



Good Offices Initiative of Turkey's Diplomacy Policy in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict Resolution Approach in 2022

Desak Nyoman Gita Cahyani¹, Bima Kumara Dwi Atmaja²

¹Faculty of Law, Udayana University, E-mail: gitacahyanidsk02@gmail.com

²Faculty of Law, Udayana University, E-mail: bimakumara@unud.ac.id

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Corresponding Author:

Desak Nyoman Gita Cahyani,

E-mail:

gitacahyanidsk02@gmail.com

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Abstract

This writing aims to answer questions related to Turkey's attitude toward initiating itself in good offices effort during the Russia-Ukraine conflict that has been going on since February 2022. This is an interesting subject because Turkey dares to take an independent diplomatic policy in responding to the Russia-Ukraine conflict. This paper uses normative legal research methods and applies data collection techniques in the form of literature studies using primary and secondary legal materials, also data processing and analysis using descriptive qualitative analysis techniques. This study concludes that the basis for consideration of Turkey's foreign policy is that it is in a neutral position and offers good offices, namely based on the principles of its foreign policy, the powerlessness of the United Nations, and to protect Turkey's national interests. Then, the capability of Turkey to hold negotiations can be viewed from Turkey's neutral status. Lastly, Turkey has made significant contributions to the successful holding of mediation in Antalya and Istanbul, also an achievement of the Black Sea Grain Initiative.

I. Introduction

Ukraine has a very close relationship with Russia in terms of geopolitics, history, ethnicity, culture, and language. This is because it cannot be separated from the background of the fact that Ukraine was once part of the Soviet Union before finally declaring its independence as a sovereign country in 1991. After being separated into independent countries, Russia and Ukraine have indeed carried out quite a lot of bilateral cooperation but also often experience tension along with changes in government leadership.¹ The main problem that occurred was the difference in views between Russia and Ukraine in addressing the international security order after World War II. In this case, Russia believes that its influence needs to remain in Eastern Europe to balance the power of the Western Bloc, which can threaten its defense and security at any time. Therefore, it is crucial to protect Ukraine, which is Russia's border, so it does not side with the Western Bloc because Ukraine can be used as a strategic area or military base to attack Russia. However,

¹ Sita Hidriyah, "Kajian Singkat Terhadap Isu Aktual Dan Strategis Eskalasi Ketegangan Rusia-Ukraina," *Pusat Penelitian Badan Keahlian DPR RI XIV*, no. 4/II (2022): 8.

on the contrary, Ukraine is increasingly aligning with the Western Bloc and desires to join as a member of the European Union and even NATO. This is what adds to or fuels the upheaval of relations between Russia and Ukraine because Russia feels threatened and uncomfortable with the presence of Western Bloc powers in Eastern Europe, especially in Ukraine.

Furthermore, the peak of tension has now occurred when Volodymyr Zelensky, President of Ukraine, is increasingly directing Ukraine toward the West, including plans for Ukraine to become an official member of the European Union and NATO. Meanwhile, Western parties also support this, which opens up opportunities for Ukraine to become a member, especially in the framework of NATO's expansion into Eastern Europe. Even though Vladimir Putin had warned the Western Bloc years before to stop and reject the expansion of its members into the Eastern European region with countries directly bordering Russia including Ukraine, because Putin realized that this would endanger the security of Russia's territory. In this case, the United States has broken its promise to Russia. First, the promise of United States Secretary of State James Baker to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on February 9, 1990, in Moscow, which stated, "If we maintain a presence in a Germany that is a part of NATO, there would be no extension of NATO's jurisdiction for forces of NATO one inch to the east," emphasizes that NATO would stop at Germany and would not expand its membership even one inch to the east. Second, Bill Clinton's promise to Boris Yeltsin on May 10, 1995, in the Kremlin stated that adding NATO members was a form of blockade against Russia, so such an alliance must no longer exist.² Likewise, since 2008, Vladimir Putin has repeatedly told Ukraine to abandon its intention to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or Russia will act decisively by carrying out a military attack because Ukraine's decision to join NATO will no longer be tolerated.

However, Ukraine continues to insist on joining with the start of preparations for submitting membership to NATO, which is very welcome and open by NATO and Western countries. As a result, Vladimir Putin carried out a special military operation against Ukraine starting on February 24, 2022, with explosions and shootings in several major Ukrainian cities such as Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, and Mariupol.³ The attacks are continuing today, and a ceasefire has not been reached. In this situation, it can be seen that Russia is trying to defend its national interests, namely protecting its country's sovereignty from threats from the Western Block, so that it carries out what it says is a special military operation. Because of this, Russia emphasized that it was reluctant to be called an invasion of Ukraine, as the Western Block talked about Russia's actions.

Based on estimated data from WHO, which was later quoted from liputan6.com on 18 April 2022, that from February 24 until mid-April 2022, there were at least 1.964 Ukrainian citizens who died, and 2.613 people were injured. Then the interpretation of UNHCR calculations is that refugees who are Ukrainian citizens have now reached 4.6 million and have left Ukraine for neighbouring countries such as Poland, Hungary, Slovakia,

² Indra Kusumawardhana, "Mengapa Rusia Menyerang Ukraina," RMOL Republik Merdeka, 2022, <https://publika.rmol.id/read/2022/03/08/526122/mengapa-rusia-meny Serang-ukraina>.

³ Sefti Oktarianisa, "Kronologi & Penyebab Mengapa Rusia Menyerang Ukraina," CNBC Indonesia, 2022, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20220225052726-4-318218/kronologi-penyebab-mengapa-rusia-meny Serang-ukraina>.

Moldova, and Romania.⁴ Furthermore, in *The Guardian* on April 28, 2022, it was explained that President Zelensky stated that the total losses resulting from the Russian attack, which had taken place since February, were close to USD 600 billion, including the destruction of vital facilities and buildings.⁵ Additionally, Russia and Ukraine also experienced troop losses in the form of thousands of military personnel who died in the war and considerable damage to combat equipment.

Besides impacting these two countries, the consequences of the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict are also being felt by other countries, both from an economic and political perspective. This is because an escalation of global political tensions is highly feared to spark a larger-scale war involving Western and Eastern countries that also will disrupt worldwide peace and security stability. Not only that, another crucial issue is the high level of the world economic crisis, which continues to burden and suppress international trade and business activities. One of them is the rise in global oil prices, which have risen rapidly to US\$ 120 per barrel and are expected to rise further.⁶ This economic instability occurs because Russia is the world's largest producer and exporter of oil and natural gas, thus playing a vital role in the geopolitical constellation in the European and Asian regions. Besides that, Ukraine also plays an essential role in distributing gas and oil exports from Russia to Europe. Therefore, the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine will undoubtedly disrupt the continuity of the world economy.

Russia's actions calling for a direct attack on Ukraine have not ended until now and have received much criticism from the international community and even pressure to end them immediately. However, Vladimir Putin emphasized that before Ukraine fulfills all of its demands, Russia will decide to continue its military operations. Quoted from the BBC on March 31, 2022, at least the temporary demands put forward by Russia so far include requests in the form of establishing and affirming Ukraine's neutral position through a permanent constitution or bilateral agreements, not seeking to develop closeness with military alliances such as NATO, carrying out disarmament as proof it is clear that Ukraine is no longer a threat from Russia, and the termination and determination of clarity on the status of the Crimea, Donetsk, and Luhansk territories.⁷

So far, the West has continued to exert pressure on Russia from an economic perspective on a large scale as one of the steps to stop Russia's attack on Ukraine. Although several other countries also provide financial and military assistance to Ukraine, the most significant thing targeted at Russia is the imposition of economic sanctions. The parties that strictly imposed severe sanctions on Russia were the European Union, the United States, Canada, Australia, Britain, New Zealand, Japan, Germany, and others. These

⁴ Ade Nasihudin, "1.964 Warga Ukraina Meninggal Akibat Serangan Rusia per 13 April 2022," *Liputan6.com*, 2022, <https://www.liputan6.com/health/read/4941283/1964-warga-ukraina-meninggal-akibat-serangan-rusia-per-13-april-2022>.

⁵ Anshary Madya Sukma, "Perang Rusia vs Ukraina Hari Ke-64: Putin Ancam Negara Yang Ikut Campur," *Kabar24*, 2022, <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20220428/19/1528422/perang-rusia-vs-ukraina-hari-ke-64-putin-ancam-negara-yang-ikut-campur>.

⁶ Eko Setiadi, "Invansi Rusia Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Geopolitik Global," *CNBC Indonesia*, 2022, <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/opini/20220307124740-14-320589/invansi-rusia-dan-dampaknya-terhadap-geopolitik-global>.

⁷ Paul Kirby, "Perang Ukraina: Apa Yang Diinginkan Putin Dari Ukraina Untuk Mengakhiri Perang?," *BBC News*, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-60507911.amp>.

sanctions broadly include a ban on Russian gas and oil imports; a halt in technology exports to Russia; the withdrawal of Russian central banks from the SWIFT network; the freezing of assets and wealth of Russian elites, leaders, and companies; the blocking of flight and port access for Russia; the termination of Russian gas pipeline cooperation Nord Stream 2 and others.⁸ Everything was done to obstruct and thwart Russia's offensive against Ukraine.

On the other hand, what is in the spotlight is that Turkey, as a member of NATO, makes decisions far from those of other member countries. Turkey prefers to be neutral and maintain good relations with Russia and Ukraine. Even though Turkey is opposed to Russia's attack on Ukraine because it is against humanity, Turkey does not side with any party and is even reluctant to participate in massive sanctions against Russia. On the contrary, Turkey is still trying to maintain its bilateral relations and offers a peaceful settlement with Turkey as the organizer of mediation for the two disputing parties. President Erdogan discussed this proposal directly with both parties, namely Vladimir Putin and Zelensky. This Turkish initiative is referred to as "good offices" as a method of international dispute resolution.

Then, according to previous research, Turkey's role in offering good offices to resolve the Russian-Ukraine conflict has yet to be discussed. However, only a few studies allude to efforts to resolve the Russia-Ukraine dispute by linking it to potential Turkey. The research is entitled "Upaya Penyelesaian Konflik Rusia-Ukraina" by Syuryansyah and Rethorika Berthanila, published in August 2022. One of the results of this research is that an alternative solution to the Russia-Ukraine conflict can be reached through good offices with Turkey. This country is considered capable of connecting the two parties to the dispute because Turkey has good relations with Ukraine and Russia.⁹ Based on this context, the author would like to examine the Russia-Ukraine conflict in greater depth, which is then linked to Turkey's position in addressing the two country's disputes in an article titled "Good Offices Initiative of Turkey's Diplomacy Policy in The Russia-Ukraine Conflict Resolution Approach in 2022".

This writing aims to answer questions related to Turkey's attitude, which took the initiative in good offices during the Russia-Ukraine conflict that has been going on since February 2022. The discussion will be elaborated by answering 3 (three) main issues so that knowing: The basic considerations of Turkey's foreign policy taking a diplomatic stance with good offices initiative in the Russia-Ukraine conflict resolution approach in 2022; Turkey's capability to carry out the good offices initiative in the Russia-Ukraine conflict resolution approach in 2022; Turkey's role and contribution while pursuing the implementation of good offices initiative in the Russia-Ukraine conflict resolution approach in 2022.

⁸ Taufieq Renaldi Arfiansyah, "Daftar Sanksi Yang Dijatuhkan Kepada Rusia Atas Invansi Ukraina, Apa Saja?," *Kompas.com*, 2022, <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2022/03/05/123000765/daftar-sanksi-yang-dijatuhkan-kepada-rusia-atas-invasi-ukraina-apa-saja-?page=all>.

⁹ Syuryansyah Syuryansyah and Rethorika Berthanila, "Upaya Penyelesaian Konflik Rusia-Ukraina," *Jurnal PIR: Power in International Relations* 7, no. 1 (2022): 97, <https://doi.org/10.22303/pir.7.1.2022.96-104>.

2. Research Methods

This writing uses normative legal research methods, namely research in the form of discovery, use, and implementation of law in changing the social order of people's lives. Currently, the Russia-Ukraine conflict is affecting the international community. As a result, this method will attempt to analyze how the law is related to the determination of Turkey's diplomatic policies to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022.

The types of approaches applied are the factual, historical, and statute approaches. First, the factual approach will help examine all social phenomena and legal facts that occur in society, in this case, knowing the chronology of Russia's attack on Ukraine; the impact of the conflict on Russia, Ukraine, and the world; the response of countries in the world to the conflict that occurred; organizing good offices in Turkey; and the continuation of the development of the conflict in Ukraine. Second, a historical approach will be used to find out the historical relationship between Russia and Ukraine; the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict; relations between Russia, Ukraine, and Turkey; also Turkey's foreign policy background. Third, the statutory approach aims to find legal bases that can support the viewpoints, arguments, and legal facts that have been found related to the incident of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and Turkey's role in addressing the conflict.

Furthermore, the application of data collection techniques in this paper is a literature study by tracing sources of data and accurate information regarding the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, Turkish foreign policy, and the implementation of good offices over the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in Turkey. Thus, everything that is done also requires the excavation of primary legal materials in the form of international legal regulations and secondary legal materials in the form of books, journals, articles, news, newspapers, and other documents in this type of research. In the end, all the things that have been found and studied will be integrated and comprehensively studied into one unit as a research result to clearly describe the analysis of Turkey's foreign policy stance, which is taking the path of diplomacy through the initiative of good offices in the approach to resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 The Basic Considerations of Turkey's Foreign Policy Taking a Diplomatic Stance with Good Offices Initiative in The Russia-Ukraine Conflict Resolution Approach in 2022

Neither the individual nor the state can stand alone and always need assistance from other individuals/countries. In the context of being a state, the government also cannot rely solely on the country's strength to survive and fulfill all of its national interests. Therefore, the state will establish excellent and profitable relations with other countries. These interactions between countries are often referred to as international relations, as it is in line with the 1933 Montevideo Convention, which states that one of the conditions for the formation of a country is being able to establish international relations with other countries. Furthermore, every country has different foreign political characteristics when conducting international relations. This is based on how the historical background,

ideology, and government processes are carried out in the country. Every foreign politics will provide directions or targets for each country to implement all its activities and relations in the international world. Thus, foreign politics is inception to the emergence of various foreign policies as a determinant of the country's attitude when faced with problems in the international arena to its relations with other countries.

A country's national interests greatly influence state leaders in deciding their foreign policy. In Donal E. Nuechterlein's view, four primary forms of a country's national interests are put forward as follows:¹⁰

1. The interests of state defense and security, namely the need to safeguard the sovereignty of the state, its citizens, and the nation.
2. The interests of the country's economy, namely prioritizing the development of the country's economic welfare and national food security.
3. The interest of state politics, namely the protection of the country's political system from threats and interference from other countries' political influences.
4. The interests of state ideology, namely the urgency to defend the country's views, thoughts, values, and national aspirations from the influx of foreign ideologies.

The national interests of each country are not the same as those of other countries, so it often results in conflicts or disputes because each country tries to defend and realize its national interests. Therefore, there is an excellent need for diplomacy to be carried out as a form of foreign policy to avoid using force in critical situations or ending ongoing conflicts. Diplomacy can be used to repair damaged relations between the two countries and look for a way out of all these problems.

Likewise, Turkey as a large country in the Middle East has some foreign policies that determine every step of its movement in the international world. Turkey is a country with a very strategic area because 97% of its territory includes the Asian Continent, and the other 3% consists of the European Continent, so Turkey's location is a link between the two major regions of the world. Thus, it is also not surprising that Turkey has many international relations with other countries because of Turkey's position as a center in the geopolitical constellation of Asia and Europe. The following is an overview of the characteristics of government in Turkey, namely:

Table 1. The Characteristics of Government in Turkey¹¹

No	The Characteristics of Government	Description
1	Form of State.	Republicans
2	System of Government	Presidential
3	Political Legitimacy	Participation through elections
4	Legal System	Secular

¹⁰ Mega Chintia Gunadi, "Upaya Ukraina Menghadapi Rusia Atas Aneksasi Semenanjung Crimea Tahun 2014," *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa (JOM) Bidang Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 2, no. 2 (2015): 5-6, <https://garuda.kemdikbud.go.id/documents/detail/349434>.

¹¹ Maisyita Syafitri, "Upaya Pemerintah Turki Dalam Menanggulangi Pengungsi Dari Suriah Tahun 2014-2016," *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Riau* 4, no. 2 (2017): 7.

The government in Turkey continues to experience significant dynamics, especially since the success of the Islamic Party in occupying parliamentary power. Starting in 2001, with the position of prime minister held by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, he still shows closeness or an inclination toward Western countries regarding political, economic, defense, and security cooperation. However, everything changed when the Israeli army raided the Mavi Marmara ship, killing nine (9) Turkish citizens. The incident received tremendous criticism from the people and government of Turkey, causing relations between the two countries to heat up. Turkey asked for Israel's accountability and apology, but it was ignored entirely. On the contrary, Israel received support and protection from the United States.¹² Therefore, Turkey is increasingly disappointed and furious about what happened to it.

Then, the election of Erdogan as President of Turkey in the next general election also experienced upheaval or friction with Western countries due to rebellions that attempted to overthrow the legitimate government in Turkey. Relations between Turkey and the United States were further exacerbated by the issue of Fethullah Gulen, whom Turkey believes was the mastermind behind the attempted coup.¹³ Not only that, Turkey's frustration grew because Turkey was never accepted as a member of the European Union. Turkey has tried to meet the requirements to join the European Union, but there has always been opposition and rejection from several EU member states. The reasons for Turkey's reluctance to accept membership in the European Union are:

1. The high population of Turkey, which is more than 70 million people, is worrying that it will dominate and control the economy and influence crucial policy decisions in the European Union;
2. The gap between rich and poor people is still wide, so that it can affect the country's per capita income. Furthermore, each member country's income level will impact the value of the euro as the currency European countries use.
3. Turkey's actual position is closer to Central Asia than Europe, causing its political, social, and cultural inclination toward the East rather than the West. In addition, it is feared that Turkey, which is side by side with Iran, Iraq, Israel, and Syria, will trigger conflicts between European Union countries and countries in the Central Asian region. All these things will undoubtedly affect economic stability and security in European Union countries. As a result, it casts doubt on EU member states' willingness to accept Turkey as a member of the European Union.¹⁴

On this basis, since the Turkish government was won by the Adalet ve Kalkinme Partisi (AKP) led by Erdogan, he has begun to change his foreign policy to no longer prioritize

¹² Fahmi Zainal Fathani, *Revitalisasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Turki Terhadap Timur Tengah Pasca Insiden Mavi Marmara 2010*, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (2012).

¹³ Hegi Saputra, "Perubahan Kebijakan Politik Luar Negeri Turki Pasca Kegagalan Kudeta Juli 2016," *UPN Veteran Yogyakarta*, 2022, 45, http://eprints.upnyk.ac.id/29043/5/SKRIPSI_AKHIR_%28REV%29_fix.pdf.

¹⁴ Fitri Nayana, "Kebijakan Luar Negeri Turki Dengan Uni Eropa Pada Masa Pemerintahan Recep Tayyip Erdogan (Tahun 2002-2010)," *Repository Universitas Riau*, 2013, 2, https://repository.unri.ac.id/handle/123456789/3584%0Ahttps://repository.unri.ac.id/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/3584/FITRI_NAYANA.pdf?sequence=1.

or focus on the European Union and Western countries. On the contrary, the government is now aware of and wants to restore the existence of an Islamic nuance in Turkish society and prefers to establish good relations with countries in the Middle East.¹⁵ This is increasingly supported by the recovery of economic conditions and national military strength, which had experienced inflation. According to CIA World Factbook data, Turkey is ranked 18th with the most significant GDP revenue in the world. And according to Newsweek, Turkey is ranked 11th with the most enormous military power in the world. This has proven that Turkey's development has significantly increased, and the fact shows that Turkey's self-confidence gives it the independence to determine its foreign policy without being involved with or interfered with by other countries.

The Turkish government is based on the 1982 Turkish Constitution or the so-called "1982 *Anayasası*" which is in effect to this day. The 1982 Turkish Constitution regulates the basic principles of the state and the human rights of citizens. The Turkish constitution does not regulate specifically or in detail foreign policy, but it provides a general framework for Turkish foreign policy which also includes diplomatic activities. Because, basically constitutions usually only provide a more general framework rather than specific details. Meanwhile, *Atatürk's* principles adopted in the 1982 Turkish Constitution also had a major influence on the foreign political system. These principles include secularism (*laiklik*), nationalism, popular *national sovereignty* (*ulusal egemenlik*), and democracy which shape modern Turkish identity and are the basis for state policy decisions that also influence Turkey's interactions with the international community. The Preamble to the 1982 Turkish Constitution affirms Turkey's state ideology, national identity, and democratic principles which reflect a commitment to guaranteeing human rights, prioritizing the principles of peace, respecting the sovereignty and integrity of the state, compliance with international law including the principle of non-intervention and active participation in international organizations. The phrase "*yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh*" in the Preamble to the Turkish Constitution has a loose translation, namely "peace at home, peace in the world" and Article 2 of the Turkish Constitution shows that Turkey adheres firmly to maintaining regional and global peace and stability. The foreign policy carried out by Turkey must consider this principle in carrying out international relations with other countries. This statement also reflects Turkey's commitment as part of the international community and a member of the United Nations to resolve international disputes through peace and diplomacy. Not only that, Article 3 of the Turkish Constitution stipulates that "*Türkiye Devleti, ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bir bütündür. Dili Türkçedir*", with a loose translation namely "The State of Turkey, with its territory and nation, is an indivisible entity. Its language is Turkish", confirming recognition of national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Even though it is not stated explicitly to refer to the sovereign rights of each nation to determine its destiny and the sovereign rights of other countries, it is implicitly stated in this article about the unity of territory that cannot be divided. This article respects the sovereign right of every nation to determine its destiny. This shows Turkey's commitment to respecting the basic principles of national independence, and self-determination also refusing to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries which is the main basis of international law. Based on these legal provisions, 4 (four) main

¹⁵ Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy and Regional Political Structuring," *Horizons: Journal of International Relations and Sustainable Development*, no. 1 (2014), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48573436>.

principles were created as the foundation for the course of Turkey's foreign policy during Erdogan's government, namely:¹⁶

1. Zero Problems with Neighbours, which means prioritizing no problems or zero problems with neighbouring countries, intending to protect, maintain, and secure the integrity of Turkey's territorial sovereignty and gain public attention in the world political arena.
2. Outreach to adjacent regions means reaching areas adjacent to Turkey, such as establishing security partnerships and building soft power in the region.
3. The multi-dimensional foreign policy emphasizes foreign policy that sees multiple perspectives or is multi-dimensional. Every approach will be adjusted to the problems faced and pay attention to competitive relations worldwide.
4. Rhythmic diplomacy means Turkey's foreign policy will pursue or prioritize diplomacy in carrying out international relations, either with other countries or non-state actors.

Because of its foreign policy, Turkey has dared to pursue policies on its own and strictly prohibits any country from interfering in its internal affairs. Likewise, even though Turkey is a member of NATO, it still chooses to be in a neutral position and maintains good relations with the two countries when faced with the Russia-Ukraine conflict. That Turkey's decision is undoubtedly different from Western policies, which strongly oppose Russia's actions by imposing massive sanctions on Russia. In terms of its neutral position, Turkey is trying to provide a way out by offering itself as the host for mediation for the disputing parties to resolve the conflict that occurred.

Not only that, but Turkey also sees the powerlessness of the United Nations as an organization that should guarantee world security and peace in overcoming the Russia-Ukraine conflict. This is because the UN resolutions that have been decided in the UN General Assembly meeting will not be implemented if Russia continues to reject the decision by using its veto right. The rules concerning this matter are contained in Article 27(3) of the United Nations Charter, which outlines the conditions for voting that must be fulfilled to implement a decision. Council decisions in procedural cases will become admissible and enforceable if approved by at least nine of the 15 members of the Council, including all members of the Permanent Security Council, without exception.¹⁷ However, the draft international peace and security resolution in response to the conflict was vetoed by Russia as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Therefore, if one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council uses its right to veto a decision that another member has approved, the decision cannot be implemented.¹⁸

Thus, Turkey considers that there is a need for another solution to immediately resolve the conflict to prevent war's broader impact on the economy, politics, security, and world peace. One way out is through diplomacy to resolve all problems peacefully. This is also in line with the principles of Turkey's foreign policy, which prioritizes diplomacy and the country's active involvement in international relations, so that Turkey's policy decision is

¹⁶ Angel Rabasa and F. Stephen Larrabee, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey* (Santa Monica: RAND Institute, 2008).

¹⁷ Article 27(3) of the United Nations Charter, n.d.

¹⁸ Soeprapto, *Hubungan Internasional, Sistem, Interaksi Dan Perilaku* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1995).

appropriate, namely by offering mediation steps to the two countries and followed by its ability to act as the organizer and guarantor of the implementation of the mediation. This initiative, in the form of an offer, is referred to as "good offices," which seeks to invite and bring together parties to communicate and negotiate to reach a mutual agreement based on the principles of international law regarding peaceful dispute resolution.

International law has played a role in providing basic rules for disputing countries to resolve their disputes. In the UN Charter, there are two obligations to adopt peaceful methods of resolving disputes. Specifically, Article 2, paragraph (3) of the UN Charter states that: "All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, are not endangered". The word "shall" in the sentence above is one of the keywords that obliges countries to only use peaceful methods in resolving their disputes. Other obligations contained in the charter are contained in Article 2, paragraph (4). This article states that in international relations, all countries must refrain from using violent methods, namely threats and the use of weapons against other countries, or methods that are not following the goals of the United Nations. Furthermore, Article 33 of the UN Charter regulates diplomatic dispute resolution and legal dispute resolution. Diplomatic dispute resolution includes negotiation, mediation, good offices, conciliation, and inquiry. Meanwhile, legal dispute resolution includes arbitration and court.¹⁹ Thus, Turkey's policy as a third party in good offices has reflected its role actively and in good faith to resolve disputes between conflicting parties peacefully in such a way that international peace and security, also justice are not threatened. In addition, Turkey's actions have demonstrated compliance with the principles and obligations of international law as a member of the United Nations.

Another benchmark for Turkey to use to determine its foreign policy in addressing this conflict is its national interest. Maintaining Turkey's economic, political, and security stability is vital amid conflict. This is because any response to this conflict is likely to exacerbate Turkey's relations with Russia, Ukraine, and other Western countries. Therefore, considering that Turkey has close relations with Russia and Ukraine, a neutral position will be a good choice for Turkey to avoid a crucial country's economic and political crisis. Moreover, several important cooperative relations exist, such as the gas supply from Russia through the Blue Stream that passes through the Black Sea and Ukraine, the Turkish Stream, the Akuyuu Nuclear Station, and other constructions. To convince and confirm this position, Turkey has offered and demonstrated its willingness to host a mediation organizer capable of providing space for both parties to negotiate. In addition, Turkey does not only benefit from protecting its national interests, but its offer has also received attention and a positive response from Russia, Ukraine, and the international community. Then, Russia and Ukraine also responded to Turkey's initiative by agreeing to attend and conduct mediation to be held in Turkey.

3.2 Turkey's Capability to Carry Out the Good Offices Initiative in The Russia-Ukraine Conflict Resolution Approach in 2022

¹⁹ Rudi Natamiharja et al., *Hukum Penyelesaian Sengketa Internasional*, 2nd ed. (Pusaka Media, 2022), <http://repository.lppm.unila.ac.id/48038/1/HPSI.pdf>.

Based on Article 2, paragraph (4) of the UN Charter, it is emphasized that a state is not justified in using threats or violence against the territorial integrity or political independence of other countries or in any way contrary to the purposes of the United Nations. Therefore, as part of the international community, it is appropriate to be aware of the magnitude of the adverse effects of this ongoing war and direct oneself to decide on the settlement of all disputes in a peaceful manner. In this case, international law rules also regulate forms of peaceful dispute resolution, which can be found in the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes of 1899 and 1907; UNGA Resolutions 2627 (XXV) of October 24, 1970; UNGA Resolutions 2744 (XXV) of December 16, 1970; and UNGA Resolutions 2625 (XXV) on the Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States under the charter of the United Nations. Furthermore, G. Starke has grouped some methods of peaceful or amicable settlement of international disputes, which include arbitration, judicial settlement, negotiation, good offices, mediation, conciliation, investigation, and settlement under the auspices of the United Nations organization.²⁰

In this Russian-Ukrainian conflict, Turkey responded with its readiness to offer mediation efforts on the conflict, better known as "good offices." Good offices are defined as attempts by third parties to assist or facilitate negotiations without engaging in discussions about the substance or subject matter of the dispute. The third party's position is only that of a facilitator and provides a communication channel that the disputing parties can use to implement the negotiation process.²¹ Just as Turkey is one of the countries that have much involvement in the international world through its foreign policy, including diplomatic relations, so are the things that Turkey does to initiate good offices to mediate between the two parties in dispute between Russia and Ukraine part of its diplomatic relations.

The mediation that will be held in Turkey raises questions for the international community regarding Turkey's capability as good offices initiator in efforts to resolve the Russia-Ukraine conflict because Turkey will be the venue for the mediation meeting. In fact, Turkey's ability to be good offices, which will later accommodate the mediation of the two disputing parties, will be closely related to its position in addressing the conflict. In this case, the positive side that can be seen is Turkey's neutrality, which means that it fulfills the good criteria of being the organizer of the mediation and even as a mediator. Turkey is indeed opposed to Russia's actions in attacking Ukraine, especially from a humanitarian perspective, although Turkey is also reluctant to impose sanctions on Russia. In contrast to the Western sanctions aimed at Russia, Turkey has maintained an impartial and independent attitude, has not agreed with the West to take steps to terminate or restrict, and adheres to or follows the Montreux Convention. In addition, the Turkish government and people do not propagate anti-Russian movements against Russia's actions in Ukraine. Turkey's activities and balanced status are one of the bases or reasons for the Russian-Ukrainian peace talks in Istanbul.

Besides, Turkey's neutrality is supported by its strategic territory, and the readiness of Turkey's initiative in holding mediation is enough to give confidence to both the warring countries and the world about Turkey's seriousness in maximizing its efforts in resolving

²⁰ G Starke, J, *Pengantar Hukum Internasional*, kesepuluh (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2007).

²¹ Lady Afny Surya Pesik, "Penerapan Hukum Internasional Dalam Menyelesaikan Sengketa Internasional Israel Dan Palestina," *Lex Privatum* VI, no. 10 (2018): 78, <https://ejournal.unsrat.ac.id/index.php/lexetsocietatis/article/view/21403>.

conflicts. Not only that, but Turkey's strong military will ensure the continuity of mediation from all external threats. Thus, Turkey will help organize the meeting between the Russian and Ukrainian delegations as effectively and efficiently as possible. In this regard, President Erdogan has repeatedly stated through firm statements in the media that Turkey will not abandon its relations with Russia or Ukraine. Erdogan assured that Ankara's competence and ability to communicate with both sides is a valuable asset.²²

3.3 Turkey's Role and Contribution while Pursuing the Implementation of Good Offices Initiative in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict Resolution Approach in 2022

Turkey's offer to help find a solution through mediation for the Russia-Ukraine conflict has been accepted and it has successfully carried out negotiations with Turkey as the host. On March 10, 2022, Turkey held a trilateral meeting in the southern city of Antalya with the Ukrainian foreign affairs minister (Dmytro Kuleba) and the Russian foreign affairs minister (Sergei Lavrov). However, unfortunately, the meeting has not made any progress toward creating a ceasefire between the two parties.²³ Furthermore, on March 29, 2022, Turkey again became the venue for negotiations between the two sides in Istanbul, which were attended by Russian and Ukrainian delegations, respectively. Ukrainian negotiator Mykhailo Podolyak, who met his Russian counterpart in Istanbul, said efforts for a ceasefire to deal with humanitarian issues and security guarantees were the subject of discussion between the Russian and Ukrainian delegations. As for quoting VOA Indonesia, the results of the mediation can be summarised in 5 (five) points, namely:²⁴

1. Russia agrees to reduce attacks on Ukraine.

Peace talks between the Ukrainian and Russian delegations in Istanbul were successfully carried out on March 29, 2022. The first agreement was to significantly reduce military operations in the city of Chernihiv (Northern Ukraine) and the capital city of Kyiv. The declaration was delivered directly by Russian Deputy Minister of Defense Alexander Fomin as evidence of an excellent first step to further suppress armed contact between troops.

2. Ukraine's commitment to Russia

The Ukrainian side has committed to Russia to discourage its intention to join the NATO military alliance.

3. Negotiations are one of Russia's ways to limit the expansion of conflict zones.

The head of the Russian delegation, Vladimir Medinsky, explained that negotiations will always be the primary consideration for Russia in the hope of finding a joint agreement while trying to take steps to reduce the escalation of conflict zones in the region.

²² Danur Lambang, "Mediasi Rusia-Ukraina, Erdogan Kirim Menlu Turki Ke Moskwa Dan Kyiv," Kompas.com, 2022, <https://www.kompas.com/global/read/2022/03/16/144600570/mediasi-rusia-ukraina-erdogan-kirim-menlu-turki-ke-moskwa-dan-kyiv>.

²³ Fransisca Romana, "Menlu Rusia Dan Ukraina Bertemu Di Turki," Kompas.com, 2022, <https://www.kompas.id/baca/internasional/2022/03/10/menlu-rusia-dan-ukraina-bertemu-di-turki>.

²⁴ Devira Prastiwi, "5 Hasil Perundingan Negosiasi Damai Rusia Dan Ukraina Di Turki," Liputan6.com, 2022, <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/4925909/5-hasil-perundingan-negosiasi-damai-rusia-dan-ukraina-di-turki>.

4. Discussion on the security guarantee state for Ukraine

Ukraine confirmed its belief in the decision to have neutral status on the condition that there must be a guarantor for security and state sovereignty. Whereas a member of the Ukrainian delegation, Mykhailo Podolyak, said Germany, Turkey, and Poland were strong candidates as guarantor countries. Therefore, it will be discussed further in a forum that brings together the delegates, the President, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and representatives of the guarantor countries to make the decision.

5. Ukraine will continue to demand complete peace throughout its sovereign territory.

The Ukrainian delegation's leader urged or demanded that Russia withdraw its troops from all of Ukraine as soon as possible so that Ukrainian citizens fleeing could return to their homes and begin the country's constructive recovery.

Mediation efforts between Russia and Ukraine were still far from expectations because the two countries were still at odds. Putin wants Kyiv to be neutral and not lean toward the West. However, on the other hand, Ukraine still wants to try to become part of other European countries rather than siding with Russia. This can be seen in Ukraine's actions in receiving military assistance from Western countries and continuing its preparations to register with the European Union. Putin does have strong reasons to force Kyiv not to become part of the West. One of the most crucial is the position of the two countries which border each other, so it will be a significant danger for Moscow if NATO already owns Ukraine. Because of this, the Russian attacks have continued until now, and there has been no attempt at a ceasefire to end the conflict. However, despite this, Turkey is still trying to provide space for Russia and Ukraine to reach a mutual agreement.

Then on occasion, there was also a Minister of Defense for Turkey who tried to communicate with Russia regarding several crucial matters, especially the global food crisis due to the conflict. The subject of discussion was the decision to suspend the grain deal, which had stalled since the start of the military operation in February. In this case, the signing of the Initiative on the Safe Transportation of Grain and Foodstuffs from Ukrainian Ports Document was carried out by President Erdogan, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, and representatives from Russia and Ukraine at the Turkish Presidential Palace Dolmabahce on July 22, 2022. According to the agreement, coordinating centers were established at each entry and exit gate of the Ukrainian ports of Odesa, Chernomorsk, and Yuzhny to provide navigation and joint monitoring and maximize the grain export route's security. Not only that, but it also includes written guarantees that Ukraine will not use sea routes for military action against Russia. This makes it important for Russia to be sure to open the blockade of the Black Sea ports so that export activities can restart. Therefore, based on this agreement, Russia reapproved the implementation of grain exports through the Black Sea as was done in the previous manner, which later became known as the Black Sea Grain Initiative. However, the grain export expedition will be prioritized for African countries, including Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, and other impoverished countries worldwide. It aims to tackle and prevent more severe hunger in impoverished countries and reduce sharp increases in global food prices

by bringing more wheat, sunflower oil, and fertilizer supplies to world markets.²⁵ Meanwhile, initially, the agreement will last for 120 days, and its continuation will also depend on developments in the conditions of the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian conflict, so it is hoped that things will not occur that can suspend the agreement, and even better if there is an extension of the agreement.

The agreement that has been made is a good first step for both parties and even other countries, considering that there has been a global economic and food crisis and high inflation after the closure of exports from Ukraine. Thus, this is good news for the economy because it reduces the impact of the Russia-Ukraine conflict on world food security. The United States, the European Union, the African Union, the United Nations, and other countries also commended and thanked Turkey for its efforts, which had played an important role in mediation to create the grain export agreement. Nevertheless, Turkey's efforts will not stop there because, until now, there are still military operations and attacks in Ukraine. Therefore, this time, Turkey is seeking a direct meeting between President Putin and Zelensky to sit down and negotiate a ceasefire. As for all the actions that Turkey has taken so far, they need to be appreciated, and the hope is that the two countries can find the best solution through peaceful means and stop the war.

4. Conclusion

Turkey, as an independent country, has made it its foreign policy to position itself as a neutral party in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, even offering mediation for the two parties to negotiate with each other. This decision cannot be separated from Turkey's foreign policy principles, which include zero problems with neighbours, outreach to adjacent regions, a multi-dimensional foreign policy, and rhythmic diplomacy. In responding to this conflict, Turkey also prefers to prioritize its national interests, namely maintaining economic stability and defending its country from the economic and political crises caused by the conflict, so Turkey emphasizes that it will not abandon its relations with Russia or Ukraine. Then this condition was also supported by the powerlessness of the United Nations to resolve the conflict, which further strengthened Turkey's belief not to take sides with anyone and try to be actively involved by offering good offices to end the conflict peacefully. Turkey's balance in responding to conflicts without taking sides with one of the parties has demonstrated neutrality as good offices initiator and even a mediator. Furthermore, Turkey's role and contribution can be seen in Turkey's success in holding peace talks on March 10, 2022, in the city of Antalya and March 29, 2022, in Istanbul. Even though the peaceful outcome that was decided has not ended the conflict's ceasefire, Turkey has succeeded in holding a mediation that runs smoothly and is conducive. This can be seen in Turkey's efforts to provide a good place for delegates to communicate, maintain the security of mediation, and successfully bring the two parties together to negotiate. Furthermore, Turkey also succeeded in reviving the grain export agreement (Black Sea Grain Initiative) between Russia and Ukraine, which had stalled, so that the Black Sea Port could be opened for food shipments to various countries and impoverished countries to overcome the global economic and food crises. Apart from that, until now, Turkey is still trying to mediate the two parties again and even wants to bring President

²⁵ DW, "Rusia Sepakat Lanjut Kesepakatan Ekspor Gandum Ukraina," *Liputan6.com*, 2022, <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/5115297/rusia-sepakat-lanjut-kesepakatan-ekspor-gandum-ukraina>.

Putin and Zelensky together to communicate with each other and agree on several important matters so that they can immediately end this ongoing conflict.

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