The Aspects of International Communication: Strategic Partnership of Ukraine and Turkey

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Abstract---The article is intended to the analysis of geopolitical, conflict-related, strategic interests of Ukraine, which can be realized within the framework of the South vector of the state geopolitics through rational and pragmatic cooperation with the trans-regional leader of the region – Turkey. The purpose of the study is to identify priority areas of cooperation between Ukraine and Turkey in the Black Sea region for the effective implementation of geostrategic interests of Ukraine, and the regularity of development of systems in political defense of states during crises and modern military-political conflicts. The use of interdisciplinary approach and methods of analytical, comparative analysis made it possible to study and analyze the evolution of the value-ideological loads which dominate the implementation of Eastern or Western geopolitical vectors. The necessity to take into account political, social, and conflict-related imbalances and integration constraints revealed the pragmatic direction of the implementation of an equidistant foreign policy of a three-dimensional format which can be viewed as an alternative vector of bilateral cooperation with Turkey, a joint position with which will ensure accelerated development of Ukraine and will help avoid pressure from the European Union and the Russian Federation.

Keywords---geopolitics, hybrid war, international relations, military-political conflict, strategy co-operation.
Introduction

The term “communication” is often used when considering a great number of phenomena in political theory in general and in international relations. It is usually used in the following phrases: “international communication,” “interstate communication,” “international communication flows,” “intercultural communication,” “global communication.” The consequence of communication of the international relations system in general with an individual state is the functioning of this element in this system. In this case, communication exists through the transmission of control signals from the system to a particular state through appropriate communication channels, such as legal (existing due to the current rules of international law) and moral and ethical (recognized in this system moral norms and rules of conduct) ones (Moisi, 2010; Novikovas et al., 2017).

First of all, the communication that takes place in the activity process of heads of states and other officials and leaders, involved in decision-making in the field of international relations and foreign policy, deserves attention. The special role of geopolitical interests is connected with the development of international economic and diplomatic relations, within which the world market of labor, goods, services and financial capital is developing (Vorona & Shulga, 2020; Kozlovskyi et al., 2019). Today, the general nature of geopolitical interests is changing along with the transformation of the geopolitical picture of the world: there takes place a unification of the subjects of the political process, which is expressed in the creation of unions, alliances, blocs. Given the growing interest in the political and expert community in the development of relations between Ukraine and Turkey, it seems relevant from a scientific and practical points of view to refer to the study of their strategic partnership.

Over the past few years, the world community has witnessed the strengthening of a new political “tandem” represented by Turkey and Ukraine. Turkish-Ukrainian relations are developing dynamically, and officials of both countries, from all stands, announce their intention to increase the successes achieved and develop bilateral relations (Caliskan, 2017). Speaking about bilateral relations, it is necessary to emphasize that in 2021 Ukraine and Turkey celebrated the 29th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations. On February 2, 1992, in a year and almost 2 months after the USSR dissolution and Ukraine’s secession from its structure, Turkish-Ukrainian relations acquired official diplomatic clearance. Ukraine is a significant player for Turkey, primarily in terms of Ankara’s desire to satisfy its partners in the Anglo-Saxon world (Raisiene et al., 2019). In the West, there is observed growing dissatisfaction with Turkey’s excessive independence, which will continue to be viewed by the United States and other Western leaders either as a key element of post-Soviet region destabilization group or from a position of power close to the so-called “rogue states.”

The formation of Ukrainian-Turkish relations was marked by Turkey’s recognition of Ukraine’s independence and by the signing of two treaties in 1992: the “Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations” (United Nations Office of Legal Affairs, 1992) and the “Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation between
Ukraine and the Republic of Turkey” (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 1992). The same year, the “Declaration on Black Sea Economic Cooperation” (1992) was signed in Istanbul. These legislative acts formed the basis of strategic relations between Ukraine and Turkey. At that time, Turkey highlighted two reasons for its interest in strategic relations with Ukraine:

- its own political and economic interests (the Republic of Turkey wanted to develop relations with new allied states, considering Ukraine to be one of its powerful neighbors);
- habitation of the Crimean Tatars in Ukraine, namely on the Crimean Peninsula (Turkey considered it its duty to assist and promote their development).

The methodology is one of the most important components in the study of this problem. The methodological basis of the research was a systematic approach to the analysis of the object of study - international relations and international communication, which allowed the use of both general scientific methods of cognition (dialectical, logical analysis, synthesis) and scientific research methods: historical, comparative, formal-legal, method of political forecasting (Rinartha et al., 2018; Diallo & Thuillier, 2005).

Theoretical and methodological research is based on following general and special methods: sampling method, where the authors collected data from information sources; historical-comparative method, which shows the analysis and dynamics of the development of research issues in comparison with past events. The method of system analysis allowed to analyze the study of issues in the multi-vector direction. The method of synthesis shows the direction of studying the concept of “military-political conflict” and the concept of “hybrid war.” The institutional method helps reveal the external and internal factors of cooperation between Ukraine and Turkey in the Black Sea region. The method of empirical research helps to show the interdependence of values and interests of states and conflicts between stakeholders and to study dynamic splashes of conflicts being generated by power authorities (Biletska et al., 2021; Pinatih et al., 2018).

To achieve the aim of the research, we distinguished the following objectives to fulfill:

- to analyze theoretical and methodological features of the Eastern and Western vectors of the implementation of the geopolitics of Ukraine;
- to compare common and distinctive characteristics of the potential of both: Ukraine and Turkey;
- to study ways and directions of mutually advantageous security space of Ukraine-Turkey multi-variant cooperation;
- to analyze the hybrid conflict situation in Ukraine.

**Global geopolitical position of Ukraine and Turkey: comparative analysis**

The process of forming a new world order that is taking place at the moment is accompanied by an increase in the level of cross-border threats to the security of sovereign states and the entire world community (Kolumbeta et al., 2019;
Yaroshenko et al., 2018). These threats and challenges have become so strong and systemic that they pose a real danger. Such threats include proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, and illegal migration. The concept of “international communication” belongs to the well-developed ones in science, as evidenced by several studies. Information and communication are constantly transforming social and political life at the national and global levels. In modern conditions, a new dimension of international communications is gaining strength, which means that language constructions and narratives are being intensively replaced (Gamlen, 2008; Vovchuk et al., 2021). The analysis of the available definitions of international communication is projected on the sphere of international relations and allows to allocate the following characteristics:

- foreign policy communication is a kind of social information field of international politics;
- influencing the consciousness, behavior, beliefs of individuals, groups and social institutions, it has a significant impact on individual states, groups of states or the world as a whole;
- existing as a “circulation of information” in the field of foreign policy, international communication performs the functions of the “nervous system” of international relations; it binds together the disparate parts of the world community and forces them to function together;
- it is the process that forms the essential and qualitative aspects of foreign political life, structures international communication and gives it a new meaning, forms public opinion and the level of political socialization of citizens, as well as the foreign policy position of individual states or institutions, taking into account their needs and interests;
- communication influence can be both direct (questions and answers) and indirect (creation of “stereotypes,” “ideal models”);
- its forms are diverse, as they include any message, starting with diplomatic (including classified) and ending with those transmitted through the media.

The special role of geopolitical interests is connected with the development of international economic and diplomatic relations, within which the world market of labor, goods, services and financial capital is developing. Today, the general nature of geopolitical interests is changing along with the transformation of the geopolitical picture of the world: there takes place a unification of the subjects of the political process, which is expressed in the creation of unions, alliances, blocs. Given the growing interest in the political and expert community in the development of relations between Ukraine and Turkey, it seems relevant from a scientific and practical points of view to refer to the study of their strategic partnership (Yaroshenko et al., 2018).

In the second decade of the XXI century in the international arena, there takes a place a change in both the institutional development of the world community and the paradigm of global development. In the conditions of a polycentric coordinate system of interstate relations, the political-diplomatic process of resolving conflict situations is deepening. Conference diplomacy, capable of localizing and resolving the conflict by reaching a consensus, becomes the first priority (Tesfahuney, 1998; Osiichuk & Shepotylo, 2020). Geopolitical relations of states are manifested
at different levels: the international level, state level, level of regional subjects and formations. However, the global level remains the crucial one, highlighting the necessity of considering the transformations of the geopolitical interest importance in the course of the modern political process globalization, the consideration of regionalization as a factor in the global process.

The geopolitics of modern Turkey is based on the advantages of its own space and geopolitical position. In case of objective globalization processes, the future of Turkey largely depends on the efficiency of the use of communication space. In the Concept of National Security of the Republic of Turkey, the main task of domestic and foreign policy, which is the core of the entire system of national interests, is to ensure the security and prosperity of the multinational people. It should be noted that the geopolitics of Turkey is quite complex and can be divided into four geopolitical aspects: energy-geopolitical, international-legal, ethno-territorial-geopolitical, internal geopolitical (Petrov & Serdyuk, 2008).

In the context of the global level of geopolitical situation, the territory of Ukraine has always been at the center of events. Here the historical paths and the main geopolitical axes of Eurasia intersected, which gave a wide opportunity for contacts with Western and Northern Europe, as well as with the countries of the Middle East and Central Asia. At the beginning of the XXI century, Ukraine’s global geopolitical position is characterized by the following peculiar features. First, the country is located in the global geopolitical “ring” of the Northern Hemisphere, formed by the territories of the “triad” countries and communications between them. At the same time, in the west the territory of Ukraine directly borders with European countries, which, after the EU enlargement, became the members of powerful integration unions of the world. To a large extent, it is Ukraine that the execution of the contact rather than the barrier function depends on in this geopolitical aspect. Second, for sovereign, independent Ukraine it is convenient to intensify interaction with the Euro-Atlantic structures, relying on attracting technologies and capitals of European countries, the USA and Japan, and, in its turn, to maintain good neighborly relations with Asian countries (Likarchuk & Shevel, 2021; Tatsyi et al., 2010).

In the context of geopolitical transformation in the Middle East, new ways of strategic cooperation with the countries in the Black Sea basin are emerging. At present Turkish-Ukrainian relations are experiencing the most intense, positive stage. The successful development of the international relations between Kyiv and Ankara is based on pragmatic calculation and complementarity of goals for each party. Ukraine is stepping up cooperation with Turkey on diversification of energy supplies and numerous Turkish investments to solve economic difficulties in agriculture and industry, and the assistance is being provided concerning the Crimean Peninsula (Caliskan, 2017).

The current place and significance of both Ukraine and its strategic partner Turkey, as well as their place in strengthening and weakening of Europe, social and political aspects, armed conflicts and international conflicts have been studied by Western political scientists, philosophers, sociologists, including Brzezinski (2017); Kaplan (2013); Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier (2005); Friedman (2010), etc. Turkey as a geopolitical actor has become the object of study of such
Importantly, it is necessary to take into account the mediation or transit nature of relations in the Black Sea region: this is the crossroads between civilizational and political alternatives (North vs. South, West vs. East, rich states vs. underdeveloped ones, Orthodox vs. Muslim, democracy vs. authoritarianism, etc.). It is worth mentioning that NATO and CSTO countries compete in the Black Sea region; EU members, candidates for EU membership and ideological opponents; here the GUAM countries oppose annexation, occupation and pressure of the Russian Federation. The strategic use of a set of diplomatic instruments is one of the components of the “soft power” of the state along with other instruments of non-violent influence. However, despite the growing influence of “soft power” in relations, military power remains a crucial tool in world politics. Thus, the naval forces of the state, which in terms of their impact potential can be compared with large groups of land forces, and in terms of mobility often surpass them, are the most important basis of the state's security policy. This is the reason why Ukrainian-Turkish relations are relevant in the modern international dimension (Zu, 2021; Wang, 2006; Weiss, 2005; Ikramova, 2021).

**Ukraine-Turkey relations in the context of geostrategic vectors of Ukraine**

Today the spheres of cooperation of the Turkish Republic with the Black Sea region states are numerous and diverse. Some of them suggest and include areas of various manifestations of mutual cooperation, others, on the contrary, involve difficulties and even conflicts. In 1998, the military-political initiative “BLACKSEAFOR” was founded. Since 2001, the BLACKSEAFOR initiative has gained international status and was primarily aimed at cooperation between the Black Sea states. The crisis in Ukraine, which began in 2013, and the Crimean events that followed, led to a fundamental conflict among the BLACKSEAFOR member states, and as a result, the initiative was cancelled. The same fate befell the operation “Black Sea Harmony” started by the Republic of Turkey in 2004, which has stopped its work by now. The operation “Black Sea Harmony” was aimed at deterring terrorism and asymmetric threats. Initially, it was a national operation in the Turkish territorial waters, but later the goal was to extend it to all Black Sea coastal countries (Barnett et al., 2017; Craggs, 2014).

Another important initiative was the Black Sea Cross-Border Cooperation Forum, launched by Turkey in 2000. It included annual meetings of representatives of the Ministries of Internal Affairs, where a great number of questions were discussed: issues of providing security in the region, cessation of drug trafficking, illegal migration and other forms of illegal activities. Every year in each Black Sea country meetings of the Forum leaders-heads of border and coast guard agencies take place (chairmanship in the forum: 2007 - Turkey, 2008 - Bulgaria, 2009 - Romania, 2010 - Ukraine, 2011 - Russia, 2012 - Turkey, 2013 - Bulgaria, 2014 -
The crisis in Ukraine, which began in late 2013, and the annexation of Crimea by Russia are the most important conflicts which caused the transformation of the relations system in the Black Sea region, and hence in the sphere of Black Sea security of Turkey. The biggest differences and contradictions in the positions of Ankara and Moscow on Ukrainian issues concern the recognition of new realities in Crimea and the annexation of the peninsula by the Russian Federation. Turkey’s political leadership has repeatedly made clear its position on non-recognition of Crimea’s new status. R. Erdogan himself repeatedly condemned the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula by the Russian Federation: “...repressive policy” towards the Crimean Tatars, to the “annexed Crimea,” expressed support for the territorial integrity of Ukraine (Bayar, 2019). For several decades since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ankara has provided support (financial, political, diplomatic) to the Crimean Tatar movement. Such support is connected with certain expectations for the return of Crimea to the sphere of influence of Turkey (numerous publications and public speeches of the ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister A. Davutoglu, one of the founders of the concept of “neo-Ottomanism” and other politicians-adherents of this ideology).

Crimea is not the only point of contact between Turkey and Ukraine. In recent years, the military sphere has become a separate area of bilateral cooperation between the states. Due to the redistribution of forces in the international arena and the systematic distancing of Turkey from the West, Turkey no longer has to rely on NATO’s security support, and this fact forces Ankara to develop its own military technology and search for sales markets for its weapons. One of such markets is Ukraine, which has intensified the process of reorientation of the armed forces to the equipment of NATO member states (Vystavna et al., 2018).

It should be noted that an important event that created the legal basis for the expansion of the Ukrainian-Turkish partnership was the signing of the Framework Military Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Turkey (2020). Ukraine and Turkey are not only developing new areas, but also launching new formats of cooperation. In December 2020, President of Ukraine V. Zelensky met with Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey M. Cavusoglu and Minister of National Defense H. Akar. The parties emphasized special importance of the strategic partnership between Kyiv and Ankara, including the issues of maintaining positive dynamics in the trade, defense and military-technical spheres. In addition, Ankara reaffirmed its position on Crimea and its readiness to take an active part in defending the rights of the Crimean Tatar people.

Respectively, the geopolitical interests of both the states, located in this geographic zone, and global actors (EU, China, USA, Russia) are concentrated and compete here. It is worth analyzing the advantages and disadvantages of traditional geopolitical vectors for Ukraine. The Western vector is characterized by general geographical proximity, multi-format political and socio-economic cooperation. Most of the arguments for European and Euro-Atlantic integration are well-founded on the formed ideals of economic, security and social well-being.
of the region (Lagodienko et al., 2019). Many Ukrainians seek a high standard of living, fair justice, developed democracy and joining NATO for participating in the guarantees of collective security.

By 2021 Ukraine has integrated into the structures of the West, implemented patterns of normative regulation of separate branches, created institutions of anti-corruption nature, signed and ratified the Association Agreement, received a visa-free regime and enshrined the course of European and Euro-Atlantic integration in the Constitution. However, at the stage of implementing the basic requirements for Ukraine to approach the standards of democratic and economic development, the EU plunged into its own systemic crises (Eurosceptic, migration, pandemic, financial), and the Union’s development scenarios (isolation, limitation of enlargement/expansion, formation of buffer zones, etc.) make the process of direct integration more complicated for the state, narrow the formats of strategic partnership, leave Ukraine at the stage of “democratic conditionality of external incentives” (Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier, 2005). It is appropriate to develop mutually beneficial interests with the EU, enjoying the main benefits of such cooperation, but rapid and systematic growth can hardly be expected at the present stage.

That is why in Ukraine for a long time economic benefits, received from close cooperation with the Russian Federation, facilitated the implementation of the Eastern vector of the state geostrategy as the basic one. The main modern arguments regarding the disproportionate shortcomings of this vector are the following:

- violation of territorial integrity by the Russian Federation through the annexation of Crimea and military aggression in Donets and Luhansk regions;
- the membership in the club of “countries-dictators”;
- discriminatory conditions of integration in the CIS, Customs Union, Eurasian Union, CSTO (analog to European institutions), which in practice only consolidated the leadership and monopoly positions of Russia and concentrated the geostrategic potential of participants (satellite countries) in the orbit of its power to form a stronger position in relations with the EU, China, and the United States.

Accordingly, for the West and the East, Ukraine is an artificial and desirable barrier that draws the clear dividing line. For Europe, these are its extreme eastern borders, and for Russia – the borders of its western territories. Based on the position of a “buffer bridgehead” of the confrontation between two “partners” (EU and Russia), Ukraine should focus on the development of its Southern vector. It is important to crystallize the basic interests in this geopolitical space, using the maximum available potential. Geopolitically, Ukraine “…must firmly rely on the entire Black Sea coast countries, and its ports must be constantly open windows to Europe... completely closing access to the east coast of the Sea of Azov, it does not allow an unexpected attack on the still completely defenseless Odessa, Mykolaiv, and Kherson” (Sergiychuk, 2016).
Turkey best of all realizes the strategic importance and potential of the Black Sea region for strengthening its regional leadership. It is able to use the resources of this region increasing, accumulating its own power, developing a policy of partnership and pragmatic cooperation, for forming new alliances and identifying hostile neighbors, turning the region’s potential to strengthen its international role as a global actor (Karasova & Mishchenko, 2021). In 2005-2010, in Turkey’s “Document on National Security Policy” one can find the definitions of basic threats, including radicalism, separatism and the activities of left-wing groups, as well as international terrorism (Kolomiets, 2014), which ensured the conscious development of Turkish geostrategy of a defensive-expansionist type, and the defining the level of distribution of influence and control as transregional.

Following the events related to the annexation of Crimea and the occupation of Temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, Ukraine has consistently implemented a type of defense geostrategy, which protects aggressive actions or various forms of expansion by other states, strengthening military capabilities. According to Global Power (2021), Ukraine occupied 27th place in the ranking of the most powerful states in 2020. The defense geostrategy of Ukraine also includes the search of effective allies, as well as appeals to international organizations that have the power to influence the enemy. Turkey should become such an effective multivariate partner for Ukraine, cooperation with which is strategically advantageous and rational for our country (Table 1).

Table 1
Distribution of the group of the researched subjects by sex and age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
<th>Turkey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political regime</td>
<td>Transition from authoritarianism to democracy</td>
<td>Transition from authoritarianism to democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form of government</td>
<td>Parliamentary-presidential</td>
<td>According to the 1982 Constitution - parliamentary - presidential, but in fact - Presidential since 2017 according to the results of the national referendum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State ideology</td>
<td>Neo-Ottomanism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>42 million</td>
<td>80 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territory size</td>
<td>603 548 km²</td>
<td>783 356 km²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Orthodoxy</td>
<td>Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seas</td>
<td>Sea of Azov, Black</td>
<td>Aegean, Marble, Mediterranean, Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration status</td>
<td>Constitutional course of European integration</td>
<td>Candidate for membership in EU since 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective Security System</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Member of NATO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warfare waging</td>
<td>in some areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions</td>
<td>in Syria, against ISIS, against Kurdish separatists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separatism</td>
<td>Present in some areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions by language (struggle for expansion of powers at ethnic grounds (struggle for Kurdish autonomy)</td>
<td>Present in the south-east on Kurdish autonomy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the comparative table, Ukraine has fewer opportunities for maritime power, weaker economic and military potential, but it is geographically commensurate with Turkey in terms of natural resources, problems in the field of national identity, separatism, external pressure of large global actors, etc. (Turanli, 2004).

**Ukraine-Turkey communication at the international arena: fields and features**

Common geopolitical interests for the states include enhanced cooperation in defense and security sphere, namely:

- articulation of interests and exchange of experience gained by both states in military conflicts;
- intelligence and information counteraction to attacks;
- effective mechanisms to combat separatist regions, control over which is important for maintaining political subjectivity and territorial integrity (Grebennik et al., 2017).

An important issue remains the joint activities of the countries to counter Russian pressure in the Black Sea region, the return of control over the Kerch Strait, which currently prevents the development of maritime transportation between countries, and the development of Ukrainian seaports (Vorotnyuk, 2016). Turkey is helping Ukraine meet the criteria for NATO membership, namely through joint military trainings, which show the importance of joining forces to maintain and strengthen peace and security in the Black Sea region and NATO. Ukraine and Turkey have signed a number of agreements to deepen military cooperation between the two countries. According to the sociological monitoring conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in 2019-2020, we can analyze the dynamics of Ukrainians’ attitude to NATO military cooperation, which is unchanged compared to 2019, 49.2% of respondents believe that such cooperation is necessary, and the number of those who are against and those who hesitate is also approximately 50%, so this

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the level of DPR, LPR)</td>
<td>Defensive</td>
<td>Regional Transit/Buffer Zone between EU and Russia</td>
<td>74th place</td>
<td>27th place among the strongest states</td>
<td>55th place</td>
<td>63rd place</td>
<td>45th place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense-expansionist</td>
<td>Transregional</td>
<td>Transit/Buffer Zone between Arabic countries, the Balkans and the Caucasus</td>
<td>54th place</td>
<td>11th place among the strongest states</td>
<td>46th place</td>
<td>92nd place</td>
<td>51st place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| According to the comparative table, Ukraine has fewer opportunities for maritime power, weaker economic and military potential, but it is geographically commensurate with Turkey in terms of natural resources, problems in the field of national identity, separatism, external pressure of large global actors, etc. (Turanli, 2004). |
position in this direction is not stable (Figure 1). This confirms that Turkey is becoming an independent geopolitical actor in solving global problems in the international arena (Vorona & Shulga, 2020).

How do you feel about the idea of military cooperation with NATO?

![Chart showing attitudes towards military cooperation with NATO]

Figure 1. Attitude to the idea of military cooperation with NATO

The common geopolitical interests of the states under consideration include enhanced cooperation in the political sphere. Ukraine and Turkey are semi-authoritarian political regimes. Both declare European integration to be dominant, but systematically receive “diplomatic denials” and remarks from the EU on non-compliance with key standards for the club’s candidate. Parallel cooperation between countries can strengthen the power of both actors through effective activities in regional associations, as well as create an alliance of parity lobbying for EU integration (Figure 2).

How do you feel about Turkey influencing the domestic political life of Ukraine?

![Chart showing attitudes towards Turkey's influence on Ukraine]

Figure 2. Attitude towards how Turkey influences the domestic political life of Ukraine
A special place in Ukraine's foreign policy is occupied by the Republic of Turkey, on condition of constant support and development of political dialogue between the countries. This is proved by the data of sociological monitoring done by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and it makes 41.3% (Figure 2). Turkey is interested in finding new trade allies and partners in the region and beyond, ready for cooperation, which is primarily related to the military conflict in Syria, troubled relationships in Ankara's diplomatic relations with the Russian Federation, which affected the economic situation in Turkey. This situation provides new opportunities for Ukraine in the development of economic and political cooperation with Turkey within the Black Sea-Middle East region, which is mutually beneficial for both countries and 14.4% of respondents support this. But despite the positive situation in Ukrainian-Turkish relations, 30.2% of respondents still doubt the correctness of these relations (Vorona & Shulga, 2020).

As for Turkey, the EU “needs a strategic and a diplomatic partner that significantly strengthens Europe's influence in the Middle East, conveys a message of reconciliation addressed to Islam and motivates the dynamism of young Turkey” (Moisi, 2010). However, Europeans are afraid of seeing eighty million Muslims as a part of the union, who are exacerbated by demographic concerns. And “without the prospect of membership in the Union, the temptation of the East may become insurmountable for Turkey” (Moisi, 2010). As for Ukraine, it was noted that it is under constant pressure from Europe and Russia, both of them consider this area to be their sphere of influence due to the possibility of transmitting the relevant geopolitical code to the opposite side. As Brzezinski (2017), wrote: “without Ukraine, Russia will become a completely Asian state, and Europe without Ukraine will be inferior.”

Friedman (2010), even described Turkey as an “island of stability amid a sea of chaos,” and Kaplan (2013) called it a model of Islamic democracy, a role model for those countries that have just gained freedom,” which allows us to optimistically consider the ability of the Islamic world to establish political regimes, more liberal and democratic ones. Ukraine is an example of the most successful democratization in the post-Soviet space, maximum implementation of multiculturalism. Ukraine is capable of becoming a center for designing regional security policy through the revival of GUAM, the development of the Lublin Triangle and the Crimean Platform, and close cooperation with the Vyshehrad Four.

The Turkey-Ukraine cooperation includes also a geopolitical context, recognizing states as transit peripheral/buffer zones. Turkey exercises control over migration flows from Asia, Ukraine acts as a springboard for further expansion of Russian aggression and hybrid war. Both countries declare a defensive type of geostrategy. For Turkey, this is due to the military actions in Syria, the fight against ISIS and Kurdish separatists, but it remains a transregional state with a dominant influence “in the Balkans, Black Sea, Ukraine and southern Russia, the Caucasus and the Arab Middle East” (Kaplan, 2013).

In Ukraine’s waging an international political struggle for the return of Crimea, Turkey is a consistent ally in ensuring the rights and freedoms of the Crimean
Tatar and Ankara is involved as an active and powerful ally in solving the annexation problem. And for Kyiv, the restoration of domestic sovereignty through the establishment of control over the temporarily occupied parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts remains an important aspect (Figure 3).

**Figure 3. Assess Turkey’s policy towards Ukraine at this stage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest Not Taken into Account</th>
<th>Taken into Account</th>
<th>Both Taken into Account</th>
<th>Difficult to Say</th>
<th>Did not Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine’s interests</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A smaller part of Ukraine’s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interests is taken into account</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Most of Ukraine’s interests</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>are taken into account</td>
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As we see from the sociological monitoring of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 34.5% of respondents believe that they are not completely satisfied with the situation when Turkey takes into account much fewer interests of Ukraine. 21.3% of respondents believe that the interests of Ukraine are completely ignored, and 32.7% of respondents are hesitant concerning the fairness of the amount of Ukraine’s interests being taken into account. That is, political dialogue is being established and we can observe a gradual restoration of relations between the countries, the design of a new format of bilateral relations of political cooperation (Vorona & Shulga, 2020). Finally, we need to consider the Ukraine-Turkey relations in the social sphere. In this sphere, the countries are more different, have different socio-economic potential and, accordingly, a multi-format state policy in the implementation of programs, aimed at ensuring the rights and freedoms of certain categories of the population. However, the exchange of experience in implementing the most effective programs for refugees and internally displaced persons can become an important element of cooperation.

Negotiations on the creation of a free trade zone have been going on for several years due to the difficulty of harmonizing the economic interests in branches, sensitive for both countries (agro-industrial complex for Turkey, industrial sector for Ukraine). Nevertheless, in Ukraine’s export strategy, Turkey is one of the markets with significant potential. Industrial cooperation and joint projects in the military-technical sphere can become the locomotives of the development of economic relations today. Also, the window of opportunities for cooperation opens in the ICT sector. The dynamic sphere of the primary production and social infrastructure (tourism, medicine, etc.) of Turkey needs to involve Ukrainian competitive engineering competencies. In turn, the export of high-tech services
will allow Ukraine to reduce the negative foreign trade balance in tourism sector, which has been formed in favor of Turkey for many years (De Coninck & Bäckstrand, 2011; Correlje & Van der Linde, 2006).

Investment cooperation between the countries is reaching a qualitatively new level. “Greenfield investments” are most actively developing in the scientific, technical and trade spheres, where Ukrainian labor resources and raw materials resources are optimally combined with the best Turkish technical and technological, managerial and marketing experience. Currently, Ukraine is also interested in the participation of Turkish investors in infrastructure projects (roads, road infrastructure, energy infrastructure, utilities, airports, hotels, destroyed facilities in Luhansk and Donetsk regions), especially since Turkish investments abroad are concentrated in the construction sector (United Nations Development Programme, 2020).

Concerning the sphere of energy, it is worth mentioning that the monopoly, which Russia established in Turkey’s nuclear energy sector, shuts down the opportunities for Ukrainian-Turkish cooperation. However, prospects can be seen in joint projects regarding the “young” renewable energy sector. Turkey's unstable relations with Russia and the West could act in favor of strengthening the partnership with Ukraine because of common security considerations and trade interests. Thus, according to Turkey policy, which demonstrates its equidistance from Europe, Russia and the Middle East, Ukraine must develop the most rational approach in implementing the geostrategy of equidistant and pragmatic use of international cooperation to strengthen its own regional power (Figure 4).

![Assess the priority of international cooperation for Ukraine with Turkey](image)

Figure 4. Assess the priority of international cooperation for Ukraine with Turkey

The community vector of Ukraine and Turkey combines geopolitical interests for the security of the Black Sea region and turning it into a zone of peace. 43.7% of respondents believe that the intensity of cooperation depends on solving the tasks in question, 10.2% believe that cooperation should be reduced and they ascribe a
low priority index to this situation, and 18.6% of respondents believe that the priority of international cooperation is high for both countries – Ukraine and Turkey (Vorona & Shulga, 2020). This is the way for Ukraine to implement a three-dimensional coordinate system that will relieve pressure from each side, reduce the impact of historical experience of the past, increase the degree of freedom of implementing external priorities, expand choice in the system of interstate interaction and compensate for political and economic imbalances of buffer zone dependence between the East and the West.

However, it should not be forgotten that Ankara usually operates on several “chess” boards, guided by its own priorities and geopolitical and economic interests, so the degree of cooperation between Ukraine and Turkey will depend on Kyiv’s ability to articulate their capabilities and develop a stronger and more consistent position in various areas of cooperation. If the alliance between Ukraine and Turkey is implemented in different areas, which is beneficial to both parties, and on different political and international platforms, it will allow to build a consolidated union of states in the Black Sea region.

Conclusion

The international communication reflects the meaning of the interaction of political actors in the international arena through their exchange of information in the process of external positioning, the struggle for influence or the satisfaction of any other foreign policy interests. Within the framework of international relations, the quality of international communication will be determined by the actions of countries, international institutions and organizations, individuals, and will depend on a combination of various - ethical, legal, force and other factors of international relations, the presence of various centers of power and influence. This means that in the conditions of communication activity of a large number of actors of modern international relations, the achievement of a specific political goal requires the communicator to make a competent choice of communication channel and highly professional management. Information support of foreign policy is an objective necessity of any state. Such support, as a rule, includes close cooperation of the state’s international relations authorities with the media, the use of modern information and communication technologies for various purposes: to protect information systems, to form in citizens an objective and positive assessment of the state activity in the international arena.

The new format of relations between Turkey and Ukraine provides for joint security measures. This primarily refers to bilateral consultations. Such rapprochement will lead to the coordination of actions between Ukraine and Turkey in the Black Sea region to strengthen security. Relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Turkey can be seen as an example of inter-civilizational communication, an example of relations between the two great civilizations. The friendly political and diplomatic ties that have developed between Ukraine and Turkey, as well as their special status, can contribute to the creation of effective platforms for discussing the widest range of issues of regional and global importance. The current interaction between the Republic of Turkey and Ukraine is largely due to common problems, related to Russia in this or that way: the
transportation of Russian gas, the problem of Crimea and the issue of leadership in the Black Sea region are among them.

Currently, the Republic of Turkey cooperates with Ukraine in three key areas: ethnic - at the expense of the Crimean Tatars living in this country and showing solidarity with Turkey on the Crimean issue; economic - by introducing Turkish companies to the Ukrainian market, which actually "captured" Ukrainian production; and military, primarily because of Ankara's offer to Kyiv of financially advantageous compromises and thus a systematic reorientation of Ukraine to Turkish arms. At the same time, we can assume that in the medium term, Ukraine, along with Azerbaijan and several other Turkic states, is likely to become one of the post-Soviet countries that will almost completely switch to equipping their army with Turkish equipment.

For Ukraine, the Black Sea region is an additional corridor for promoting its own strategic interests. Not denying the geopolitical importance of the coastline, the quality of port infrastructure and its poorly developed condition, annexation of part of the territory – the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and, accordingly, the loss of security opportunities, the Southern vector of geostrategic interests should be identified as a priority in the foreign policy. This vector has a three-dimensional, equidistant nature of interaction with the countries of the region, it provides for the avoidance of value and ideological loading, promotes the implementation of pragmatic foreign economic activity. Turkey can be identified as a strategic partner for Ukraine both in the Black Sea region and in the implementation of the Southern vector of geopolitics.

The implementation of Ukraine’s geostrategic interests through strengthening international cooperation with Turkey or through its mediation will also provide new opportunities and open additional channels to the state in less traditional regions of the Caucasus, Central Asia, Arab countries both at the level of bilateral cooperation and participation in new international regional organizations. To deepen relations to ensure strategic cooperation between Ukraine and Turkey, it is necessary to develop practical principles for the formation of such cooperation based on a common understanding of the content of geopolitical categories reflected in global and regional changes. That is why modern geopolitical guidelines and main directions of foreign policy of Ukraine and Turkey consist of the realities of domestic and foreign policy, diplomatic opportunities, crises, conflicts of interest in the region and in the world.

References


