of Moscow patriarchate, a majority of Nationalist and Western tendentious Orthodox people belong to Kiev patriarchate that declared their independence from Moscow patriarchate."<sup>46</sup>

In Crimea, as being different from Ukraine in general, Tatar public belongs to Islam religion. The reason of this is totally related to historical connections because, the Golden Horde which is known as the ancestor of Tatar public adopted in Islam in 14th century. Since, Crimean Tatars recognized Ottoman sovereignty in 15th century; they accept Turks from their root of descent.<sup>47</sup>

There is a considerable amount of Jews community apart from Tatars in Ukraine. "In the beginning of the World War II, there were almost 3 million Jews in Ukraine. That is 20% of Jews were living in Ukraine and 60% of them in Soviet Russia, at that time. But, as the result of genocide during the Second World War, almost 500,000 Jews live in Ukraine, today. This corresponds to 2 % of Jews population."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Cem Karadeli, *Ukrayna'da Milli Aidiyet, Rekabet ve Azınlıklar*, Uluslararası Politikada Ukrayna Krizi, Beta, İstanbul,2014 p.118

<sup>46</sup> Bojidar Cipof, *Ukrayna'da Kilise Savaşları*, Teostrateji Araştırmaları Merkezi, <http://www.21yyte.org/tr/arastirma/teostrateji-arastirmalari-merkezi/2014/08/22/7747/ukraynada-kilise-savaslari>, (22.08. 2014).

<sup>47</sup> Catherine W. Cooper, *Ukraine*, Modern World Nations Series, Second Edition, Chelsa House Publishers, September 1, 2006, p.56

<sup>48</sup> Catherine W. Cooper, *Ibid*, p.56

Apart from its ethnic structure, if we touch on the governing style of Ukraine, 1996 fundamental law is considered as the base of law in Ukraine which has the republican type presidential system. The laws and regulations that are prevailing exist in accordance with the present fundamental law, in the country. Ukrainian parliamentary has the authority by means of a special legislation procedure for the situations related to changes in the fundamental law. Moreover, the constitutional court in Ukraine is the only agency which has the right of interpreting and evaluating fundamental law's appropriateness.

Lastly, if we touch the fringes of Ukraine's foreign policy targets, Ukraine is a country which is in the front rant with respect to Ukraine's relationships with the European Union and Russia. It is clearly seen by the events following the Orange Revolution that the preference of Ukrainian public is for deepening the relationships with European Union rather than the ones with Russian Federation. In summary, they expressed that they aren't on the side of Russian Federation which has repressive and pragmatic politics. However, The balances changed in Ukraine and the relationship with Russia came to a dead end, following the crisis which resulted with Crimea's mediatization in 2014.

## CHAPTER II

### 2.1 Internal Politics in Ukraine before The Crisis

Ukraine is a country which gained its independence in 1991 by the dispersion of the Soviet Union. Ukraine has had generally unstable political structure since the date it had its independence. Neither any specific opinion nor any party in state governance had dominance over Ukraine's internal politics. Ukraine's political system consists of three groups as west wing, liberal center and conservative nationalist right. Coalition governments, generally, had the duty in the parliament in this multiple system in the elections held in the years between 1990 and 2014. This situation led to an unstable political life within the country in time. "In this context, 15 different governments started to work in the first 16 years of independence or 18 governments' taking responsibilities in last 23 years are the examples that can be given for this unstable system."<sup>49</sup> In addition to instabilities in governance, power struggles between Ukraine's presidential authority and parliament was sufficient to invert the balances within the country.

Ukraine's most important disadvantage is that it was torn between the competition of West and Russia. In this competitive environment where interests come first, Ukraine is, mostly, faced with Russia's authoritarian attitude by not deciding on its own. It sometimes tried to keep its relationship at a reasonable level with both sides and to cooperate for its own sake.

The reason behind the Russia's interest in Ukraine, mainly, bases on the Soviet Union period. Its historical togetherness with today's the Russian Federation has already been talked about, while Ukrainian history has been told in the previous chapter. In addition to this, Ukraine was the second most important republic in the USSR period. It is on the passage way of Russian energy transportation line, today

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<sup>49</sup> Vügar İmanbeyli, Ülke- İçi Krizden Uluslararası Soruna Ukrayna- Kırım Meselesi, SETA Perspektif, No: 36, Mart 2014, p. 2  
[http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20140320184806\\_ulke-ici-krizden-uluslararasi-soruna-ukrayna-kirim-meselesi-pdf.pdf](http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20140320184806_ulke-ici-krizden-uluslararasi-soruna-ukrayna-kirim-meselesi-pdf.pdf)

and also it has productive agricultural land<sup>50</sup>. Because of all these reasons, Russia charges a different meaning to the state which was a part of old system. Because, Ukraine locates in near environment of Russia; that's why, Russia wants to be involved in Ukraine's political system and to encompass it.

The roots of the crisis in Ukraine today, as it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, are seen as almost the same with the reasons of the Orange Revolution that was in 2004. As it has been told before; poverty, oligarchies and the infringement of human rights were paramount issues, in Ukraine, within the country.

Under the light of all these developments, a very important problem cropped up in 2004 presidential elections, in Ukraine which has a system lacking stability. Because, there was fraud in state presidency elections on the date of 31th October 2004 and this situation took the public to the streets. Viktor Yushchenko who took the support of the West and Yanukovich who have the support of Russia and 26 other presidency candidates had competition to be chosen. But, Yanukovich who was claimed to fraud won the election. The election was repeated, as the result of objection of the public and protests and Yushchenko who had the support the West won. "After the elections, Ukraine followed a Westernist politics. After Tymoshenko was elected as the president, discussions with EU started and there reached important points for subject matters like easier visa, economic integration"<sup>51</sup>. All of these developments led to decrease in the loyalty to Russia, but strengthening of relationships with the EU. This situation appealed both to Russian supporter base and Western supporter base from the point of Ukraine. However, after the Orange Revolution period, Tymoshenko lost the presidency elections with a little difference, in 2010, since he couldn't meet the expectations within the country. Yanukovich came to the ruling, after the failure of Tymoshenko. Tension was expected between EU and Ukraine, but discussions and reforms that had to be made until 2013 continued. This situation couldn't be interpreted clearly, because Yanukovich, as

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<sup>50</sup> Hasret Çomak, Atilla Sandıklı, Erdem Kaya, Elnur İsmayilov, *Karadenizde Yeni Gelişmeler, Ukrayna Krizi ve Türkiye*, Uluslararası Politikada Ukrayna Krizi, Beta, 2014, İstanbul, p.138.

<sup>51</sup> Muhammed Koçak, Ukrayna Dilemması, SETA, <http://odak.setav.org/page/ukraynanin-dilemmasi/14248> ( 11.12.1013).

being different from the old president, tried to maintain a balanced foreign policy by considering the sensitivity of relationships with Russia.<sup>52</sup>

## 2.2 Escalation of The Crisis

The developments that escalated the crisis were lived in November of 2013. Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich abandoned signing the collaboration and partnership agreement with the European Union at the last moment and instead he decided to collaborate with Russia. As the result of this, streets were broken out in Kiev and public escalated the protests in the following days. In short, at this point, a crisis appeared in a short time in Ukraine by the means of the Russian sided decision of Yanukovich. The reason behind Yanukovich's going away from the partnership with the EU is set forth as Russia's repressive attitude. However, in the light of all these lived developments, increasing tension and polarization in Ukraine led to political and social discriminations. That was, public in Ukraine divided into two as supporters of Russia and supporters of the EU. The groups that support the integration with the European Union took to streets. "Educated groups most of whom were educated in universities played an important role in Ukraine's fate by the demonstrations they started in Maidan Independence Square, on 21st November 2013. As the result of demonstrations, State's President Yanukovich had to leave the country."<sup>53</sup> Protests actions' facing with pressure and sharp interventions inflamed the events and caused the escalation of the crisis. The number of demonstrators increased, as the interventions of the state being insufficient.

As the result of all these protests and demonstrations, in February of 2014 Russia annexed Crimea and this development caused the crisis between itself and the NATO. Later, on 27th March 2014 UN General Assembly took a decision which declared Moscow supported referendum, causing the annexation of Crimea, as

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<sup>52</sup> Orhan Gafarlı, *AB ile Rusya arasında Ukrayna*, Bilgesam, <http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/76/-ab-ile-rusya-arasinda-ukrayna/#.VkJB9LhDDc>, (02.02.2014).

<sup>53</sup> Sertif Demir, *Ukrayna Krizi: Yeni Küresel Politik Düzenin Başlangıcı*, Uluslararası Politikada Ukrayna Krizi, Beta, 2014, İstanbul, p.171.



illegal. Because, the member states of 1945 UN treaty asserted that they would avoid using all kind of power that is not in accordance with the UN object against another state's territorial integrity and political independence.<sup>54</sup> By referring to this clause, Russia had already recognized Ukraine's territorial integrity and political independence in 1991 like other UN member countries. But, Crimea's occupation that occurred in February 2014 and the annexation attempt led to sharp reactions in international arena. As the Western countries coming first, the USA and the EU showed strict reactions to Russia. In addition to this, the USA brought and applied economic sanction against Russia into agenda. "The USA said that it sent a strong message to Russian government expressing that there would be results of Ukraine's territorial integrity and independence violation by this sanction decision including supporting the illegal referendum about Crimea's separation."<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, Angela Merkel who explained on the behalf of Germany in these days in Bundestag underlined that they would act together with the European Union and America about sanctions.

### **2.3 External Interventions (UN, NATO AND RUSSIA FEDERATION)**

The developments in Ukraine attracted the reaction of the member countries of the NATO and the UN at a great extent by increasing the tension. In this context, external interventions in Ukrainian crisis are grouped under two headings as demarche and economic sanctions. Especially the member countries of the NATO held a place which was on the side of Ukraine's territorial integrity, for the sake of demarche. They published and broadcasted this as a declaration. However, their presentation style as being a mutual opinion not being independent from the NATO led criticisms, at that time. The most significant reason of this was interpreted as the

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<sup>54</sup>According to, 1945 UN Treaty, Chapter 1, Article 2: All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The United Nations General Assembly Resolution 68/262 Territorial Integrity of Ukraine

<sup>55</sup> AB ve ABD'den Rusya'ya Kırım Yaptırımları,

[http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/03/140317\\_ab\\_abd\\_kirim](http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/03/140317_ab_abd_kirim) (17.03.2014).

European Union member countries' avoidance of harming their strong based economic relationships with the Russian Federation.

Apart from presented mutual declaration, Minsk conferences were important steps that were taken for the sake of diplomatic attempts. After Poroshenko started his duty, he put forth a solution plan including 15 clauses in terms of getting out of the crisis, in Ukraine. The parties of the crisis came together in the capital of Belarus that is Minsk, following the solution plan; the fight in Ukraine was targeted to be finished by Minsk I and Minsk II Treaties. Russia, France, Germany and Ukraine's foreign ministers and their top level representatives joined to the conferences. But, ceasefire couldn't be kept in real sense in both of the treaties.<sup>56</sup>

We have told before that, decisions for the sake of economic sanctions were made by the EU and the USA. Russia's pressure on Ukraine was tried to be decreased by the means of sanction decisions. But, Russia didn't take any back step for Ukraine policy by resisting the economic sanctions. Ineffectiveness of the ceasefire decisions that were taken around the table, in practice was the main of the factors which prevented the solution search end in the Ukraine's crisis.<sup>57</sup>

## **2.4 The Results of The Crisis**

In the conclusion, the Russian Federation's first annexation in Crimea was considered as illegal according to the 1945 UN Treaty. Because Russia's holding a referendum by taking the use of chaotic situation in Crimea and as a result connecting Crimea to its country in an easy and quick way and not taking a back step left the solution searches inconclusive. Subsequently, although a reaction came for this action by the UN, it stayed symbolic, since it didn't have decision binding characteristic. Even so, the decision was met positively by Ukraine. Ukraine Foreign

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<sup>56</sup> Muhammet Koçak, *Bölgesel Çatışmadan Küresel Krize*, SETA, İstanbul, Ağustos 2015, No: 135 p.19

<sup>57</sup> Muhammet Koçak, *Ibid*, p.20

Minister Andriy Deshchytsia explained after the voting “this support coming from all over the world showed that this is not only a regional issue, but a global one.”<sup>58</sup>



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<sup>58</sup> BM'den Kırım Konusunda Ukrayna'ya Destek  
[http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/03/140327\\_bm\\_kirim](http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/03/140327_bm_kirim) (27.03.2014).

## **CHAPTER III**

### **THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF UKRAINE FOR THE WESTERN WORLD**

#### **3.1 Ukraine's Importance with Respect to The Russian Federation's Competition with The Western World**

After the dispersion of the Soviet Union, Russia had to follow a quite introverted foreign policy instead of an extensive one. One of the main reasons of this is departure of the republics from the Soviet Union's body, by acquiring their independence and the second reason is, newly called, the Russian Federation's deprivation of its old economic power. Thus, Russia would have to compete with some competitors in the Soviet geography which were in its historical domain. Since 1990's, the United States of America and the European Union have started taking their places in political sense in the old Soviet geography in Russia's domain. In reality, the first step to locate in this geography was taken partially in 1949 by the establishment of the NATO in the Cold War period. The NATO was established to aim of to stop the USSR's ideological spread and to assure the safety of the Western World on 4th April 1949. In this context, the NATO was escalated the tension of relationships between the USA and the USSR that had already existed in the Cold War period. The reason behind the establishment of the NATO was the anxiety of the USA about the Soviet Union's intention for having hegemony over East European countries by making them its extension, at that time. Since that time the USA has felt itself as responsible about preventing the Soviet Union's imperialist policy in East Europe. In short, the establishment of the NATO just seems to be a safety policy for the USA's allied powers locating in Atlantic region.

The signals of Russian policy intention for going toward the West were specified to determine Europe's new political map in the conference held in Potsdam,

in 1945, after Second World War. In the Potsdam conference the future of the countries; Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria that were under the Soviet occupation during the Second World War, was determined and Russia's attitude of recognizing new governments evinced that Russia wouldn't give up its extension policy. As the result of this, although the NATO was formed for the purpose of providing European safety, it represents the most harmonized institution with the USA's morale and geopolitical targets, at its base.<sup>59</sup> That is today, West- Russia constitutes the necessary definition to understand the USA's role in the competition axis. This means that, today the probable results of the NATO's extension toward the East for Russia are computed. Since, Russia's reaction is wondered in the possible case of the future expansion of the NATO with respect to the participation of new members which have strategic importance like Georgia and Ukraine.<sup>60</sup>

Except the NATO, the Russian Federation has been one of the most important competitors for the EU in the old Soviet geography since 90's. At this point, touching the fringes of the EU- Russia relationships will be a true action. The legal base of the EU with Russia were "Partnership and Cooperation Agreement" (PCA) which had been signed in 1994 and come into force in 1997 and "The Mutual Strategy Document related to Russia" which was accepted by the EU, in 1999.<sup>61</sup> Although, the Russian Federation and the EU relationships are based on a competitive attitude, they can feed each other, at the same time. Thus, Russia always wants to continue its communication with the EU in the direction of its interest. It can do this by implementing some the EU policies. "This means that, Russia is in relation with the EU to complete its development and modernization in itself. The EU, to the contrary, wants that Russia would be a liberal power which basically adopts Western values".<sup>62</sup> The interests of both forces are opposite to each other at this point. As the result of this, Ukraine which has a location on old Soviet geography and constitutes an important trump for both the Russian Federation and

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<sup>59</sup> Henry Kissenger, *Diplomasi*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006, 9. Baskı, p.795

<sup>60</sup> Who's Afraid of NATO Expansion? <http://europe.newsweek.com/whos-afraid-nato-expansion-360854?rm=eu> (08.07.2015).

<sup>61</sup> Galym Zhussipbek, *Avrupa Birliği ile Rusya Federasyonu Arasındaki Stratejik Ortaklığın Analizi*, Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika Cilt.7, No. 25, 2011, p.55

<sup>62</sup> Galym Zhussipbek, *Ibid*, p.51,55.

the European Union has come into the picture of the Russian Federation's competition based communication with the Western world, since 2000's. In this context, firstly, Ukraine's importance for Russia in terms of its being competitive with the Western world has to be dealt with. The importance of Ukraine for Russia is not just pragmatic, at the same time it has a special place with respect to historical ties. In this direction, throughout the history, Ukraine land which had a vital importance for Russia to keep its Empire status. Moreover, this thought prevails today. That is, American political scientist Brzezinski in 1998 wrote that Russia couldn't be a Eurasia Empire without the existence of Ukraine. All of these ascriptions explain the historical based symbolic relationship between Ukraine and Russia.

If we touch on the Ukraine's economic importance for Russia, although they have basic differences in their commercial relationships, Ukraine is in a strategic common location which is important for Russia. As it is being before everything, Ukraine is in the place as being the biggest transit state for Russian gas. Especially, approximately 80% of Russian gas reaches European market over Ukraine. When the dependence of the EU to abroad in terms of gas subject, Ukraine is a very important allied for the Russian Federation. If the existing natural gas pipeline projects which will exclude Russia are implemented, Russia will confront with its energy monopoly lost. Ukraine is indispensable for both the EU and the RF, in this respect. The EU, which is anxious about Russian energy monopoly, endeavors to keep Ukraine on its side, not to risk energy safety. "In this context, pipeline that passes through Ukraine became the main source of Ukraine's coal, iron steel, petro chemistry industry and factories producing other industry products. Thus, it is in the position of being the most integrated state to Russian economy among old Soviet republics."<sup>63</sup> The RF is indispensable for Ukraine, in the frame of EU-RF competition, in this case.

If an evaluation is necessary in terms of investments, Ukraine has also an importance with respect to the Russian Federation's direct foreign investments. "If

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<sup>63</sup> The New Great Game: Why Ukraine Matters to So Many Other Nations, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-02-27/the-new-great-game-why-ukraine-matters-to-so-many-other-nations> (28.02.2014)

an example is needed to be given, many Russian businessmen keep their money in Ukraine, in case Kremlin's oligarchs attack them. The reason of this, Ukrainian market draws a more convenient and reliable portrait than Russian market."<sup>64</sup>

Ukraine has a special meaning in terms of Russian Federation's safety apart from economic and other headings. From the point of its location Ukraine has the function of a bridge between Russia and Europe, and it has a long border line with the east Europe. In this context, Ukraine which was captured to the European Union's integration and expansion policies will back the Russian Federation in the Black Sea, substantially. At the same time, "There is the probability that Russia wants to come back to its old ascendance in the following years by recovering in economic, military and political areas. This probability, the NATO and the EU membership of countries in the old Soviet geography, provides that they see this as being the most important assurance of their future political, military and economic safety."<sup>65</sup> This means that, as Ukraine being in the first place, other old Soviet states' coming closer to the EU and the NATO will be inevitable. This already has been the case in Ukraine.

Another factor which makes Ukraine indispensable for Russia was Crimea peninsula. Sevastopol Port which is in Crimea peninsula has a historical and military importance for Russia. The Black Sea fleet which stays in this city has been an important military agency which defend Russia's south border since the Soviet Union period and at the same time, Sevastopol has been in the position of an important buffer zone. The existence of the port is considered as the representative of Russia's power in the Black Sea. Because of these reasons, Russia was afraid of losing its most important historical buffer zone and tried to create political chaos to get back this region from Ukraine, as much as it is possible. <sup>66</sup> As a result of the

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<sup>64</sup> Oleksandr Sushko, *The Impact of Russia on governance structures in Ukraine*, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, German Development Institute, 2008, p.10

<sup>65</sup> Gökhan Koçer, *Karadeniz'in Güvenliği: Uluslararası Yapılanmalar ve Türkiye*, Akademik Bakış 195, Cilt:1, No: 1, 2007, Part: Karadeniz'in Artan Önemi

<http://www.acarindex.com/dosyalar/makale/acarindex-1423881185.pdf>

<sup>66</sup> Why is Russia so interested in Ukraine?, <http://theglobalstate.com/popular/why-is-russia-so-interested-in-ukraine/> (11.01.2015)

political turbulences lived in Crimea Crisis, Crimea was connected to Russia on 18th March 2014.

Russian minorities living in Ukraine are involved in the interest area of Russian Federation. According to data's, minority groups from a lot of different nationalities have been living in Ukraine. However, it is known that Russian minorities are more than other nationalities. Especially, as a result of 2001 census of Ukraine, 17.3% of Ukraine consists of Russian.<sup>67</sup> When all of the table is examined, it is seen that Russian minorities has a larger share in comparison to other groups in percentage. This Russian population, who lives in Ukraine, acts in favor of the RF in political terms. Some institutions of Ukraine and important individual members of Russian minority by regularly questioning the legality of the independence or territorial integrity of Ukraine have been contributing to the valuation of Ukraine's minority problem.<sup>68</sup>

Lastly, apart from the problem of Russian minorities in Ukraine, touching on the importance of Russia for Ukraine in cultural sense will be a correct point, to be mentioned here. According to many analyses, the roots of Russian language and culture are possible to be found in Ukraine. This situation is accepted as the complement of Slavic culture that is, according to East- Slavic nationalist view, in the subject of acquisition of Ukraine and Russian identities, there isn't any exchange. This harmony is formed by itself with respect to language, religion, world view and historical ties between Ukraine-Russia.<sup>69</sup>

As it is seen, Ukraine has a very strategic place for the Russian Federation to continue its competition. The Russian government which has been aware of this tries to prevent Ukraine, in any occasion, by controlling it in the direction of Russian interest and by competing with the West's directing its democratic system and interests towards the East.

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<sup>67</sup> State Statistic Committee of Ukraine, <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/nationality/> All-Ukrainian Population Census 2001 Data.

<sup>68</sup> Oleh Protsyk, *Majority-Minority Relations in the Ukraine*, European Centre for Minority Issues, 2008,p.2

<sup>69</sup> Stephen Shulman, " *The Contours of Civic and Ethnic National Identification in Ukraine* " , Europe- Asia Studies, Vol.56, No.1, 2004, p.41



### 3.2 Ukraine's Importance with Respect to The European Union's Future

Ukraine, with respect to its location is the border neighbors of some the EU countries like Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and Rumania. In this context the EU's interest in Ukraine has been realized since 90's. The contacts which was started in 1994 by the Partnership and Collaboration Agreement, is targeted to be deepened by European neighborliness Policy and East Partnership in 2000's. Ukraine, at the same time, became the first one which signed the Partnership Agreement with the EU, out of old USSR independent states.<sup>70</sup> The EU has had the desire of taking Ukraine in it allies and targeted to hold it to its side. Behind this, there are a number of factors in geopolitical, economic, commercial and political sense.

Firstly, Ukraine has an important point between Asia and Europe because of its geopolitical location advantage. At the same time, it is a country which has a shoreline along the Black Sea. In this context, Ukraine constitutes an important trump, to control and bridle the possible Russian steps in the Middle East and the Far East. Russia has moved its relationship axis toward China after Ukrainian crisis. Especially, with respect to energy, there have been important steps taken reciprocally between two countries. The natural gas agreement that was signed between Russia and China in May of 2014 was an example of this. According to this agreement, Russia has accepted the natural gas procurement for China in return for 400 billion dollars, for 30 years.<sup>71</sup> By this agreement, Russia proved that it could stand even if its relationships with Europe declined.<sup>72</sup> Today, the embargo that was caused by the annexation of Crimea has been in the direction of economically weakening and binding down probable steps of Russia. There had been sharp decreases in petrol prices, accompanied by embargos implemented by the West. Russian business environment have started being anxious about the increase in business contraction.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Joerg Forbig, Robin Shepherd, *Ukraine After the Orange Revolution*, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2009, Washington p.41

<sup>71</sup> Oleksandr Sushko, *The Impact of Russia on governance structures in Ukraine*, Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, German Development Institute, 2008, p.21

<sup>72</sup> Sushko, Ibid, p.21

<sup>73</sup> Sushko, Ibid, p.20

Russia's strengthening in competition relationship with the EU was prevented, by this way. It seems that the EU needs an indispensable country like Ukraine, which has historical relationship with Russia, with respect to both its future and involving in situations in the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea Basin.

If we touch on the matter of Ukraine's importance for the EU in the context of energy relationships; firstly, it is right to mention about Union's dependence to abroad in terms of energy issue. According to datas, the EU imports 35% of its oil need and 30% of its natural gas need from Russia. The stability of Eurasia, in this sense, has a vital value for European nations.<sup>74</sup> This means that, both the safety of the Black Sea and Ukraine's compliance with the EU's democratic values constitute importance with respect to energy transportation line extending to the European Union from Russia. Pipelines going to European countries over transit country positioned Ukraine carry risks for both energy safety and political stability. 2009 Energy crisis between Russia and Ukraine emphasizes the place of Ukraine in energy safety sense from the point of the EU. In this context, there is no implemented project for the time being, even though the EU has been involving in new searches to get out of the energy dependence to Russia, in reality, Russia aims to make the European countries dependent to Russian energy resources.<sup>75</sup> In short, it targets to be an energy giant. For the sake of increasing the EU's energy dependency and constructing direct pipelines, it is possible to mention about three important pipeline projects that were developed by Russia: These are "North Stream" which goes along the Baltic Sea and reaches Germany, "South Stream" which will enter Bulgaria by going under the Black Sea and "Yamal-Europe" pipelines which goes over Belarus and Poland. In short, the EU, for the sake of decreasing its dependence to Russia, would establish new energy partnerships including Ukraine.

Apart from the energy issue, Ukraine is a rich country with respect to its underground resources. According to researches made in the USA, Ukraine comes

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<sup>74</sup> Mustafa Nail Alkan, *AB Enerji Güvenliği ve Ukrayna Meselesi*, Karadeniz Araştırmaları, 2015, No: 44, p.222

<sup>75</sup> Mehlika Özlem Ultan, *Avrupa Birliği Enerji Politikası ve Ukrayna Krizi*, Beta, 2014, İstanbul, p. 448

fourth in the rank of the most resource-rich countries in the world.<sup>76</sup> These minerals involve coal, iron ore, lime and limestone. 167 of 209 coals mine belong to the state in Ukraine today. Sector needs a serious reform and reconstruction.<sup>77</sup> At this point, if the EU's probable financial support and advantages that will be provided for mining by reforms are considered, it seems probable that important economic results will be created.

If we touch on the issue of the Ukraine's efficacy in economic sense for the Union, it will be correct to examine Ukraine's industry. In the first years of independence, it was known that Ukraine was in economic difficulties. That's why, in this period, investments for the industry couldn't be actualized; fall in the economy was realized. However, Ukraine has started its zaps in industrial sector since 1999 and, increase in production sense was recorded for the first time. Especially, in 2003, because of the growth in machine production, industrial production increased at a quite high rate as 15.8 percent.<sup>78</sup> The growth rates in Ukraine were recorded as fluctuated between the years 2003 and 2010. The growth rates in 2010 and 201 were 11.2 and 7.6 percent, in order.<sup>79</sup>

Defense industry is also an important heading in developing Ukrainian economy. According to the OECD report, Ukraine is in the position one of the several countries which produces modern plane in the world. At the same time, civil aviation sector is a part of civil aviation industry and includes the issues like design, production, maintenance, repair and revision.<sup>80</sup>

Apart from the defense sector, agricultural sector has an important share in Ukrainian economy. Ukraine land is in more advantageous position with respect to reclamation of land in compared to European countries. Ukraine with its rich black

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<sup>76</sup> Ukrayna En Zengin Maden Yataklarına Sahip 4. Ülke, <http://tuid.org.ua/ukrayna-en-zengin-maden-yataklarna-sahip-4uencue-uelke> ,(29.04.2016)

<sup>77</sup> Ukrayna Ülke Bülteni 2012, Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu (Foreign Economic Relations Board), p.6

<sup>78</sup> Ukrayna Ülke Bülteni, İbid, p.5

<sup>79</sup> Ukrayna Ülke Bülteni, İbid, p.5

<sup>80</sup> Competitiveness and Private Sector Development, UKRAINE, Sector Competitiveness Strategy, <http://www.oecd.org/globalrelations/49467343.pdf>

soil and convenient climate conditions is considered as Europe's *bread basket/ granary*. The main agricultural products that are grown in Ukraine are wheat, barley, corn, sunflower seed and sugar beet. Ukraine has been in the first 10, in world ranking, with the advantage of having agricultural variety and productive land, and increasing food export especially since 2006. At the same time, waste that Ukraine has been obtaining, at a high extent, out of agriculture and forestry has constituted the development of energy based on biomass. Thus, the attractions of edible energy resources are predicted to increase for Europe, in general. When all these data are taken into account, Ukraine whose agricultural productivity is at high level, is indispensable from the point of the EU.

Apart from all these factors Ukraine has a population over almost 45 million and one of the biggest portions consists of young people. This situation for the EU means that there will be young and educated labor force ready for the EU, when Ukraine involves in the Union. At present, if it is thought that the young population in the EU will decrease in the future, it is obvious that Ukraine with its young population can contribute to the EU's economy.

When Ukraine's foreign policy is taken into account, in political sense, it is easy to see that, its direction axis has shifted toward the EU, in years. Ukraine has already had the opinion of improving in relationships with the EU as being among its foreign policy priorities. Moreover, Ukraine has shown a voluntary attitude after independence period in commercial and partnership agreements with the EU.

Although, Ukrainian administrators' tendencies have changed from time to time with political crisis, the compliance and integration processes with the EU have never shelved. The event that caused the emergence of Ukrainian Crisis in 2014 was the Partnership Agreement which was decided to be signed with the EU and will provide the formation of Free Commercial Zone between Ukraine and the EU. It is obvious that, even though Ukraine stays between Russia and the EU; it made its choice for compliance with the EU side. In this context, when Ukraine's this greedy attitude and its possible utilities for the future of the EU are taken into account, a complete compliance with the EU is predicted to be obtained in the coming years.

### 3.1 The Importance of Ukraine for The Eurasian Economic Union and The Russian Federation's Near-Abroad Policies

The Russian Federation's heading to near-abroad policies since 1993, started with radical changes that it experienced in foreign policy area. Among the reasons of this change, to adapt to new international system after the dispersion of the Soviet Union and to create the desire for gaining its old political power can be counted. According to historical datas, the geopolitics has started to be used as a notion toward the end of 19th century. According to this science which takes its source from political geography, each state directs its political interests with respect to it location and its potential resources. In this context, the Russian Federation since the end of 1992, Yeltsin's foreign policy advisor Andrannik Migranyan, declared that near-abroad has a vital importance with respect to Russian geopolitical interests.<sup>81</sup>

The source of near-abroad policy of Russia comes from Eurasianism. According to one of the Eurasianism approach's contemporary representatives-Alexander Dugin's the book of *Russian Geopolitics Eurasianist Approach*, New Eurasianism bases on the fights of land and sea hegemonies. At the same time, according to this approach which rejects western centered time, emphasizes on two important notions. These are *heartland and rimland*. Heartland means the *Central Land* of the continent. That is the heart of Eurasia. According to this approach, Russia stays neither East nor West. It conveys a unique independent center. Rimland is with respect to a system where Russia has Heartland, all Eurasia states and areas are considered as coastal state. In this context, Russia's biggest competitor and global enemy in a system where "Central Land" means "Heartland" exist, is the West.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Graham Smith, "The Masks of Proteus Russia: Russia, Geopolitical Shift, and the new Eurasianism, *Transactions of Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, vol.24, no.4, (1999), p.488

<sup>82</sup> Aleksandr Dugin, *Rus Jeopolitiği Avrasyacı Yaklaşım*, Küre Yayınları, 2014, p.195

Thus, today's global West's geopolitic problem is separated into two components: West in the meaning of America and West in the meaning of Europe. These two realities involve different meanings in terms of geopolitic aspect. America meaning West, is Russia's –all together- geopolitical enemy, a directly opposite pole to Eurasia trends, the headquarter and center of Atlanticism.<sup>83</sup>

Nowadays, Eurasianism has been the inspiration source of Russian Federation's steps in foreign policy. If an example is needed to be given, the relationships with Europe in energy meaning shows that, Russia is always in the effort of keeping its monopoly in energy issue.

Besides, Russia has always the desire of being an effective factor in the relationships with the countries of the old Soviet geography, in the sense of historical expansionism. But, apart from all these, according to A.Dugin, today Ukrainian factor is a weak point of Russia which locates in Western region. With respect to Eurasianism approach, Ukraine is a necessary actor which always has to be in Russian ascendance for Russia to be a dominant power. But the idea of being independent means a geopolitic war declaration against Russia. The most influential supportive acts of this are presented by opposite views of Ukraine about the EU membership, especially, the USA's sanctions over Russia in the crisis of 2014, Ukraine's indispensableness for Russia, Russia's west threat in Eurasianism approach. At this point, Ukraine which is the sensitive issue for the Russian Federation for both not to be caught by the European Union and with respect to actualization of the Eurasian Union Project has a special meaning for Russia. As it has already been mentioned, the Eurasian Economic Union is an international institution which was established for regional integrity. The Eurasian Economic Union was established by agreement and it has a legal personality.<sup>84</sup> Today, the member countries of the Eurasian Economic Union are: Belarus, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and the Russian Federation. The Eurasian Economic Union has the

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<sup>83</sup> Dugin, Ibid, p.3

<sup>84</sup> Eurasian Economic Union, <http://www.eaeunion.org/?lang=en#about> (01.02.2015)

objectives of constituting free trade zones among member countries and supporting mutual custom tariffs.

At present, firstly, Ukraine's importance for the Russian Federation with respect to the Eurasian Economic Union's future is about energy safety. Ukraine is in the position of transit country where Russian gas is transferred over, to Russia. In that aspect, Ukraine's placement in the Russian Federation means that the other countries in the Eurasian Union also can take the benefit.

Besides, for the sake of actualizing Russian's near-abroad Ukraine will be in the position of being a part of the Eurasian Economic Union. The main reason behind this is its historical tie with Russia. Russia –Ukraine relationships – as it has been touched on in other chapters- as a product of a common past and historical heritage based on relationships over centuries, have more different feature than those of all other Soviet Republics. This situation, following the dispersion of the USSR, presented itself in the relationships between fifteen new republics which had the independence after dispersion, and Russia.<sup>85</sup> As this condition is shown, if Ukraine takes its place at Europe's side, the Russian Federation may be unsuccessful in being influential over other old Soviet countries. Political Scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski's view has already supported this. In Brzezinski's view which advocates that Russia would be out of being an empire in the nonexistence of Ukraine, Ukraine due to its geopolitical location has a vital importance for providing control over Eurasia.<sup>86</sup> In this context, it is not incorrect to say that Ukraine is the fundamental determining factor. "As being parallel to telling a Russia without Ukraine will be restricted with Asia in geographical sense, An Eurasia project without Ukraine will be incomplete."<sup>87</sup> If the close policies with the EU are considered as being the main reason of the tension experienced in Ukraine in 2014, it becomes evident that participation for Russia constitutes a vital situation.

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<sup>85</sup> Habibe Özdal, *AB ve Rusya Arasında Ukrayna: Hayaller ve Gerçekler*, USAK Analiz, Analysis No:26, November 2013, p.11

<sup>86</sup>Zbigniew Brzezinski'den Ukrayna Analizi, <http://www.ajanshaber.com/zbigniew-brzezinskiden-ukrayna-analizi-haberi/39689>, (05.03.2014)

<sup>87</sup> Habibe Özdal, *AB ve Rusya Arasında Ukrayna: Hayaller ve Gerçekler*, USAK Analiz, Analysis No:26, November 2013, p.12

Nowadays, Ukrainian Crisis has elicited some realities with its occurrence. First of these is the Eurasian Union Project which was inspired from Russia's near-abroad policies as being a competitor against the EU. The Russian Federation wants to create an ascendance area in time, in international arena after its own geography. The second reality is that, it gives a special meaning to Ukraine except other Soviet countries. As being related to this, both Ukraine and Crimea will have the potential of being, geopolitically threatening factors, in the case of Russia take them in its opposite side for the sake of dominating instead of having them as supporters.





## CHAPTER IV

### UKRAINIAN CRISIS AND ITS IMPACT ON TURKEY

#### 4.1 The Turkish Existence in Crimea and Crimean Turks' Historical Flow

Throughout the history, Crimea hosted a number of nationalities belonging to especially, Turkish race. According to many resources, Crimea had been the habitat of especially Tors belonging Scythians, in the period before Christ. In B.C. 8th century, it was possible to see migrant Scythians in Crimea peninsula. According to many resources, Scythians migrated to Crimea, steppe from Asia. Another nomadic society that visited in B.C.5th and 7th century in Crimea was Barsula Turks.

After the existence of Barsula Turks, Cimmerians were located on Crimea. Even though, there is no certain information about the roots of Cimmerians, they are known as Asian originated and fighter nomadic society with respect to many resources. The north coast parts of Crimea and the Black Sea had started to be dominated by Greeks in B.C.6 and 7th centuries since Cimmerians were forced to leave their homeland.<sup>88</sup> Because of that there were increases in Greek named cities in Crimea in the years when Greek Colonies dominated. While it is right to mention about Greek dominance in the region, it is needed to tell about Got society's attacks in 3rd century in Crimea. In that period, "The activities of Goths in Crimea region had been directly influential on Bosphoros Kingdom which was living on this region."<sup>89</sup> As it is mentioned by M. Kozan in his article about Goths Bosphoros Kingdom led the internalization of Greek culture in Crimea peninsula and its neighborhood.<sup>90</sup> Goths during these attacks came face to face with Huns. Great Hun

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<sup>88</sup> Serhii Plokyh, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*, Basic Books, 2015, p.5

<sup>89</sup> Kemal Özcan, *Kırım Hanlığı'nın Kuruluş Süreci: Yarımada Tatar Hâkimiyetinin Tesisi*, Karadeniz Araştırmaları No. 5, 2005, p.26

<sup>89</sup> Mert Kozan, *Tarihi Kaynaklar Işığında III. Yüzyılda Gotların Akdeniz'de Gerçekleştirdiği Korsanlık ve Yağma Faaliyetleri*, Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, Vol: 8, No:36 February 2015, p.360

<sup>90</sup> M.Kozan, A.g.e, p.360

Empire, as it was known at that time, consisted of Turkish originated clans coming from Asia. According to old resources, Huns, under the command of the son of Great Hun khan Octar, Mancak, were effective in preventing Got attacks at that time. Other than Huns, Gokturks and Khazars established states in Crimean peninsula. These states had their origins in Turkish clans. Alans, Peceneks and Tatars settled down by immigrating, other than Gokturks and Khazars in Crimea peninsula. “The Turkish existence in Crimea betrayed itself in Khazars period. In 6th and 10th centuries Khazars who established a strong state in Crimea became the strongest empire of their period in the short run”.<sup>91</sup> In the conclusion, while the coastal zone of Crimea in 6th century was dominated by Byzantium Empire, steppe parts were under the ruling of the strong Khazar State.

Basically, Turkish existence had been shaped in Crimea peninsula since 13th century by the settlement of Turkish clans. Crimea was the position of being the most important commercial port of the Black Sea even in these times. Sevastopol port in Crimea peninsula also designated an important role as it does today. While the order of historical processes and Turkish existence in Crimea is being talked, it is right to tell, as referred to many resources, that Crimean people is called as Kipchaks and Kipchaks is a name given to Turkish clans.

The process about Tatar’s coming to Crimea is involved in Kemal Özcan’s study “Crimean Khanate’s Liberation Process”. According to K. Özcan, the first Tatars in Crimean peninsula, probably, were from Cebe and Sabutay armies which escaped from Middle Asia and were sent to chase Muhammed by Cengiz Khan in 1220. These armies’ soldiers after the attacks that they made to North Iran and Caucasia defeated Kipchaks and forced them to leave their homeland. Thus they occupied Sudak city by coming Crimea which was emptied by Tatars, Kipchaks.<sup>92</sup>

According to K.Özcan as he mentioned in his study, founder of Golden Horde Khanate, Batu Khan occupied Crimea in Kipchak Expedition II in 1237 drove away

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<sup>91</sup> Kemal Özcan, Kırım Hanlığı’nın Kuruluş Süreci: Yarımada Tatar Hâkimiyetinin Tesisi, Karadeniz Araştırmaları No. 5, 2005, p.26

<sup>92</sup> Kemal Özcan, Kırım Hanlığı’nın Kuruluş Süreci: Yarımada Tatar Hâkimiyetinin Tesisi, Karadeniz Araştırmaları, No. 5, 2005, p.27

nomadic clans like Kipchaks, Peçenek. Later, he allocated the region for the settlement of Tatars who participated to the Expedition with him. The settlement of Tatars was realized by the leadership of four clans of Batu Khan's army. These were Tashlı, *Külech*, *Kayınchi* and *Cholunchu* clans which were allowed holy and called as "4th January".<sup>93</sup>

Although, Mongol occupation had created a temporary effect, in European land like Hungary, and Poland, it proved that its existence is permanent in east.<sup>94</sup> In the light of all these developments, the establishment of Crimea Tatar Khanate with respect to Turkish existence and historical process is accepted as the beginning. Despite there were no definite and net information about the origin of Crimean Tatars, in the book of A. Fisher "*Crimean Tatars*", it is clearly stated that, a number of Seljuk Turks were settled in Crimea, in the second half of 13th century by the help of Golden Horde's khan Berke's incentive."<sup>95</sup>

There is a wide dissension as related to the establishment of Crimean Khanate in the history as much as the origin of Crimean Tatars. A number of historical resources have the same opinion that Crimean Khanate emerged in the second half of 13th century by the dispersion of the Golden Horde. Similarly, there is no doubt that the real founder of Crimean Khanate was Hacı Giray Khan (1440) as being the first khan.

There were quite big cities like Kaffa (Kefe), Yevpatoria (Gözleve), and Tana (Azov, Azak) along the coast standards of East Europe in Hacı Giray Khan Period.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, while most of its habitants were Greek, Armenian and Jewish, there were Italian and Franc minorities who had dominance in political and economic life.<sup>97</sup>

Crimean Khanate which was neighbor with Russian Duchy and principalities with respect to its location in 1450's, in reality, played an important role in laying the

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<sup>93</sup>K. Özcan, Ibid, p.27

<sup>94</sup> Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland- Lithuania*, BRILL, June 2011, p.3

<sup>95</sup> Alan Fisher, *Kırım Tatarları*, Çeviri: Eşref B. Özbilen, Selenge, İstanbul-2009 p.14

<sup>96</sup> A. Fisher, Ibid, p.13

<sup>97</sup> A.Fisher, Ibid, p.13

foundation of today's Russia. As it was touched on the issue by Dr. Hakan Yıldız's conference that was actualized in The Crimea-Istanbul Society (13 April 2016), in the beginning of 18th century, Crimean Khanate had a big share in supporting Moscow Duchy which laid today's Russia's foundation. Ivan III was at the head of Moscow Duchy and his aim was to be independent by combining all principalities. "Indeed, once, Ivan III had the crown in 1462 as being Moscow's great duchy, he proved his being cautious and fine accounting administrator. " 98 However, he had a huge block like Poland-Lithuania in front of him. According to Dr. Yıldız, Ivan III not to be lost between these two blocks allied with Crimea Khanate and got the help of Crimean Khans. Thus, the base of today's Russia was laid. However, the conditions were changed by the conqueror of Fatih Sultan Mehmet in 1453.

Crimean khans were considering themselves the real dominator of the Khanate and Crimea-Tatar land. The fundamental notion behind this is that Khanate's main governance based on only one family that means unique decadence. Because of this reason, competitions within the families could easily drag Crimean Khanate to civil war. The most important clue of this is that crown fights started again, in 1466, by the death of Hacı Giray Khan. The great throne fight between the sons of Hacı Giray, Mengli Giray and Nur Devlet were very contentious. In reality, Nur Devlet son of Hacı Giray had to take the throne with respect to traditional method of governance of Crimea Khanate. But, the chieftains who immigrated Crimea during his regency rejected accepting this khan whom they couldn't control.<sup>99</sup> That was why the sons of Hacı Giray had fought for the throne for over ten years.

These disputes were touched on in Islam Encyclopedia's chapter of "Crimea Khanate" which was written by Prof. Halil İnalcık. According to H. İnalcık (...), *Mengli Giray, was beaten as the result of fight with Nur Devlet and took refuge in Kefe. He captured The Crimean throne again by the help of Genoese in 1468. Despite, Mengli Giray had taken refuge in Genoese; they agreed with Nur Devlet*

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<sup>98</sup> Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1987, 2. Edition, p.109

<sup>99</sup> A.Fisher, *Ibid*, p.22

*and imprisoned him. Eminek who was embroiled with Nur Devlet turned to Ottoman Sultan against Genoese. Fatih Sultan Mehmed, by taking the advantage of this, sent Gedik Ahmed Pasha with a strong Navy to Crimea. All the ports belonging to Genoese in Kefe and Kırım coasts were captured. Mengli Giray who was taken out of prison by Gedik Ahmed Pasha managed to get the Khanate from Genoese's friend Nur Devlet and accepted the dominance of the Ottoman Sultan by making an agreement with Ahmed Pasha.<sup>100</sup>(...)*

In Crimean Khanate, during the throne fights between Mengli Giray and Nur Eminek Mirza who is mentioned above in the quotation was one of Tatar magnates in Kefe. He demanded assistance of the Ottoman Empire for the solution of the issue. This demand seemed quite advantageous for the Ottomans. Since, after Fatih Sultan Mehmet conquered Istanbul, realized that having Crimea was an important step to be taken to make the Black Sea as a Turkish lake. At the same time, this situation would back Russia into a corner which had the advantage of throne fights and strengthened in the Crimean Khanate which was in the Black Sea geography. Thus, the tribal governance style of the Crimean Khanate would be changed. In 1475 after Mengli Giray had declared his acceptance of the Ottoman Empire dominance, the Crimean Khanate bound to the Ottoman State. As the historians told, Crimea which had been Turkish land for 800 years. As the result of the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji in 1774, Crimea's relationships with the Ottoman Empire would have been lasted without political interruption, until the autonomy of Crimea Tatar Khanate.

#### **4.1.1 Crimean Tatar Khanate in Ottoman History**

The binding of Crimean Khanate to the Ottoman Empire brought many positive developments for the Ottoman Empire together with itself, under many topics. "As the result of binding Crimea to the Ottoman Empire by "Gedik Ahmet Pasha";

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<sup>100</sup> Halil İnalçık, *Kırım Hanlığı*, İslam Ansiklopedisi, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, No:25, İstanbul, 2002, p.450.

- The control of the Silk Road was totally passed into the hands of the Ottomans,
- The Black Sea turned to be a Ottoman lake,
- The effectiveness of Genoese in the Black Sea drew to an end,
- A buffer zone was created against Russia and coming of Russia down to the Black Sea was prevented,
- Since Crimea was a bound khanate, it provided military and economic resource in wars for Ottomans.

From that date on, Crimean Khanate became a state which was bound to the Ottoman State but free for its internal affairs.”<sup>101</sup>

For Ottomans, Crimean Tatars had the duty of necessary military force in European politics and acted human material source. <sup>102</sup> Crimea always had more privileged status in the Ottoman Empire as compared to other provinces. For instance, Crimea Khanate was exempted from taxation of the Ottoman Empire and had its share from the expeditions. In this context, Khanate was supporting the Ottomans in military sense, at that time.

Tatars, as a military force, both assured the military force with respect to human source in Crimea and the East Europe front, and had the duty of being protective buffer zone against the north. Crimean khan’s troops in the Ottoman army had the responsibility of being sultan’s mosstroopers pioneering to footsloggers and horse forces.<sup>103</sup>

The success of the Tatar army which consisted of horse forces in general sense was based on mostly, the knowledge and effective tactics of the commander. Crimean Khanate as a military service saved the Ottoman Empire north wing against the attacks and leakage of Moscow-Russia and Poland-Lithuania. Geopolitically Ottomans were using the khanate as a buffer state as Danube principalities. But, there

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<sup>101</sup>Burak Şakir Şeker, *Ukrayna Krizinde Tarihsel Doku: Türk Hâkimiyeti Rus Yayılmacılığı*, Uluslararası Politikada Ukrayna Krizi, Beta, 2014, İstanbul, p. 27

<sup>102</sup> Alan Fisher, *Kırım Tatarları Çeviri*: Eşref B. Özbilen, Selenge, İstanbul-2009 p.60

<sup>103</sup> A.Fisher, *Ibid*, p.60

were considerable differences between this khanate and these states. Since, khanate was ruled by a Muslim dynasty independent from Ottoman sultans in many aspects.<sup>104</sup>

Moreover; Khanate, was important for the Ottoman Empire's economy. Agricultural products like wheat and meat, food materials like fish oil and salt coming from the Black Sea's north coasts, consisted of an important part of the Ottoman economy.<sup>105</sup> Khanate's economic importance wasn't restricted with all these things. Ottoman Empire had been aware of the importance of the Black Sea in commercial sense and in this context; acquisition of Kefe in 1475 from Genoese was not a coincidence. We have already mentioned that the Black Sea was the Ottoman lake as being one of the Crimean utilities. Thus, the Ottomans started taking an active part in the Black Sea commerce. The main of the Black Sea trade consisted of the exports of the products like silk, cotton and hemp, at that time. In the same way, agricultural and livestock products were bought in return to the exported products. The trade in such an important the Black Sea port, in Kefe, was both beneficial for both the Ottoman Empire and Moscow.

#### **4.1.2 1736 Crimea Occupation**

Crimean Khanate had a privileged structure in the Ottoman Empire and bound to the heart of the Empire- Istanbul with respect to the governance. Even though it had autonomy, Crimean Khanate was being ruled delicately by the Ottoman Empire, in political sense. Both Ottoman Empire and Crimean Khanate started weakening, in years. At this moment, Moscow Tsardom which lost its strength left its place to the Russian Empire. The weakening of the Ottomans and strengthening of Russia led the changes of the stones in the east Europe political situation. In this context, in 1736, it is not coincidence that Russians looted the city of Bakhchisarai to circle Crimea. But, at the same time, Russian dealing with the Ukraine issue kept them to stay in Crimea, in this period. Russians retreated Crimea after they reduced

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<sup>104</sup> A.Fisher, Ibid, p.60-61

<sup>105</sup> A.Fisher, Ibid, p. 61

all the region to ashes.<sup>106</sup> Invasion in 1736 wasn't the first one that was actualized by Russians to Tatars, in reality. Russians applied invasions over Crimea by preventing the possible threat of Tatar attacks, in the same way in 1687 and 1689, but couldn't be successful. However, the support for Tatars started decreasing in time, caused by the weakening of the Ottoman Empire. That's why, Tatars wanted to block the invasions by developing good relationships with Russia, in some sense instead of its unfriendliness. In this context, for the sake of diplomacy, both parties accepted delegates and at the end, a Russian consulate was established in capital city-Bakhchsarai.

There had been some crucial decisions made for Crimea under the throne of Katerina II, in Tsarist Russia. Russia's interest on Crimea speeded up the Khanate's declining process. According to the contents of the foreign policy report about Crimea that was prepared by Katerina II's advisor, M.L Vorontso;

- To construct a line including strong Russian locations to prevent the possible future Crimean attacks along the border line,
- Taking Crimea peninsula under the Russian ruling to cease the danger of Crimea.<sup>107</sup>

We can determine some countermoves of Russia in order to take the control of Crimea. There are economic and as well as the political reasons underlying this.

#### **4.1.3 1768-1774 Ottoman- Russia Battle**

War burst because of Russia's intervention into the internal issues of Kingdom of Poland (Lehistan). From the point of Russia's expansion policy over Europe, priority aim was on the creation of dominance over the Balkans. In this context, in 1763 as the result of the death of Poland King, August III, Russia sent its

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<sup>106</sup> Doç.Dr. M.Metin Hülagü: "*Kırım Hanlığının Kuruluşu ve Türk-Rus İlişkilerindeki Yeri (1441-1783)*",TİKA, 2004 p.13

<sup>107</sup> Alan Fisher, *Kırım Tatarları*, Çeviri: Eşref B. Özbilen, Selenge, İstanbul-2009 p.78-79.



military force to Kingdom of Poland (Lehistan), in order to provide the governance of the king, by taking the use of vacuum of the power. Later, rebellion cropped up in Kingdom of Poland (Lehistan). For the sake of breaking up Kingdom of Poland (Lehistan); Russia, already had intervened in its internal issues in any case. The Ottoman State was fluttered because of the Russia's ascendance gain in Kingdom of Poland. The results that could be caused by the settlement of an anti- Ottoman state in Kingdom of Poland were understood long before.<sup>108</sup> Thus, as the result of Polishes who took cover of the Ottomans and rebelled against Russia, the order of events changed, war situation started to be realized between Ottomans and Russia.

The War that started in 1768 and finished in 1774 by the Treaty of Peace-Kuchuk Kainardji Treaty had quite destructive results for the Ottoman State which was defeated. Crimean Khanate which had been bound to the Ottoman State for almost three hundred years was out of the dominance of the Ottoman Empire as being independent politically and economically, in compliance with the third clause of the Treaty.<sup>109</sup>

Losing Crimea created reactions on the side of the Ottoman Empire. Another war signals started being in the air between the Ottomans and Russia. However, the results of the war declared by the Ottomans against Russia in 1787 were worse than the one before. After the Kuchuk Kainardji Treaty, the Yash Peace Treaty had more severe conditions for the Ottomans.

#### **4.1.4. Crimea under the Governance of Russia**

Russian Czarina, Katerina II, desired Crimea to be independent before joining it to the Russian land. She let Crimea free to choose its religion as bound to the Ottoman, at the same time. This situation was a surprising development for the Ottomans in that period and there couldn't be found any reason about it.

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<sup>108</sup> Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1987, 2. Baskı, p.289

<sup>109</sup> Serhat Kuzucu, *II. Katerina Dönemi Osmanlı-Rus ilişkilerinde Kırım*, Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi, No.185, 2010, p.110

Independence that lasted 9 years was a hard and chaotic period for Crimean Tatars. Dual ruling of both Russian and the Ottoman governments over the situations in Crimea was creating even worse conditions.<sup>110</sup> Under the light of all these developments, there appeared some questions in political sense in Crimea. In this context A.Fisher, separated the Crimean independence into three periods:

1. Crimea's elite tried to determine their independence level, in first two years between 1774 and 1776 ,
2. Between the years 1776 and 1778 Russian's favorite Shahin Giray was mounted to the throne by the help of Russian intervention. (Shahin Giray tried to make Western- style modernization in Crimean government in the leadership of Katerina.)
3. Between the years 1778 and 1783 Shahin Giray damaged a number of traditional Crimean institutions without being able to renewing them. After this third period, Katerina II lost her patience, at last and ended the existence of independent Crimean State.<sup>111</sup>

Because of this politics applied by Katerina, Crimean Khanate which constituted danger for Russians to come to south coast of the Black Sea throughout centuries in Kiev Russia's time was blotted out. <sup>112</sup>

After the last annexation had actualized on Crimea by Russians in 1783, a number of changes were experienced, in large extent, in Crimea. Firstly, Katerina II took some issues related to the administrative system of Crimea as priority. For instance, Crimean regional administration was established. By this way, Tatars were tried to be taken into the system. According to H.Kırımlı, this period was a clearance time. After the collection of necessary data for the administration, literally, Russian ruling had been realized in Crimea since 1784 and Crimean Tatars couldn't have any right in governance until the end of Tsarist regime.

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<sup>110</sup> A.Fisher, Ibid, p.87

<sup>111</sup> A.Fisher, Ibid, s.87-88

<sup>112</sup> Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi Başlangıçtan 1917'ye Kadar*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1987, 2. Baskı, p.292

After the 1783 annexation, Tatars in Crimea started immigrating in masses. The main reason of this was the migrations that were realized in large extent between 1785 and 1788. Because, the biggest problem for Tatars, at that period was that Slavic and non-Moslem population were housed intensively, in the country and at last the land was taken out of the hands of Crimean Tatar peasants.<sup>113</sup> Tatar migration reached its peak by taking Crimea from the Ottoman Empire, totally, in 1789 (Yash Treaty).

There wasn't enough information about general position of Crimea which had been passed to Russia, since 1783. However, Tatars were confronted with a very harsh Russification politics in this period. After the Russian annexation, it is known that the Turkish-Islam signs which came from years before, in Crimea were erased in a systematic style, in some way, by the establishment of the temporary administration. A number of places' names were changed to Greek originated ones. At the same time, historical values of the Crimean Khanate, Ottomans and old Turk-Islam times were damaged considerably.

#### **4.1.5 Nationalist Act in Crimea**

Nationalism has been a political awakening movement since the beginning of the 19th century in Europe. It dragged masses after itself. The national awakening of the Crimean Tatars started being realized toward the end of 19th century. This situation was tried to be corrected by the help of some political views, by the time the Ottomans entered the dispersion process.

In this context, intellectual effect of the Cedit Movement which started as a renewal movement in Tatar community spread to all Turkish communities had positive orientation on Turkish people who struggled for independence. *Cedit Movement*, in reality, meant reform in education. One of the leaders of this movement, *Ismail Gaspirali*, was an intellectual who had a great effect on the

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<sup>113</sup> Hakan Kırımlı, “*Rus İdaresi Dönemi*”, İslam Ansiklopedisi, No. 25, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2002, p.458.

development of Turkish nationalist idea and important contributions for making Turkism an ideology and for the emergence of nationalist consciousness. According to Gaspıralı, Tatar education was only under the monopoly of Muslim ulama and this situation was needed to be changed. Otherwise, the Russification of the Tatar population who had a quite conservative education structure would be opened fast.<sup>114</sup>

The community called as *Young Tatars* supported the nationalist movements except Ismail Gaspıralı. This movement led by Abdurreshid Mehdi was given birth by a reaction to Gaspıralı. They were supporting an opposite view. However, they were for the national and political liberation of Crimean Tatars, mainly against the Russian pressures.

A third Tatar group appeared after 1907. This group involved in Young Turks (Jon Turks) movement. *Crimea Student Community* was established by the effect of Young Turks, in the year 1908, by Numan Chelebi Cihan, Cafer Seydahmet and Alimseyid Cemil. This community had an illegal branch called *Vatan* until it closed in 1917. The aim of this community based on the idea of an independent Crimean state.<sup>115</sup>

#### **4.1.6 Crimean Tatars in the Soviet Union Period**

There were a number of problems that interested Crimean Tatars, closely, in the Soviet Union period. Firstly, in the times of First World War, Crimean Tatars weren't looked at the good with from the point of Russians. The reason for that was the religion bound between Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Empire. Even though it was known that Tatars didn't do much activity in this subject, they were seen as a potential danger for Russia. In this context, Russian pressure caused the birth of nationalist movements among Tatars.

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<sup>114</sup> Hakan Kırımlı, "*Rus İdaresi Dönemi*", İslam Ansiklopedisi, No. 25, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2002, p.458.

<sup>115</sup> A.Fisher, Ibid, p. 155

In March 1917 Bolshevik Revolution which was broken out in Russia provided the opportunity for Crimean Tatar nationalists to continue their activities, clearly. By this way, Tatars involved in the government establishment activities by organizing congresses under *Vatan* community structure. They accepted the Crimean Tatar Constitutional Law on 26th December 1917. But, in January 1918, Bolsheviks entered in Bakhchysarai. As the result of the war, Crimean Tatar National government collapsed, instead, the first Bolshevik governance was established.<sup>116</sup>

Terrorist actions were brought into existence by Bolshevik dominance over Crimea. People who had both Russian and Tatar origin and living in the peninsula took their share from difficult times. Bolshevik administration, called as the Soviet Republic ended with German's occupation of Ukraine. In the previous chapters, we mentioned that, while Ukrainian history has been being told, Ukraine's independence was affirmed in the time of the First World War, in 1918, in accordance with Brest-Litovsk Treaty. German reoccupied Ukraine to clear it from Bolsheviks, in compliance with the agreement. At the same time, Crimean Tatars involved in the dispute with the Bolsheviks. Even though, Crimean Tatar National Commission had some initiations for the sake of independence, this situation was prevented, in this period. The annexation initiation of Crimea by Ukraine on one side and the Germany's reluctance for accepting independency of Crimea together changed the dynamics of the issue. Thus, the way going to second Bolshevik period in Crimea was opened. But, this second period wasn't long lasting, too.<sup>117</sup>

After Bolsheviks completely left the country on 18th October 1921, Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established. However, the Great Famine disaster, as it has been mentioned before in the previous chapters, had caused villainous results in one year in Crimea as well as in Ukraine. At least 100,000 people lost their lives caused by hunger and 60% of this lost consisted of Crimean Tatars.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> H.Kırımlı, Ibid, p. 460

<sup>117</sup> H.Kırımlı, Ibid, p. 460

<sup>118</sup> H.Kırımlı, Ibid, p.460

Until The World War II, the events that were experienced in the Soviet Union period in Crimea could be collected under two headings. One of them was the change in its ownership as being one of the causes of the Great Famine and second one was the Great Terror (Purge) period in the Soviet Union. These two events, led tremendous disasters in Crimea. We can say that Tatar culture tried to be Russianized between the years 1937 and 1938. As it was written in the book Crimean Tatars by A.Fisher, the number of the publications in Tatar language had a declining tendency and Arabic, Persian and Turkish words were taken out of Tatar language and instead, Russian words and grammar styles were adapted.<sup>119</sup>

The real big disaster for Crimean Tatars started after the decision which had been signed by Stalin on 11th May in 1944 and ordering all the Crimean Tatars to be driven out of Crimea. Crimean Tatars were forced for immigration under quite nonhuman conditions on the night of 17 May by the soldiers of the Red Army. Thousands of people lost their lives because of hunger, thirst, illness, fatigue and airlessness during train journey. Moreover, none of the Crimean Tatars were excluded during the exile and nobody had medical assistance.<sup>120</sup>

As it was told in the chapter of the Islam Encyclopedia written by H.Kırımlı *Russian Administration Period Crimea*, the number of Tatars who died under bad conditions during the exile was not less than almost 100,000 people. At the same time, almost half of the exiled ones lost their lives. The reasoning that put up for exile was that Tatars had cooperated with German Army during the World War II and were punished for that.

During the exile in Crimea as being the evidence of Turkish existence everything was started to be abolished. Especially, the historical buildings, the places which were the symbols of Turkish identity were looted. The names of the places called in Turkish names were changed. We told before that, the similar case happened in the years of 1937 and 1938. Accompanied by all these developments,

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<sup>119</sup> A.Fisher, Ibid, p.210

<sup>120</sup> Hakan Kırımlı, “*Rus İdaresi Dönemi*”, İslam Ansiklopedisi, No. 25, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2002, p.462

the Turkish signs in Crimea were erased and the existences of Tatars were realized as unhappened before. Russian and Ukrainian population were settled into the places emptied by Tatars as an application of the settlement policy that was actualized at the same time with the exile.

We have told in the previous chapters that there were many changes by the time Krushchev took over the Soviet Union governance, in 1954. Even, it was mentioned that as the result of harsh policies applied by Stalin in the Soviet Union, exiled people except Crimean Tatars would be called back. Under the light of all these developments, since 1956 Crimean Tatars started their action for the sake of regaining humanistic and national rights Crimean *Tatar National Movement*. This movement was expanded in time; gained the support of Russian, Ukrainian and Jewish people. However, they had had strong reactions of the Soviet Union since 1960's. In spite of this, as a result of expanding reactions, the Soviet Union executed a decree in 1967 for the sake of returning the rights of the Crimean Tatars. As the result of the decree, people who came back with the expectation that they would be allowed to return to Crimea, unfortunately, were pushed out of Crimea by the strict rules of the Soviet Union.<sup>121</sup>

Crimean Tatars efforts to return to their homeland have started again since 1988. Although Crimean Tatars who came back in masses faced with obstacles, they didn't go out of Crimea.<sup>122</sup> After 1991 coup, dispersion of the Soviet Union and its complete disappearance at the end of 1991, Crimea has become an independent state and a dependent republic to Ukraine.<sup>123</sup>

Crimean Tatars' effort to return to their homeland and to re-establish their national identity there throughout 1990's was carried on, in difficulties and impossibilities. Crimean Tatars who was able to come back to Crimea is around 300,000 and they have faced with very serious shortfalls like education in national

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<sup>121</sup> H.Kırımlı, Ibid, p.462

<sup>122</sup> H.Kırımlı, Ibid, p.463

<sup>123</sup> H.Kırımlı, Ibid, p.464

language, in press and culture areas besides big economic and social problems, since 2002.<sup>124</sup>



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<sup>124</sup> H.Kırımlı, Ibid, p.465



## 4.2 The Status Quo of Crimean Turks and Their Demands

Today, Crimean Crisis which had lived in 2014 had approximately two years background. But, the developments for Crimean Tatars weren't much encouraging with respect to politics and human rights and haven't been going well. One of the main causes of this, firstly, is the repressive politics that is applied on the Crimean Tatars by the Russian Federation. The last developments lived in Crimea are in a feature justifying this situation.

The forth and the most event is that, the Russian Federation on 5th February 2016 banned the activities of the Crimean Tatar National Assembly and applied to the Higher Court in order to take it into fanatic political organizations list. The activities of Crimean Tatar National Assembly was entirely ceased and banned by the Higher Court of Crimea, on 26th April 2016.<sup>125</sup>

Before the Crimean Tatar National Assembly was closed, it had been the political representative of Tatars in Crimea. It obtained a political status in 1999. The head of the Tatar National Assembly consisted of 33 members including the head of it. But, the member number of the assembly was decreased into half, by the old President of Ukraine Pro-Russian- Viktor Yanukovich, in 2010. The assignments for Crimean Tatar National Assembly which were decreasing in number and in authority were directly involved in the Presidential purview.<sup>126</sup> The abolishing of the Tatar National Assembly has attracted reactions in the international arena. Later, European Parliament declared that they reproached the abolishing of Crimean Tatar National Assembly. At the same time, European Parliament, in 2014 emphasized that it is still strongly reproaching the annexation of Crimea by Russia.<sup>127</sup> Apart from Europe, the USA also reacted the closure of the Assembly. At the same time, the USA Foreign

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<sup>125</sup> Kırım Tatar Meclisi Resmen Kapatıldı, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/04/27/kirim-tatar-meclisi-resmen-kapatildi> (27.04.2016)

<sup>126</sup> Kırım Tatar Meclisi Yasadışı İlan Edildi, [http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2016/04/160426\\_kirim\\_tatar\\_meclis](http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2016/04/160426_kirim_tatar_meclis) (26.04.2016)

<sup>127</sup> European Parliament Condemns Banning of Crimean Tatar Council, <http://www.voanews.com/content/european-parliament-condemns-banning-crimean-tatar-council/3327887.html> (12.05.2016)

Affairs Ministry summoned the withdrawal of the decision. The USA Foreign Affairs Ministry adverted that Crimean Tatar National Assembly is “a democratic entity”.<sup>128</sup> At this point, Crimean Tatars were derogated from their democratic rights by ceasing the activities of the Assembly.

The Russian Federation hasn't limited its political pressure by abolishing the assembly. In addition to that, it took Crimean Tatar National Assembly in extremist political organizations list.<sup>129</sup> The developments lived in this context are very ominous for the Crimean Tatars.

If we approach to the situation from the point of violation of human rights, it will be appropriate to mention about untimely detentions that the Russian Federation applied on Crimean citizens. One of the developments that has been experienced recently in this subject, is that Crimean Tatar National Assembly Assistant President İlmi Umerov's detentions. This is one of the detention cases which have been ascending in Crimea. In this context, claims exist in many resources that there have been continuous detentions in Tatars' houses. 26th April dated Crimean News Agency has mentioned that in Crimea which was occupied by Russia, more than 20 Crimean Tatars were lost, in addition to this, hundreds of people were remanded in custody and 14 Crimean Tatars have been imprisoned.<sup>130</sup> In addition to this untimely custody activities, The Crimean Tatar National Assembly President Refat Chubarov, emphasized that discrimination against Muslims exist in Crimea under Russian occupation. The discrimination acts are applied only on Crimean Muslims, not on other religions' members by the Occupier. He has talked about Russian occupiers willful pressure on Crimean Tatars to frighten them, to humiliate their dignity and honour.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> ABD'den Rusya'ya Kırım Tatarları Çağrısı, <http://www.ntv.com.tr/dunya/abdden-rusyaya-kirim-tatarlari-cagrisi.8tUv94mPcUSyKg207KIWgg> (22.04.2016)

<sup>129</sup> ABD'den Rusya'ya Kırım Tatarları Çağrısı, <http://www.ntv.com.tr/dunya/abdden-rusyaya-kirim-tatarlari-cagrisi.8tUv94mPcUSyKg207KIWgg> (22.04.2016)

<sup>130</sup> Çubarov: Kırım'da Yüzlerce İnsan Gözaltına Alındı, <http://qha.com.ua/tr/siyaset/cubarov-kirim-da-yuzlerce-insan-gozaltina-alindi/144697/> (25.04.2016)

<sup>131</sup> Rus Faşizminin Gölgesi Kırım'ı Kapladı, <http://qha.com.ua/tr/siyaset/rus-fasizminin-golgesi-kirim-i-kapladi/144948/> (06.05.2016)

The Tatar people in Crimea have the desire of getting clear of violation of their humanistic rights, urgently. Tatars who want to get rid of the Russian repressive policy have expressed their opinions about binding to Ukraine, again. As an evidence of this, the leader of Crimean Tatars Mustafa Cemil Kırımoglu had a declaration, after his attempt to enter into Crimea over Ukraine's capital Kiev via land route had been stopped by Russian authorities on 3rd May 2016. In this declaration, Even though the rights haven't been granted Tatars by Ukraine, he expressed that they wanted to live under the same roof of Ukraine instead of their "historical enemy"-Russia.<sup>132</sup>

Kırımoglu had some other attempts for Crimean Tatars taking attraction in international sense. One of these was conference with Sweden Parliamentary President Urban Ahlin, on 14th May 2016. Kırımoglu told Ahlin about Crimean Tatars' demands in their agenda. It was said that Crimean Tatars National Assembly recommended Crimean Tatars which had to leave Crimea occupied by Russia, not to move to Turkey or any other country. Moreover, Kırımoglu added that Crimean Tatars who left the peninsula should settle on a near location to Crimea, but in Ukraine's center in order to take the advantage of convenience after peninsula's getting out of the occupation.

Apart from all these things, Crimea and Crimean Tatars try to keep their existence in the world's agenda via Crimean Tatars' association in Turkey. Crimean Tatars who were exiled in 1944 have been supported by Turkey by means of organizations and memorial days actualized in Turkey. One of the examples of this is the activity which was organized by Istanbul Crimea Association on 18th May 2016 in Istanbul and called as "Light a Fire in Your Heart". Crimean Tatars who lost their lives in different periods were collectively termed, by the help of this activity.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Tatarlar Ukrayna'yı İstiyor, <http://www.dw.com/tr/tatarlar-ukraynay%C4%B1-istiyor/a-17614794> (06.05.2016).

<sup>133</sup> 18 Mayıs'ta İstanbul'da "Kalbinde Bir Ateş Yak" ..<http://qha.com.ua/tr/toplum/18-mayis-ta-istanbul-da-quot-kalbinde-bir-ates-yak-quot/145173/> (16.05.2016)

In the light of daily developments, Ukraine's Crimean Tatars originated singer Camala who won Eurovision 2016 Song Contest was prized with the title "Ukraine Folk Singer" and the song which tells about the hard fate of Crimean Tatars brought the Crimean issue into the world's agenda.<sup>134</sup>

As the conclusion, forth and most demand of the Crimean Tatars is the Russian Federation's acceptance of their existence. The end of occupation in Crimea can be realized by taking this priority into account. At this point, Crimean Tatars aren't able to take the benefits of the rights provided for them. Crimean Tatars whose National Assembly was closed and activities were banned, are deprived from having an organization which can make their voice heard. These issues have to be enlightened, from the point of both violation of human rights and Ukrainian State's annexation, urgently. The demand of Tatars who live in Crimea, firstly, is related to rights and eminence taken away by the Russian Federation. But, the experiences in the process passing between Ukraine's annexation and the present time don't reflect a bright situation for Crimean Tatars. Increasing Russian pressure in Crimea and taking Tatar National Assembly in the fanatic organizations list give the signals that the following processes will be harder for Crimean Tatars.

The attempts of Crimean Tatars leaders who are in the search of support in international arena and in their foreign policy are for preventing the disappearance of Crimean issue. From that aspect, Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry Private Ambassador Dmitry Kuleba expressed that there will be an interactive dialog in the UN Human Rights Council about Ukraine, in Geneva, on 26th June 2016 and the most important subject matter of the dialog will be the violation of human rights in Crimea.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Camala'ya Halk Sanatçısı Unvanı Verildi, <http://qha.com.ua/tr/kultur-sanat/camala-ya-halk-sanatcisi-unvani-verildi/camala-ya-halk-sanatcisi-unvani-verildi/145178/> (16.05.2016)

<sup>135</sup> Kırım Avrupa Siyasetin Gündeminde Kalıyor, <http://qha.com.ua/tr/siyaset/kirim-avrupa-siyasetin-gundeminde-kaliyor/145177/> (16.05.2016)

#### 4.1 The Attitude of Turkey in Ukrainian Crisis and The Impacts of the Crisis on Turkey

The reflection of Ukrainian Crisis in Turkey, firstly, is intensified on the situation of Tatar people who live in Crimea the reason for that, the sensitivity of Turkish Republic about Crimean Tatars. As it has been mentioned in the previous chapters, there is a historical relationship between Crimea and Turkey. Today in the process that has been passed from the Ottoman State years to nowadays, Crimea was 800 years' Turkish and the first Muslim land that was forfeited. At this point, Turkey has been interested in Tatar's issue and it has constituted its main agenda. Today, Turkey is a second homeland for many Crimean Tatars. More than 2 million Crimean Tatars immigrated to Turkey both during and after exile.<sup>136</sup> When the outbreak of crisis in Ukraine, Turkey was anxious about the last developments in the Black Sea and the situation of Crimean Tatars and advocated for Ukraine's territorial integrity. In this context, it can be indicated that Turkey is in an actual guarantor country situation for Crimean Tatar Turks.<sup>137</sup> In reality after Ukrainian Crisis, in the declarations on behalf of Turkey, Ukraine's territorial integrity is always advocated and the anxiety about life security of Turkish people living in Crimea is expressed.<sup>138</sup>

In the Ukrainian Crisis, both condition of the TİKA office that was opened by Turkey in Crimea and the conditions of religious officers are other headings that affect our country, in addition to the effects of Crimean Tatars' situation. In 2006, Turkish Cooperation and Development Administration Presidency (TİKA) and Crimea Program Coordination Office building were opened to furnish services, in Crimea. The TİKA in 1992, had constituted its activities under the headings like; the production of Turkish Republics' its social structure, the establishment of its identity

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<sup>136</sup> Buhari-Gülmez, D.(Haziran,2015), "Sürgünden Rus ilhakına: Kırım Tatarları Meselesi ve Kadim Düşmanların Geri Dönüşü", Volume: IV, Number 6, p.80-92, Türkiye Politika ve Araştırma Merkezi

<sup>137</sup> Orhan Gafarlı, Kırım Krizi ve Türkiye , <http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/598/-kirim-krizi-ve-turkiye/#.V0dJvNSLTdc>, (26.03.2014)

<sup>138</sup> Türkiye'nin Kırım'da Savaş Endişesi, [http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/03/140303\\_turkiye\\_](http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2014/03/140303_turkiye_) (03.03.2014)

vigorously, the development of cultural, political rights and removal of technical infrastructure. The TİKA Office in Crimea, in this context, some projects about health and education supported for Turkish people in Crimea. Approximately, 15 projects in health subject were actualized. A large scale funding about the National Schools were supported in education field in 2006 which had been servicing in Tatar language. Thus, restoration of 8 of 15 national schools educating in Crimea Tatar language were undertaken by the TİKA.<sup>139</sup>

The second dimension apart from Crimean Tatars, in the issue of the effects of Ukrainian Crisis on Turkey, intensifies on the relationships with the Russian Federation. We observe that Turkey has followed a consistent policy in post- crisis period. Turkey in 2014 after the developments experienced in Crimea advocated the territorial integrity of Ukraine and expressed that the annexation of Crimea was against the international law. In this context, Turkey didn't place itself on Western side with respect to sanctions to Russia. In post-crisis period there seems to be no serious problem in Turkey-Russia relationships. Even it is underlined, in many resources that the effect of the crisis on relationships is limited. Moreover, even, the difference of opinion on Syria issue didn't create any negative effect on relationships. One of the important examples of this is in Putin's visit to Turkey in December 2014, given emphasis to energy subject in bilateral relationships and his promise about the damping in natural gas price. Putin declared that South Stream Project which would provide Russian natural gas's passage to Europe over Bulgaria, was canceled; he asserted the opinion that it was planned to pass through Turkey instead of Bulgaria. But, the optimistic air in relationships turned upside down by the encountered "Plane Crisis" in 2015. Russian bomb plane's violation of Turkish border, its continuing the violation regardless of warnings and its brought down in compliance to engagement rules while it was bombing the regions on Syria border on 24th November 2015 caused the increase in the tension of bilateral relationships. Especially, this second crisis in which Russia followed an aggressive policy led that Turkey became more criticizing in its explanations made for Ukrainian crisis. The

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<sup>139</sup>TİKA'nın Kırım'daki Faaliyetleri Hız Kesmiyor, <http://aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/tikanin-kirimdaki-faaliyetleri-hiz-kesmiyor/173019> (21.03.2014)

most important sign of this is the last explanations of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan about Ukrainian Crisis. President Erdogan underlined in the joint press conference with Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko on 9th March 2016 that the annexation of Crimea was illegal and he criticized Russia's entering to Ukraine by the wording "This is -I am powerful then, I am right- logic".<sup>140</sup> The relationships that were degenerated with Russia led the improvement in Turkish- Ukrainian dialog. Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko in his conversation broadcasted on TRT World channel in March 2016 said that relationships with Turkey and Ukraine didn't reach to this level in the past and he used the expression "We are strategic partners with Turkey"<sup>141</sup> Although the changes were experienced in this expression, it is known that the relationships between Turkey and Ukraine had existed before the plane crisis.

If we touch on the effects of Ukrainian crisis on Turkey, in specialty on the results on the Black Sea, two important headings stand out are, firstly, the energy safety of Turkey, and secondly the future of the Black Sea basin. Before all else, Merve Suna Ozel's declaration of "Ukrainian Crisis in Russian Foreign Policy and its effect on Turkey" referred to the importance of Ukrainian crisis with respect to energy safety. According to M.Suna Ozel, Turkey fulfills 55-60 percent of its natural gas need only from Russia. In this context, the unstable situation of Ukraine has brought risks for Turkey by itself.

Secondly, the stability of the Black Sea basin is a fundamental issue with respect to Ukrainian crisis's effects on Turkey. The Black Sea basin is generally a stable geographical region which doesn't include conflict in it. The Russian Federation also locates in this geography as being the most important neighbor and commercial partner of Turkey. The developments experienced after Ukrainian crisis have created some fear about the stability of the Black Sea. Especially, the

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<sup>140</sup> Erdoğan: Rusya'nın Ukrayna'ya Girmesi "Güçlüyüm Öyleyse Haklıyım" Mantığıdır. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-ve-porosenko-ortak-siyaset/detay/2207014/default.htm> (09.03.2016)

<sup>141</sup> Poroshenko'dan Türkiye ile Stratejik Ortaklık Vurgusu, <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/dunya/porosenkodan-turkiye-ile-stratejik-ortaklik-vurgusu-238876.html> (11.03.2016)

annexation of Crimea has been considered as the beginning of a new cold war by a number of intellectuals. At this point, a new cold war risk is not a much desirable result from Turkish point of view. Since, the events that were lived on Syria border have been affecting Turkey quite dreadfully. A potential conflict that could be experienced in the Black Sea basin will be felt, mostly in Turkey. Turkey's attitude became very important, especially, after the occupation of Crimea. The balance of the policy that has been followed by Turkey prevented the conflict between Russia and Turkey.

Another topic about the security of the Black Sea is Montreux Straits Convention which stood out together with Ukrainian Crisis. The USA's attitude in the direction of changing the Montreux Convention and its expressions about its unofficial expectations shows that the convention can stay on the agenda in the frame of West-Russia competition within the Black Sea. Although Turkey is in the NATO alliance, it didn't want to relinquish the rights provided by the Montreux Straits Convention; it isn't sympathetic to any kind of military movement that would cause the acceleration of tension in the Black Sea.<sup>142</sup>

Today, if we touch on Ukraine and Turkey relationships for the sake of the Black Sea geography, we see that after crisis relationships with Russia gains importance. Some decisions are made in order to improve commercial relationships between these two countries by the means of top level travels. Especially, trade recovery between two countries is aimed by the means of free trade agreements that will be made after the second half of 2016. This situation creates positive results for the sake of Turkey's preservation of its own interest in the Black Sea basin.

The effects of Ukrainian crisis on Turkey have to evaluate from the point of the West apart from the Russian Federation, Crimean Tatars and Ukraine. The developments experienced in Ukraine, in 2014 have been seen as a big surprise by the European Union and the NATO. This position has caused a big tension between the NATO and Russia. The NATO's declaration which was about the illegality of

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<sup>142</sup> Hasret Çomak, Atilla Sandıklı, Erdem Kaya, Elnur İsmayılov, Karadeniz'de Yeni Gelişmeler, Ukrayna Krizi ve Türkiye, Beta, 2014, İstanbul, p.163



Crimean referendum with respect to the international law was an important evident to this tension.

After the developments in Ukraine, the agreement about the strengthening member states' defense capacities was accepted, in the meeting of member the NATO countries' foreign affair ministers, in Brussels, on 1st and 2nd of April 2014.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, Member countries, in this meeting, decided on the ending of military and civil cooperation with Russia and the strengthening of the defense power of Ukraine. In addition to these developments, the USA Foreign Affairs Minister John Kerry indicated that the NATO had important progresses in maintaining stability and security in Europe and expansion strategy is continuing as one of the most important matters on the agenda.<sup>144</sup>

As the developments indicates that, even though the crisis in Ukraine is taken placed in the Black Sea geography, at the same time, it is in the interest area of the European Union, the NATO and the USA with respect to security and stability issues. At this point, Turkey's political relations with the West is also considered to be extremely stable, in addition to that, according to some sources, for the future, the attitude of the West may create several opportunities in the field of collaboration for Turkey .

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<sup>143</sup> Elnur İsmayıl, Kırım Krizi Sonrası NATO-Rusya Gerilimi, <http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/1728/-kirim-krizi-sonrasi-nato-rusya-gerilimi/#.V0n55NSLTDC> (31.07.2014)

<sup>144</sup> Elnur İsmayıl, Kırım Krizi Sonrası NATO-Rusya Gerilimi, <http://www.bilgesam.org/incele/1728/-kirim-krizi-sonrasi-nato-rusya-gerilimi/#.V0n55NSLTDC> (31.07.2014)

## CONCLUSION

In order to evaluate the impacts of Ukrainian Crisis on Turkey, initially we should focus on the historical ties between Crimean Tatars and the Republic of Turkey. Since the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Turkish existence had been shaped in Crimea Peninsula by the settlement of Turkish clans. The origins of the relations between Crimea and Turks had been based on the Crimean Khanate. “The Crimean Khanate which was neighbor with both the Grand Duch of Moscow and the Ottoman Empire. For Ottomans, Crimean Tatars had the duty of necessary military force in European politics and acted human material source.”<sup>145</sup> “Importantly, the Ottomans usually viewed their alliance with the Tatars as being defensive in nature, intending it to provide a buffer against foreign invasions against Ottoman dependencies in the Balkans.”<sup>146</sup> As is seen, the origins of the relations between Crimean Tatars and Turkey have been based on common political history.

Apart from military cooperation, there were cultural and religious ties among Crimean Tatars and Turkey. In that period, both the Ottoman Empire and Crimean Khanate have Islam religion. In this direction, Crimea always had more privileged status in Ottoman Empire as compared provinces. For instance, Crimean Khanate was exempted from taxation of the Ottoman Empire and had its share from the expeditions. Moreover, Crimean Khanate was important for the Ottoman’s economy. Agricultural products like wheat and meat, food materials like fish oil and salt coming from the Black Sea’s north coast’s, consisted of an important part of the Ottoman economy.<sup>147</sup> Basically, throughout the history the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire have been helped each other on military, economy and politics. Until, the war started between Russian and the Ottoman in 1768 and finished in 1774 by the Treaty of Kuchuk- Kainardji had quite destructive results for the Ottoman

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<sup>145</sup> Alan Fisher, *Kırım Tatarları*, Çeviri: Eşref B. Özbilen, Selenge, İstanbul-2009 p.60

<sup>146</sup> The Crimean Khanate and The Great Power Struggle for the Ukraine in the 17th Century, <http://historycooperative.org/the-crimean-khanate-and-the-great-power-struggle-for-the-ukraine-in-the-17th-century/> (17.09.2015).

<sup>147</sup> Alan Fisher, *Kırım Tatarları*, Çeviri: Eşref B. Özbilen, Selenge, İstanbul-2009 p.61

State which was defeated. The Crimean Khanate which had been bound to the Ottoman State for almost three hundred years was out of the dominance of the Ottoman Empire as being independent politically and economically, in compliance with the third clause of the Treaty.<sup>148</sup>

After the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation, Turkey officially supported Ukraine's independence and territorial integrity. Turkish Republic firstly, focused on the situation of Tatar population who live in Crimea. Their safety of lives and properties were prioritized by Turkey when the crisis broke out. In this point, Turkey has been interested in Tatar's issue and it has constituted main agenda. Developments in Ukraine in the post-crisis term had not been pleasant for Tatar population. Over the 24 months, the situation on the peninsula has sharply worsened: the human right issues, searches, arrests, persecution of Crimean Tatars, and high-profile trials, including "case of February 26, 2014, "the organization "Hizb ut-Tahrir" which Russia has recognized the terrorist one, ban of Mejlis.<sup>149</sup> Indeed, the Russian Federation has not limited its political pressure on Crimean Tatars. There was discrimination acts are applied on Crimean Muslims not on other religions members by the Occupiers. Both the 2014 referendum and the abolishing of the Crimean Tatar Mejlis were not positive developments for the future of Crimean Tatars. Conditions of Crimean Tatars in Russia are getting worse day to day.

If we view the Ukrainian Crisis from the EU's side, we should focus on their sanctions which applied on Russia. After the tension in Ukraine, the EU's attitude towards the events in Crimea was inadequate. The members of the EU's actions remained limited. They only applied sanctions on sectors in Russia. Besides, most of the sanctions were applied by the USA. There is a high interdependence in the economy between the EU and Russia. Also, there is a high trade volume among them. In addition to that, Russia is the major natural gas supplier for the EU. According to recent datas, the member countries of the EU, totally imports 30 % of their natural gas needs from Russia. For instance, in 2006 and 2009 the gas crisis

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<sup>148</sup> Serhat Kuzucu, *II. Katerina Dönemi Osmanlı-Rus ilişkilerinde Kırım*, Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi, No: 185, 2010, p.110

<sup>149</sup>Mejlis and Extremism: How Crimean Tatars Survive in Crimea Occupied by Russia, <http://112.international/article/mejlis-and-extremism-how-crimean-tatars-survive-in-crimea-occupied-by-russia-4191.html> (20.04.2016).

took place between Russia and Ukraine. The difficulties were experienced in that time, thus the EU wants to avoid from new problems in the energy issue. Because of the energy politics of the EU, sanctions were not problem solving in Ukraine Crisis.

If we look from the viewpoint of the future of transatlantic relations, we can see changes among allies. The U.S- European relationship mostly determines policies of other actors from outside Europe. The deterioration of the U.S and European relations with Russia became a predominant issue in 2014. For the U.S and European policy makers, developments stemming from the crisis and conflict in Ukraine have transformed Russia from a difficult but important “strategic partner” into “a strategic problem” of uncertain dimensions.<sup>150</sup>

Accordingly, developments in Ukraine have revived the debates on the future of the NATO. Russia’s actions in Ukraine increased naval and air activities in close vicinity to the territory of numerous European countries have driven calls for the NATO to return to its traditional vocation as an alliance focused on collective territorial defense.<sup>151</sup> Russia’s illegal annexation in Crimea, legitimized worries about defense. For the international law, Russian annexation in Crimea was considered as according to the 1945 UN Treaty. In this direction, both members of the NATO and the EU have begun to see Russia as a potential threat.

In the context of Syria, Russia and the U.S, relations become more complex and this condition influence positions of the allies in Ukraine Crisis. Recent developments in Syria changed the foreign policy of the U.S.A toward the Russian Federation. Especially, in June of 2016, cooperation on Syria issue came to the forefront in the foreign of policy of Russia and the U.S.A. If both side, compromise in Syria. This condition will repair Russia’s bad image on the international platform. On the other hand, the EU in June 2016 decided to repair relations with Russia. According to recent developments, EU Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker, asked from Russia, agree to the Minsk Agreement. However, for him, this condition maybe possible lifting of economic sanctions against Russia.

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<sup>150</sup> Derek E. Mix- Analyst in European Affairs, *The United States and Europe: Current Issues*, Congressional Research Service, February 3, 2015, p. 3

<sup>151</sup> Derek E. Mix- Analyst in European Affairs, *Ibid*, p. 36

As it seen, reactions of Ukraine Crisis can be easily changed to interests of the dominant powers. Especially, the U.S.A and the EU plays a determinant role in this issue. As a result of all this, divided Ukraine probably remained its current situation. If the problems of Crimean Tatars not solved, they would disappeared in the international politics.



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