

RUSSIA'S SOFT SECURITY POLICY: 2000 – 2012

Murat Yorulmaz

Trakya University, Edirne (Turkey)
muratyorulmaz2288@hotmail.com

Rezumat: În era post-sovietică, Rusia s-a confruntat cu mai multe amenințări asimetrice care nu pot fi anihilate prin utilizarea forțelor convenționale. Mai ales după atacurile teroriste de la 11 septembrie 2001 din SUA, sub președinția lui Vladimir Putin, Rusia a conștientizat rolul puterii non-militare în definirea unui loc cât mai important în sistemul internațional. Așadar, acest articol încearcă să analizeze schimbarea strategiei de securitate națională a Rusiei în timpul președinției lui Putin și nevoia de redefinire a conceptului de securitate națională.

Articolul își propune să explice politica rusă de securitate de tip „soft” promovată în timpul lui Vladimir Putin și să examineze principalele amenințări de tip soft la adresa Rusiei, precum și modul în care acestea au fost contracarate în perioada post-sovietică. Spre deosebire de principalul curent din literatura de specialitate care sugerează că, din cauza contextului istoric și a factorilor geopolitici, Rusia s-a concentrat exclusiv pe problemele de securitate de tip hard, în cadrul politicilor sale naționale de securitate, articolul argumentează faptul că, sub președinția lui Putin, în conformitate cu politicile de securitate națională, pe lângă politica de securitate de tip hard, Rusia a început să acorde o importanță mai mare securității de tip soft. Printre provocările de tip soft la adresa securității, Rusia acordă întâietate terorismului, criminalității transnaționale organizate și securității energetice.

Abstract: In the post-Soviet era, Russia has encountered several asymmetric threats which cannot be solved by using conventional forces. Especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the U.S., Russia has recognized the importance of non-military power to find a powerful place in international system under Vladimir Putin presidency. In that respect, this article seeks to analyse changing Russia's national security strategy during Putin presidency and need to redefine its national security concept.

The article aims to explain Russian soft security policy under Vladimir Putin and examines the basic soft security threats which Russia has encountered and how it fought against these threats in the post-Soviet era. Contrary to the mainstream literature suggesting that Russia has focused exclusively on hard security issues within its national security policies due to its historical background and geopolitical factors, the article argues that Russia started to give more importance to soft security besides hard security in its national security policies since Putin's presidency. Among soft security challenges, Russia prioritizes especially terrorism, transnational organized crime and energy security.

Résumé: Pendant l'ère postsoviétique, la Russie se confronta avec plusieurs menaces asymétriques, qu'on ne pouvait pas annihiler par l'utilisation des forces conventionnelles.

Surtout après les attaques terroristes de 11 septembre 2001 des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, sous la présidence de Vladimir Putin, la Russie réalisa l'importance de la puissance non militaire dans la définition d'une place plus importante dans le système international. Donc, l'article ci-joint essaie à analyser le changement de la stratégie de sécurité nationale de la Russie pendant le mandat de Putin et le besoin de redéfinir le concept de sécurité nationale.

L'article se propose d'expliquer la politique russe de sécurité de type *soft* promue pendant Vladimir Putin et à examiner les principales menaces de type *soft* à l'adresse de la Russie, ainsi que la manière dans laquelle, dans la période postsoviétique, celle-ci les contrecarra. A l'encontre du principal courant de la littérature de spécialité qui suggère qu'à cause du contexte historique et des facteurs géopolitiques, la Russie s'est concentrée exclusivement sur les problèmes de sécurité de type *hard*, dans le cadre de ses politiques nationales de sécurité, l'article soutient le fait, que, sous la présidence de Vladimir Putin, conformément aux politiques de sécurité nationale, auprès de la politique de sécurité *hard*, la Russie commença à accorder une importance accrue à la sécurité *soft*. Parmi les provocations de type *soft* à l'adresse de la sécurité, la Russie mit entre ses priorités, en spécial, le terrorisme, la criminalité transnationale organisée et la sécurité énergétique.

Keywords: *Russia, Soft Security, Terrorism, Transnational Organized Crime, Energy Security*

Introduction

Contrary to mainstream literature on the importance of hard security in Russia, the article argues that soft security policy is as important as hard security for Russia during Putin era. According to the typical arguments, defining national security led to emergence of military concerns.

Bobo Lo has marked in his book *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy* continuation of the Soviet worldview of Russia. Although positive-sum outcomes with Western countries, Russia has given priority to hard security interests such as nuclear stability, proliferation of weapons and building stable and equal military relations with the U.S. and NATO¹.

Luke March is another mainstream scholar who analyses Russian national security strategy. Firstly, March emphasized Putin's book *Russia's at the Turn of Millennium* which is published in 2000 in his work *Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations*. According to March's interpretation, Putin's security thinking displays more continuity than change. Putin focuses on Russia's domestic crisis to maintain domestic sovereignty and autonomous development². Furthermore, March mentions that Putin's national security perception was based on pragmatism

¹ Bobo Lo, *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003, p. 72.

² Luke March, *Security Strategy and the Russia Problem*, in Roland Dannreuther and John Peterson (eds.), *Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations*, New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2006, p. 102.

and ensured national interest. In this context, Russia is still against the U.S./Western alliances and need to balance relations³.

Flemming S. Hansen focusing on the 2003 Military Modernisation Strategy stipulated that Russia had right to apply pre-emptive military strikes against military threats within its borders and destroy terrorists⁴. For Hansen, Russia has legitimized the use of all means of the destruction of terrorists after the Beslan siege and shows its real aim worldwide⁵.

Andrew Monaghan argues that Russia has poor soft security policy. For him, Russia has tendency to see soft security for wealthy countries and prefer short-term militarised solutions. Russia has small developments on as regards to cooperation with other countries about soft security issues, human rights dialogue and other soft security threats. Moreover, he criticised Russia:

*Russia's position on soft security matters has often fluctuated between interest and almost complete ambivalence and after interest has remained merely rhetorical. The low prioritization of soft security matters is reflected in budgetary commitments - they remain badly financed by the Russian government and budget allocations are rarely disbursed in full. Military security remains predominant focus and will continue to be so in the near future.*⁶

Donald M. Snow is another mainstream scholar who is interested in globalization and national security in his book *National Security for a New Era*. Snow defined national security as a whole perception. The military concerns are the traditional and functional matter of national security. In this context, soft security implementations are part of traditional security as under the subject of new additions to the national security agenda⁷. He added that there were three vital security threats which were related to globalization; energy security, environmental security and cyber security. They do not totally concern hard security but, Snow emphasized the need for non-traditional policy of national security. However, hard security does not lose its value and importance⁸.

In the light of above discussion, contrary to mainstream arguments, the study argues that the concept of soft security has a vital importance to provide strong national security for Russia in post-Soviet era. In that respect, determination of Russia's soft security threats demonstrates the necessity to cooperate with other countries, as Russia needs to establish high-level relations in

³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁴ Flemming S. Hansen, *In the Transatlantic Gap*, Russia in Global Affairs, Dec.11, 2004, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/9/710.html> (Accessed July 21, 2012).

⁵ *Ibid.*, (Accessed July 21, 2012).

⁶ Andrew Monaghan, *Russian Perspectives of Russia-EU Security Relations*, Agentura. Russian Studies and Research Center, Russian Series, no.5/38 (2005), p. 5, <http://studies.agentura.ru/centres/csrc/perspectives.pdf>. (Accessed July 21, 2012).

⁷ Donald M. Snow, *National Security for a New Era: Globalization and Geopolitics*, New York: Pearson Education, 2006, p. 147.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

order to create functional soft security protection which was created in Russia during Putin presidency.

Until the end of the Cold War, security was defined only in the military arena. According to Ullman, security is not composed of only military matters. When he wrote his article in 1983 during the Cold War era, he referred re-definition of security as changing arms like nuclear arms and techniques⁹. Furthermore; he added that:

Over the past decade or so a vast array of public interest organizations has begun to put forward alternate conceptions of national security. Nearly, all are devoted to particular issues- limiting population growth, enhancing environmental quality, eradicating World hunger, protecting human right and the like. Some are overt lobbies expressly seeking to alter political outcomes. Other devotes themselves to research and educational activities. But they are equally concerned with governmental behaviour. Jointly they have succeeded substantially raising public awareness of the vulnerability of the society to a variety of harms non-military in nature, and of the limitation of military instruments for coping with many types of political problems¹⁰.

New liberal politics has compassed around the world in the 1980s and increased the value of human being as well as non-military matters. Hard security is still important for all countries¹¹. In that respect, the scholars start to emphasize non-military issues much more.

It is worth mentioning to state that countries need to solve security problems not only to fight against or be protected from another states, but also to fulfil their responsibilities towards their citizens in terms of ensuring their safety. Building a hard military capacity is not enough in the said process. Countries need to include other security items and actions in their programme such as laws which are considered as important outputs. For instance; saving from earthquake can only be possible by having hardy structures constructed and builders must adhere the rules how to build enduring houses and buildings.

Cooperation with other countries and mutual interdependency are basic ways to fight against soft security threats. In this respect, John Pinder emphasized in his article Russia's role in generating a common strategy to build a safe and stable world system¹². After the September 11, 2001 Russia started to give importance to cooperate with regional partners and international actors for political and security issues. For Pinder, Russian willingness to cooperate and join partnerships should be supported by Western countries¹³.

⁹ Richard H. Ullman, *Redefining Security*, International Security, no.8/1 (1983), p. 138.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 152-153.

¹¹ Torbjon L. Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 351.

¹² John Pinder, *EU-Russia Partnership as a Pillar Building a Safe and Stable World System*, in *The EU & Russia The Promise of Partnership*, John Pinder and Yuri Shishkov, London: The Federal Trust for Education and Research, 2002, p. 135.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Andrei Zagorski mentioned in his article that Russia is one of countries who try to develop its soft security policies¹⁴. Russia is ready to be a strategic partner of the European Union in terms of economic cooperation. Thus, Russia has supported agreements and scientific explorations concerning science, aircraft, space and energy¹⁵.

Russian National Security Concept, Military Doctrine and the Foreign Policy Concept (2000)

Russian National Security Doctrines are important to emphasize all policies of Russia as the doctrines highlight the priorities of Russian Government. Moreover, the development of the country can be understood by investigating the doctrines. On the other hand, the implications of doctrines are very important. Namely, it should reflect the reality of the country.

In general, there are four basic documents to analyse national security of Russia; Russian Security Blueprint Concepts 2000, Concept of the World in the 21st Century, Russia's Development Strategy to the year 2010 and Foreign Policy of Russia. In addition to that, Russian Security Concepts 1997 and The May 2000 Russian Military Doctrine has crucial importance to see the whole picture. Under those doctrines, hard and soft security issues are analysed.

According to Russian National Security Concept (2000) which was approved by Russia's Security Council on 5 October 1999, national security of Russia is a system of view explaining how to provide security of the individual, society and the State against external and internal threats in any aspect of life and activity in Russia¹⁶.

Putin's national security policy is more realistic and brief when compared to Yeltsin's. Furthermore, security becomes more important issue during Putin era. In order to understand Putin's contribution to Russian national security, National Security Concept 1997 and National Security Concept 2000 needs to be compared¹⁷. The perception of the World in the eye of Russia has become more complex and in 2000, its position became stronger than 1997. Both 1997 and 2000 versions of the National Security Concept underline the importance of economic interests¹⁸. Basically, Russia has re-recognized its geo-politics and economic importance in the World. In the framework of soft security, Russia has added their doctrines several updated information such as economy, environment and new non-military threats.

¹⁴ Andrei Zagorski, *Policies towards Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus*, in Roland Danreuther (ed.), *European Union Foreign and Security Policy*, New York: Routledge Francis and Taylor Group, 2004, p. 83.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁶ *Russian National Security Concept-2000*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html> (Accessed July 17, 2012).

¹⁷ Jakup M. Godzimirski, *Russian National Security Concepts 1997-2000: A Comparative Analysis*, in "European Security", no. 9/4 (2000), p. 83.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

In the first part of the Russian National Security Concept 2000, the new world order as a multi-polar system which shares economy, politics, technology, science, environment and information were mentioned. In addition to that, international law is the basic point to build state relations. Nevertheless, military force and violence remain substantial aspects of international relations.

The Russian National Security Concept 2000 directly emphasizes domination of the West. Western countries believe that the new world order involved the leadership of their power, especially the U.S. Therefore, based on their military capacity, they want to govern the World using their own way and own interest.

During Putin presidency, Russia's foreign policy turned out to be more active and aggressive¹⁹. Following active policies in the region and in the World, Russia has connoted what kind of policy towards the U.S. to be pursued; decision on cooperation and peaceful relations in the international arena or ignoring the region and decrease the impact of NATO.

Putin trained as a KGB spy and the KGB had always seen the U.S. as an enemy. Putin could not completely ignore his training. However, he also recognizes the benefits of U.S. for Russia. Moreover, Putin explored the multi-polar alternatives to domination of the international system by the U.S.²⁰. Russia has recognized its geopolitical and historical importance in international arena. Russia wants to be integrated to the world economy and financial institutions and fight for the same interests such as international terrorism, regional conflicts, proliferation of mass destruction weapons, illegal trafficking of drugs, ecological problems, nuclear and radiation threats²¹.

Furthermore, Russia minds World stability and mentions protecting the environment. For example; The Duma ratified the Kyoto Protocol which is an agreement concluded under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Countries which ratify the protocol promise to reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide and five other greenhouse gases (GHG), or engage in emissions trading if they maintain or increase emissions of these greenhouse gases on 11 December 1997 by the 3rd Conference of the Parties, which met in Kyoto, and it entered into force on 16 February 2005. As of June 2008, 182 parties have ratified the protocol. Putin approved the treaty on 4 November 2004 and Russia officially notified the United Nations of its ratification on 18 November 2004²².

¹⁹ Tom Streissguth, *Vladimir Putin, Chapter Eight: Facing Down Terrorism*, Minneapolis, Lerner Publication Company, 2005, p. 89.

²⁰ Elle Akerman and Graeme P. Herd, *Russian Foreign Policy: the CIS and the Baltic States*, in *Russian Politics* under Putin ed. Cameron Ross., Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 278.

²¹ *Russian National Security Concept-2000*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html> (Accessed July 17, 2012).

²² *Kyoto Protocol Status of Ratification*, UNFCCC, http://unfccc.int/files/kyoto_protocol/status_of_ratification/application/pdf/kp_ratification.pdf (Accessed July 20, 2012).

Some scholars have criticized Russia for not doing anything in practice. Environmental concerns are not among the top priorities in Russia. People are worried about unemployment, poverty, gap between rich and poor than environmental problems. Moreover, the Government does not take any actions to raise awareness on protecting the environment²³.

Second part of national security concept is national interests; its national interests are to combine individual, public and the State at economic, politic, national and international levels. There are short-term and long-term interests which are tried to be reached. It is highlighted that national interests are secured by institutions of State authority.

At individual level, Russia needs to reach constitutional rights and freedoms, including living in a secure arena with high-quality life standard. Democracy, rule of law and social state are Russia's interests at public level. Furthermore, sovereignty and ensuring territorial integrity, political, economic and social stability are Russia's interests at State level. Russian national security interest is only reached by sustainable economic development. Military capacity and State authority are necessary for people's welfare and freedom.

The doctrine directly emphasizes Russia's position as a great power and one of the influential centres of multi-polar world. Another important national interest of Russia is using information. Modern telecommunications system is the right of public. However, State's information resources are needed to be protected from unauthorized access. Its military sphere and border policy are directly related with its national interest. Russia has given importance to its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Moreover, prevention of military aggressions against itself or its allies is necessary to ensure peaceful and democratic development of State.

Russia's national interests in border policy are composed of soft security applications; the establishment of political, legal, organizational and other conditions are the ways to ensure reliable protection of the state borders²⁴. Russia has recognized non-military matters to solve security threats in long-term. In that respect, the doctrine strongly emphasizes Chechen problem. Russia needs to generate its soft security matters to focus on Chechen problem in depth.

The third part mentions Russia's internal and external threats. All these threats set a barrier against ensuring stable gross domestic product, investments and innovation. Agriculture and banking system, as two most important sectors, have to be protected from these threats. Russia recognizes the importance of raw material for

²³ Alain Bernard, Sergey Paltsev, John M. Reilly, Marc Vielle and Laurent Viguier, *Russia's Role in The Kyoto Protocol*, MIT Joint Program on the Science and Policy of Global Change, Report No.98 (June, 2003), p. 4, http://web.mit.edu/globalchange/www/MITJPSPGC_Rpt98.pdf (Accessed July 17, 2012).

²⁴ *Russian National Security Concept-2000*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html> (Accessed July 17, 2012).

their country and the world supply as well. In this scope, Russia's internal and external threats cause security problem for all countries. The doctrine explains this point as in the following:

The condition of the national economy and incomplete nature of the system and structure of the authorities of state and of society, social and political polarization of society and criminalization of social relations, the growth of organized crime and terrorism and a deterioration in intercommunal and international relations are all creating a broad range of internal and external threats to the country's security²⁵.

Russia has not given fair quarter to ethno-egoism, ethnocentrism and chauvinism, moreover uncontrolled migration promote nationalism, political and religious extremism and ethnoseparatism, and create a breeding ground for conflicts, organized crime and terrorism. Territorial integrity and CIS countries' situation are the basic points for perceiving national threat, considering Russia as the largest country in the World.

Russia has recognized the importance of reforms at state, society and individual levels. Furthermore, internal threats are derived from the relationship between the State and public. Problems can only be solved by means of strong communication and interaction. The doctrine shows that Russia started to give much more importance to soft security to ensure stability.

In the fourth part, ways and means of ensuring national interests of individual, society and state are mentioned. It is taken place for the targets in order to ensure national interests.

The doctrine mentions several points:

- to promptly detect and identify external and internal threats to national security;
- to take short- and long-term action to avert and remove internal and external threats;
- to ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Russia and the security of its border lands;
- to improve the economy and pursue an independent and socially-oriented economic policy;
- to overcome the Russia's scientific and technological dependence on external sources.

The doctrine included:

- ✓ to ensure citizens' personal security and constitutional rights and freedoms in Russia;
- ✓ to improve the system of state power in the Russia, the system of federal relations and local self-government and legislation;
- ✓ to create harmonious relations between communities, and to strengthen law and order and preserve socio-political stability in society;

²⁵ *Ibid.*

- ✓ to ensure unwavering compliance with Russia legislation by all citizens and officials, state bodies, political parties and public and religious organizations;
- ✓ to ensure Russia's cooperation, especially with the world's leading countries, on equal and mutually advantageous terms;
- ✓ to increase State's military potential and maintaining it at a sufficient level²⁶.

Russia has focused on the State as the guarantor of the individual and the society. Moreover, it should strengthen the role of the State in every sector such as military and economy. Therefore, it managed to protect rights of each of the different groups. In the doctrine, Russia's multi-national structure is emphasized. In addition to that the role of individual and their rights are accepted. Those subjects are evaluated through strengthening State authority²⁷.

Military Doctrine 2000, which was approved in February 2000 by the Russian Security Council, is a part of Russian National Security Concept 2000. Chechen conflict caused to generate military doctrine for Russia²⁸, since Russia has given importance to its territorial integrity on their national security interest and perceived oppositions towards the State as a threat.

In post-Soviet era, Russia's military aim depends on its safeguarding. Furthermore, Russia tries to integrate peace-keeping activities for universal peace. Russia has continued to develop the necessary military infrastructure to protect its citizens from military threats. On the other hand, the aim of being a democratic country has found a place on its Military Doctrine 2000. The doctrine explains that with these sentences:

*The Military Doctrine is a document for a transnational period - the period of the formation of democratic statehood and mixed economy, the transformation of the state's military organization and the dynamic transformation of the system of international relations*²⁹.

Under military subject, it is beneficial to mention "Security Dilemma". Citizens would like to live peaceful arena but, wars are another reality of the World.

Throughout the history, wars and security have been the basic subject. Therefore, up to today, although it changes form, weapons still remain as important assets for the States. It is possible that countries' security practices could be perceived as a threat by other countries. Therefore, military doctrines are crucial for state interests. On the other hand, states have encountered several problems which cannot be solved using military

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Osman Metin Öztürk, *Rusya Federasyonu Askeri Doktrini* [Military Doctrine of Russian Federation], Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2001, p. 24.

²⁸ Mustafa Kibaroglu, *Rusya'nın Yeni Ulusal Güvenlik Konsepti ve Askeri Doktrini* [New National Security Concept and Military Doctrine of Russian Federation], "Avrasya Dosyası": Rusya Özel, no.6/4, 2000, p. 99.

²⁹ *Russian Military Doctrine*, Arms Control Association, (May, 2000) <http://www.armscontrol.org/act/200005/dc3ma00.asp?print> (Accessed August 08, 2012).

matters. Under this complex prevention system, states have to prepare multi-functional documents to ensure high security in their country. Both hard and soft security is the key policies to provide comprehensive security. In the future, it is argued that planning security policies will be based on less military security³⁰.

The Military Doctrine 2000 is composed of internal and external threats of facing Russia. The aim of Russian military force is not to attack any country, but to safeguard Russia. Border instability, hostile information, discrimination of Russian citizens in any country, any extremist movement based on religion or ethnicity, terrorism, illegal international trafficking are the threats for Russia³¹. The main goal of Russian military doctrine:

*The Russian Federation views the safeguarding of its military security within the context of building a democratic rule-of-law state, implementing socio-economic reform, asserting the principles of equal partnership, mutually advantageous cooperation and good-neighbourliness in international relations, consistently shaping an overall and comprehensive international security system and preserving and strengthening universal peace*³².

Russia has participated in some major multilateral arms control agreements and treaties: Biological Weapons Convention signed in 1972, Chemical Weapons Convention signed in 1993, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996, Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in 1968, Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons in 1981 and Outer Space Treaty in 1967. Furthermore, it is the member of Missile Technology Control Regime, Nuclear Supplier Group, International Atomic Energy Agency and Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism are some examples³³.

There are several examples to show Russian effort to ensure regional and global stability in the World with bilateral or regional agreements. Firstly, Russia has built regional cooperation and it also tries to play a more active role in the cooperative structures and systems. For example, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was established in 2001 to stabilize the region with its six members, sixth member Uzbekistan included in the organization later and other members are Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan as full member and India, Pakistan, Mongolia and Iran having observer status³⁴. It is an important organization to set Russian and Chinese relations in the region. The membership of the same military organization also provides peace and decrease the level of conflict in the region. Some authors have claimed that the aim of the organization was to reduce U.S. power in the region. For example; after 2005 Summit of SCO, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan asked the U.S.

³⁰ Hüseyin Bağcı, *Güvenlik Politikaları ve Risk Analizi Çerçevesinde Balkanlar (1991-1993)* [Security Politics and Balkans by the context of Risk Analysis (1991-1993)], Ankara: Dış Politika Enstitüsü, 1994, p. 4.

³¹ *Russian Military Doctrine*, Arms Control Association, (May 2000) <http://www.armscontrol.org/act/200005/dc3ma00.asp?print> (Accessed August 08, 2012).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ İlyas Kamalov, *Rusya'nın Orta Asya Politikası* [Russia's Central Asia Policy], in "Stratejik Analiz", no.8/89, 2007, p. 88.

to vacate their military base. Putin gives much importance to SCO, he emphasized that SCO was not fighting terrorism but since it is in the economic zone SCO's aim and capacity needed to be developed in 2004³⁵.

Secondly, concerning the Black Sea region, Turkey and Russia have built partnership on military and non-military issues. Black Sea Economic Cooperation is beneficial to generate soft security issues in the region such as international terrorism, organized crime, energy, transformation and disaster management³⁶. Moreover, in hard security issue coastal states to Black Sea have generated military relations to secure the region. BLACKSEAFOR was established in 2001 in Istanbul in which Russia participated³⁷.

Thirdly, Putin has emphasized the importance of Far Eastern countries in this sentence; "Give importance to Far East, otherwise 50 years then today you will start to speak Chinese, Japanese and Korean"³⁸. The Shanghai Five was a border negotiation between Soviet Union and China. After independence, China and Russia agreed to continue border negotiations with three newly independent Central Asian countries- Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Moreover, China, Russia and these three countries signed an agreement on confidence-building in the military sphere in the border areas in 1996. In 1997 they signed "The Agreement on the Mutual Reduction of Military Forces in Border Areas"³⁹.

After dissolution of the Soviet Union, successor states have encountered transition process in every area of their life and state ruling. Concept of the World in the 21st Century which was approved by presidential decree no.1300 of 17 December 1999 shows the Russian perception of the new world system. Furthermore, new threats impend national security policy of all countries. New threats in soft security issue can be assessed. The Concept of the World in 21st Century explains new system and new threats which all countries have encountered:

With globalization, international security is becoming increasingly indivisible. In this context, a political structure of the world order should meet the requirements of its practical implementation. It is important that all states be equally protected against modern risks and threats and bear common responsibility for their elimination. Thus, the world community faces to imperative of establishing a cooperative mechanism to manage the globalization process⁴⁰.

³⁵ Putin Calls for Closer Cooperation of Shanghai Members, Gateway to Russia (2004), http://www.gateway2russia.com/st/art_243211.php (Accessed August 10, 2012).

³⁶ Oktay Firat Tanrisever, *Sovyet Sonrası Dönemde Rusya'nın Karadeniz Politikası* [Post-Soviet Russia's Black Sea Policy], "Avrasya Dosyası", no.13/1, 2007, p. 185.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁸ İlyas Kamalov, *Rusya'nın Asya-Pasifik Seferberliği* [Russia's Asia-Pacific Campaign], in "Stratejik Analiz", no.8/87, 2007, p. 77.

³⁹ Richard W.X., Hu, *China's Central Asian Policy: Making Sense of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation*, in *Central Asia at the End of the Transition*, ed. Boris Rumer. (New York: M.E Sharpe, 2005), p. 135.

⁴⁰ *Russia - Concept of the World in the 21th Century*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/concept21.html>

The Cold War period became a scene of the Soviet and the U.S. power rivalry. In the multi-polar world, starting with second half of 20th Century, countries have encountered different actors such as states, unions, NGOs and international organizations. Now, the mediator of states is shown the United Nations and also it is responsible for global security and stability⁴¹. In the article, Russia has focused common movement on common problems such as international terrorism. Russia is one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. It tries to affect the decision process of U.N. In the article, Russia has emphasized the United Nations with these words:

A special role in this process is assigned to the United Nations which is the single universal mechanism to maintain international peace and security. The UN Charter serves as a foundation of the concept of a world in the 21st Century....it is also important not only to preserve the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace but to reinforce its control over emergence and management of conflict situations⁴².

Interdependency of countries has determined relation between each other. Protecting country is the basic interest of any states, but in today's world; countries have decreased the possibility of struggles, especially on nuclear crisis. However, the new world has produced new types of threats which are important for states individually or globally. Russia believed that regional actors are always more effective to solve problems and wants to take responsibility pursuing global and regional stability. It is mentioned these threats under soft and hard security matters:

The extent of threats capable of destroying international security, plunging the world into a state of chaos and instability remains considerable. These threats include the danger of proliferation of nuclear, biological, chemical and other types of weapons of mass destruction; regional conflicts whose numbers keep growing; the danger of a new spiral of the arms race on a higher technological and information basis; the widening gap between rich and poor countries; organized crime and international terrorism; illicit traffic of drugs; vulnerability of the natural systems, environment, etc.⁴³.

Russia has mentioned multi-polarity of the world. Therefore, it can create collective defence against global threats. Considering Russian national security priorities; it is extremely important to increase globalization of world economy by creating interdependency. It increases the role of regional organizations, prevention of interventions which threaten the sovereignty of states. Russia has given importance to demilitarization and interdependency which are the basic points of soft security.

Energy security policy is Russia's one of way to ensure interdependency and inter-penetration of economies and financial systems. For example; Russia and Turkey are competitors and also strong partners not only in the region but also in the

(Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

World. Today as for the natural gas, Turkey who accommodates 60% of natural gas from Russia is dependent on Russia in natural gas sector⁴⁴. Another example; Russia has tried to build economic partnership with Pakistan on energy issue. Gazprom wants Pakistan to be included in the Iran-Pakistan and India pipeline⁴⁵. Furthermore, Russia is not a member of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) including Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam as other member countries. In 2005, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov signed a cooperation agreement with ASEAN countries on politics and economics for the 2005 - 2015 period. The agreement covers bilateral cooperation in the areas of small and medium sized enterprises, energy, technology, tourism, communication, environment protection and disaster management.

The Foreign Policy Concept of Russia was approved by Putin on 28 June 2000. In Putin era, Russia has followed more confident and powerful foreign policy compared to emotional and knee-jerk foreign policy under Yeltsin⁴⁶. He pursued active foreign relations with other countries during his presidency until 2008. His activeness can be observed by looking at the document.

Russia's top priority on the foreign policy is to protect the interests of the individual and the society. Furthermore, it has main objectives on ensuring reliable security of the country, to preserve and strengthen its sovereignty and territorial integrity, to achieve firm and prestigious positions in the world community, most fully consistent with the interests of Russian Federation as a great power, as one of the most influential centres of the modern world, and which are necessary for the growth of its political, economic, intellectual and spiritual potential.

Other objectives are:

✓ To influence general world processes with the aim of forming a stable, just and democratic world order, built on generally recognized norms of international law, including, first of all, the goals and principles in the U.N. Charter, on equitable and partnership relations among states;

✓ To create favourable external conditions for steady development of Russia, for improving its economy, enhancing the standards of living of the population, successfully carrying out democratic transformations, strengthening the basis of the constitutional system and observing individual rights and freedoms;

✓ To form a good-neighbour belt along the perimeter of Russia's borders, to promote elimination of the existing and prevent the emergence of potential hotbeds of tension and conflicts in regions adjacent to the Russia.

⁴⁴ Sinan Oğan, *Mavi Akım Projesi: Bir Enerji Stratejisi ve Stratejisizliği Örneği* [Blue Stream Project: An Example of Energy Strategy and Non Strategy], "Stradigma. Aylık Strateji ve Analiz e-dergisi", no.7 (August 2003), p. 6. <http://www.pete.metu.edu.tr/PETE/emre/photogallery/Mavi.pdf> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁴⁵ Kamalov, *loc cit.*, p. 83.

⁴⁶ Edwin Bacon and Matthew Wyman, *Contemporary Russia*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 167.

Today, hard security issue plays an important role in all states' national security and foreign policy concepts. In addition to that, soft security threats gain importance in the framework of new global threats and non-military ways to fight against them.

Russia has highlighted the UN and its Security Council role to ensure stable system of international relations. Russia is the permanent member of the UN Security Council and one of the members of the Group of 8 of the major industrialized states. Moreover, Russia stresses the importance to build good-neighbourly relations and strategic partnerships. Firstly, Russia endeavours to set relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS):

Practical relations with each of them should be structured with due regard for reciprocal openness to cooperation and readiness to take into account in a due manner the interests of the Russian Federation, including in terms of guarantees of rights of Russian compatriots....to joint efforts toward settling conflicts in CIS member states and to the development of cooperation in the military-political area and in the sphere of security⁴⁷.

European states are Russia's traditional foreign policy priority. In that respect, Europe is another reason for Russian willingness to generate soft security policies. Europe is one of the regions who use soft security matters in its system. Moreover, integration of this system is historical aim of Russia:

The main aim of Russian foreign policy in Europe is the creation of a stable and democratic system of European security and cooperation. Russia is interested in the further balanced development of the multi-functional character of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and will make efforts in this direction⁴⁸.

NATO is another important partner of Russia to ensure regional stability with constructive interaction. Russia and NATO have dealt with some soft security issues such as environmental protection especially considering the Black Sea, nuclear safety and fight against cross-border crime. The Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and Russia involves areas of consultation and cooperation, nuclear safety issues, developing on economics, environmental and scientific fields⁴⁹.

Russia desires to develop good relations with the Baltic countries; Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Three main soft security threats identified for the Baltic countries; nuclear safety, infectious diseases, illegal migration and cross-border crime⁵⁰. Pursiainen, Haavisto and Lomagin regarded those soft security threats for European

⁴⁷ *Foreign Policy Concept of Russia*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/concept.html> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Christer Pursiainen, in cooperation with Pekka Haavisto and Nikita Lomagin, *Soft Security Problems in Northwest Russia and their Implications for the Outside World*, (UPI Working Paper, 2001), p. 29.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

countries. According to the article, The Russian Federation is prepared to overcome considerable latter-day difficulties in relations with the U.S., and to preserve the infrastructure of Russian - American cooperation, which has been created over almost 10 years. Despite the presence of serious, and in a number of cases, fundamental differences, Russian-American interaction is the necessary condition for the amelioration of the international situation and achievement of global strategic stability⁵¹. Although, Russia and the U.S. have not developed cooperation about the soft security issues, they have encountered on the UN Security Council for international issues and some specific regional cooperation. They agree on fighting against counter-terrorism, transnational organized crime and energy security.

Developing relations with Asia is the important part of Russian foreign policy. Building cooperation with bilateral and regional agreements and organizations are the ways to build stable and peaceful soft security relations. Non-proliferation, countering criminal trafficking, the campaign against religious extremism and transnational terrorism, limiting conventional arms racing and addressing ecological disasters are soft security concerns of Russia in Central Asia⁵². Furthermore, China and India are fundamental partners of Russia. Russia wants to establish economic ties with China.

Different from Yeltsin period, Putin wants to play role on subject matters concerning Middle East and Africa as one of the World's strongest countries as it is directly related with the World stability and economic opportunities. The article is the evidence of Russian wishes to be one of influential countries in the world with its both hard and soft security policies.

Russia's Development Strategy to the Year 2010

The main aim of the Russia's Development Strategy to the Year 2010 which was approved by Putin on 28 June 2000 is:

The aim of the strategy is to qualitatively raise living standards on the basis of the self-fulfilment of every citizen, to preserve Russia's independence and cultural values, to restore the country's economic and political role in the world community. It is impossible to achieve these aims without the fullest emancipation of society, this making it possible to tap its internal sources of development. An optimistic perception of the world should prevail in the country and the almost totally lost trust between citizens and the state as well as between citizens and business should be restored⁵³.

Russia's Development Strategy to the year 2010 is the important document for soft security; this medium-term strategy is today short-term strategy and only one

⁵¹ *Foreign Policy Concept of Russia*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/concept.html> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁵² Dmitri Trenin, *Russia's Threat Perception and Strategic Posture*, Strategic Studies Institute (Nov. 2007), p. 17, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB829.pdf> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁵³ *Russia's Development Strategy to the Year 2010*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/strategy2010.html> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

year is remained to be realized. In Russian Economic Report in November 2007, developments on some sectors such as construction, retail trade and manufacturing are noticed⁵⁴. In addition to economic sectors, Russia allocates funds for social policies like education and public health.

Russia has deficiencies in basic social issues. For instance; the main and direct policy towards civil society of Putin, Civic Forum in 2001 who announced that in Moscow for 5000 representatives of NGOs. Evans mentioned in his book:

*Civil society organizations throughout Russia into a single corporatist body to allow consultative role in government. In other words, social organizations would sacrifice their independence to represent institutionally. NGOs refused the offer. His vision about civil society is pseudo-civil society in which social organ are subordinated of state authority*⁵⁵.

Civil society is an important part of soft security policy of all countries. Russia has a great deficiency in this point. Russia has given much more importance to state apparatus in order to build strong soft security. The article is based on economy and internal policy of the State. The last part of the article, it is mentioned that the strategy does not rule out an even more dynamic development of the country in the period till 2011⁵⁶. Russia has optimistic policy, but on the other hand, the article claims that it is ready for pessimistic results. It does not directly emphasize soft security threats and state implementations against them.

Russian National Security Concept-2000 and The Foreign Policy Concept of Russia indicate Russian security threats. Respecting international law, Russia follows more active foreign policy to introduce itself to the world again. After the Cold War, the U.S. has become the only superpower in the world. Today, bipolar international system has changed multiplicity after the participation of China, EU and Russia as powers in international arena. Putin prefers pragmatic foreign policy and realistic appreciation of the limitations on Russian military power. Thus, Russia controls its ability to build soft security matters in its national security.

Terrorism as a Soft Security Threat to Russian Security

Terrorism is the reality of political science and international relations. Countries have encountered terrorism as internal or external threat throughout their history. The September 11, 2001 was the turning point of perceiving terrorism in international system. It was seen that hard security precautions were not enough at the state level.

⁵⁴ *Russian Economic Report November 2007*, World Bank Official Web Site, (2007), p. 3, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRUSSIANFEDERATION/Resources/RER15_Eng.pdf (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁵⁵ Alfred Jr. Evans, *A Russian Civil Society*, in Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 109.

⁵⁶ *Russia's Development Strategy to the Year 2010*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/strategy2010.html> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

For many years the UN has been interested in the concept of terrorism. Starting from 1963 till 1999, the universal conventions and protocols against terrorism are related with a few issues on terrorism. Those 13 universal legal instruments and three amendments signed to prevent terrorist acts. The September 11, 2001 was turning point of the perception of international terrorism. After 2001, UN has put much more importance to the subject. The Security Council adopted resolution 1373(2001) on 28 September 2001 and declared:

“...acts, methods and practices of terrorism are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations”. It called upon Member States to “become parties as soon as possible to the relevant international conventions and protocols” and “to increase cooperation and fully implement the relevant international conventions and protocol”⁵⁷. In 2005, the Security Council developed “Counter-Terrorism Committee” to monitor the implementations of resolutions by all states.

The General Assembly approved an expanded programme of activities for the UNODC Terrorism Prevention branch. The United Nations adopted Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy by the General Assembly on 8 September 2006 to provide technical assistance to all countries about terrorism.

The UN is interested in soft security issues highly; there are many conventions and in-depth analyses about the issue. On the other hand, countries generally prefer to imply the convention if they ratified. The UN has not any sanction towards states, only uses psychological pressure on them about the international system and its obligations. When real implementations of the convention are considered, it appears that there are many deficiencies.

Russia has involved in the UN conventions and shared the same wishes to fight against several extremist activities such as uncontrolled migration promote nationalism, political and religious extremism and ethno-separatism, and create a breeding ground for conflicts, organized crime and terrorism⁵⁸. The definition of terrorism in Russian law passed in 1998:

*Violence or the threat of violence against individual or organizations, and also the destruction (damaging) of or threat to destroy (damage) property or other material objects...implemented with a view to violating public security, intimidating the population or influencing the adoption of decisions advantageous to terrorists by governing authorities or satisfying their unlawful material and (or) other interests*⁵⁹.

National accord and territorial integrity, unity of legal domain and law and order are the basic goals. Russia needs to build equal and equitable relations with other countries⁶⁰. Russia has recognized the importance of international support on

⁵⁷ *Global Action against Terrorism*, UNODC, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/terrorism/global-action-against-terrorism.html> (Accessed August 27, 2012).

⁵⁸ *Russian National Security Concept-2000*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html> (Accessed July 17, 2012).

⁵⁹ *On the Fight against Terrorism*, The Russian Intelligence-Related Documents, http://fas.org/irp/world/russia/docs/law_980725.htm (Accessed August 27, 2012).

⁶⁰ *The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation*, <http://www.mid.ru/ns->

solving problems even if they are internal. It does not mean that Russia has let interference in its politics; but it provides political power in international arena with perceiving Chechens as problematic issue.

Terrorism is perceived as threat for many countries especially Western countries that have produced various strategies to combat terrorists. Countries' military capacities, geo-strategic conditions, economies, and technologic developments are different aspects of their national strategy. Techniques and strategies have changed in time. There are many different points of views and perceptions on this matter and therefore is it hard to categorize terrorism as a concept.

According to Bal, terrorism is a strategic expression and terror is a strategic action. Terrorism is supported by people who believe in their actions which lead to coordinated and planned bloody actions. Under this definition terror is an action so as to kill civil and policemen⁶¹. The important question is that is it possible to think that terrorism as an ideology. According to Crenshaw, terrorism is considered as a facet of secular modern politics, principally associated with the rise of nationalism, anarchism and revolutionary socialism⁶².

According to O'Kane, terrorism is not a political ideology like Nazism, communism, fascism, anarchism, liberalism or conservatism as these ideologies logically imply distinctive sets of ideas which involve critical assessment of other political ideas and realities together with alternative proposals on preferred political system and society⁶³ and terrorism is not limited with any ideology.

Terrorism is a deadlock where politics finishes. On the other hand, it is an element of politics. The September 11 incident was the turning point of definition of terrorism perceived as a global threat. Until that time, it can be seen a various type of terrorism also which came from state, any radical movements against state and ethnical or any kind of antagonism have emanated.

September 11, 2001 was the turning point of international terrorism. Russia has had formidable opportunity to vindicate his conception of security threats redefining global terrorism⁶⁴. The perception of common threat becomes closer to Russia and Western countries. Actually, there is any attack towards Russia from Al-Qaeda. However, Russia has tried to include Chechen war under the subject. Also Islam is misperceived by many countries in the world.

osndoc.nsf/0e9272bafa34209743256c630042d1aa/cef95560654d4ca5c32574960036cddb?OpenDocument (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁶¹ İhsan Bal, *Terör Nedir, Neden Terörist Olunur?*, in İhsan Bal (ed.), *Terörizm: Terör, Terörizm ve Küresel Terörle Mücadelede Ulusal ve Bölgesel Deneyimler*, Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2006, p. 8.

⁶² Martha Crenshaw, *The Causes of Terrorism* in Charles W. Kegley (ed.), *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristic, Causes, Control*, Harlow: Pearson Education, Inc., 2003, p. 93.

⁶³ Rosemary H.T. O'Kane, *Terrorism*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007, p. 27.

⁶⁴ Andrei P. Tsygankov, *Russian's Foreign Policy, Change and Continuity in National Identity*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2006, p. 129.

Russia declared after the September 11 the war against Chechnya has been the part of war against global terrorism⁶⁵. The process has accelerated after Beslan in 2004. Russia started to build closer relations with the U.S. against global terrorism. Putin claimed that connection between Chechen terrorists and Al-Qaeda based on well qualifications and equipment. Therefore, it is easily to imply policies against Chechen terrorists. Russia needs to generate its soft security matters. Russell shows a methodology on his article, *A War by Any Other Name: Chechnya, 11 September and the War against Terrorism*. Four counter-terrorist strategies have been formed; eradication, terror against terror, containment, addressing the root causes.

Firstly, cost of eradication tends to be extremely high; estimated the cost of Chechen conflict on Russian economy range from \$1.3 billion to \$11.5 billion per year. Moreover, the conflict is a hamper on Russian democratic development. Russia has possibility to use the money on developing sectors especially on social and welfare policies. Secondly, according to Russell:

*Combating terrorism by employing terror tactics against the terrorists might be held to represent the „grasp’. Like eradication, it has the propaganda value reassuring one’s domestic constituency that something is being done to tackle terrorism without appearing to be weak, conciliatory or irresolute*⁶⁶.

Thirdly, containment or War tested after the Second World War. Establishing law, order and security in zone conflict are based on producing policies on politics, economics, social and diplomatic initiatives. In that perspective, Russia has to block Islamic fundamentalism in Chechnya as long as “those who are not with us, are with the terrorists” view is alive. Fourthly, understanding the reasons of conflicts is the half of solving problems. Therefore, Russia needs to look at root of the Russo-Chechen conflicts and what are their demands objectively. Even if, Russia does not accept their wishes, they will try to develop alternative methods such as treatment of economic and social conditions of Chechnya⁶⁷.

Putin signed a new law in February 2006, the National Counter-Terrorism Committee (NCC) formed addition to the Federal Security Service of the Russia (FSB). FSB involves counter-intelligence, internal and border security, counter-terrorism and surveillance. The newly established NCC replaces inactive Federal Counter-Terrorism Commission. Moreover, NCC has right to participate in international efforts to counter-terrorism⁶⁸. Russia controls regions with its Federal Distinct Staffs. Today, it is not certain that Chechnya is normalized or not. Nearly, 9

⁶⁵ John Russell, *A War by Any Other Name: Chechnya, 11 September and the War Against Terrorism*, in Richard Sakwa (ed.), *Chechnya: From Past to Future*, London: Anthem Press, 2005, p. 240.

⁶⁶ John Russell, *Chechnya-Russia’s War on Terror*, London: BASEES/Routledge Series on Russian and East European Studies, 2007, p. 103.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁶⁸ Simon Saradzhyan, *Russia’s System to Combat Terrorism and Its Application in Chechnya*, in Robert W. Ortung, Andrey S. Makarychev and NATO Staff (eds.), *Counter-Terrorism Strategies: Legal, Institutional, and Public Policy Dimension in the US, UK, France, Turkey and Russia*, Amsterdam: National IOS Press, 2006, p. 177.

years passed on occupation of Russia on Grozny. Russia is newly interested in reconstruction of Grozny with new paving stones, shops and cafes⁶⁹.

Terrorism is as an important threat of soft security. When it is looked at European Union who used soft security items much more than other countries, Europe views terrorism primarily as a law enforcement issue whereas Russia and the U.S. generally see military issue. Europeans does not support military action to block terrorist attacks. The U.S. and Russia called War on terrorism, on the other hand Europeans called fight or battle against terrorism. Russia and EU relations are based on common values regarding the same threats such as terrorism and organized crime and they continue to work about soft security threats for their security and prosperity.

Russia has preferred hard security actions rather than soft security as for fighting against terrorism. Previously, it was said that countries *sui generis* profile, on this perspective Russia has stayed in different geographic condition. And especially, the last examples such as attitude towards Georgia and North Ossetia crisis in August 2008 show that Russia is related with new technologies as a defence part of hard security.

Russia has recognized new threats in the new world. It has produced new solution for them. International and bilateral agreements are the way to struggle with any type of international security problems. Terrorism is the common soft security threat for every country today. Actually, the way of combat terrorism still belongs to hard security matters. What is more, this is the reason why terrorism cannot control. Russia has minded cooperation with the West under Putin presidency, because of international conjuncture and his aim as a Russian president.

The United Nations signed several agreements between the member states about counter-terrorism. There were several agreements which the member states signed about security and terrorism. "The Counter-Terrorism Committee" was established by the UN Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) unanimously and instantly after the September 11 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Russia is the chair of Sub-Committee B. Their aim is to struggle with counter terrorist activities at home, in their regions and around the World. The Committee has mentioned financing of terrorism and the basic aim to block state support to the terrorist groups. In addition to that, the new counter-terrorism law passed on 1 March 2006 by the Russian Parliament replicated Western legislation. The new counter-terrorism law is not only composed of acting terrorism but it also includes propaganda and spreading materials related with terrorism. The September 2004 Beslan host-taking crisis affected the decision of the new counter-terrorism law.

Russia has perceived international threats on terrorism. Therefore, it is needed to mention to Russian attitude against international and several regional terrorist groups after the September 11. Russia ratified the UN Convention of December 15, 1997 for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing and of March 10, 1988 for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation in 2002. The

⁶⁹ Jonathan Steele, *It's Over and Putin Won*, in "Guardian" (2008), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/sep/30/russia.chechnya> (Accessed September 4, 2012).

International UN Convention of December 9, 1999 for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism ratified in 2004⁷⁰. Moreover, Russia has participated in the UN Global Action against Terrorism which was adopted by the UN Security Council on September 28, 2001.

Russia has been part of the UN Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee to bolster the ability of United Nations Member States to prevent terrorist acts both within their borders and across regions since 2001⁷¹. Russia has chance to operate regional effectiveness by using the UN conventions and agreements mostly based on its permanent membership of the UN Security Council. Russia has interest about the subject which is related the world stability.

Russia has considered international terrorism and recognized its global impact to them directly or indirectly. In addition to the UN conventions, regional efforts have strongly importance to fight against terrorism. In that respect, NATO is one of the partners of Russia to avoid terrorism, despite of long forbidding relations. The September 11, 2001 was a turning point of Russian and NATO relations. Thus, Putin takes advantage to prove its strategic significance and Russian engagement with the West. Two days after the attack, the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council adopted a joint statement condemning attacks and expressing their willingness to fight against terrorism. The Rome Declaration NATO-Russia Council (NRC) in 2002 emphasized the importance of rapprochement between the allies and Russia. New cooperative mechanisms and procedures were established.

Energy Security as a Soft Security Threat to Russian Security

Energy security is one of important issues in international relations as a soft security threat. Distribution and allocation of resources have been a crucial issue since people understood resources have been limited. International, regional and bilateral agreements became part of soft security in 21st Century. Furthermore, insufficient resources caused dependency of countries to each other. Countries have to build positive relations to take part of these resources.

Lieber mentioned that “Energy became a security issue when the supply of oil was a matter of national survival and later when the ability to pay for this oil became a question of almost comparable gravity.”⁷² Energy is very crucial concept from which every country has profits and losses.

Today, some of countries have some crucial resources such as mostly consuming in the world hydrocarbon reserves such as oil and natural gas. What is more, it is estimated that Russia will cover 12% of the World crude oil demand if

⁷⁰ First Deputy Head of the MOI Legislation Department gave a talk at the international workshop on international collaboration in combating terrorism, The Ministry of Interior of Russia, <http://eng.mvdrf.ru/news/3085/> (Accessed September 7, 2012).

⁷¹ The Counter-Terrorism Committee, The UN, <http://www.un.org/sc/ctc/> (Accessed September 11, 2012).

⁷² Linda B. Miller, *Energy, Security and Foreign Policy: A Review Essay*, “International Security”, no.4 (Spring 1977), p. 116.

Russian output should level off at a maximum of 11mb/d after 2010⁷³. According to Energy Information Administration of the U.S.:

*Russia holds the world's largest natural gas reserves, the second largest coal reserves and eight largest oil reserves. Furthermore, Russia is also the world's largest exporter of natural gas and the second largest oil exporter and the third largest energy consumer*⁷⁴.

Russian economy is mostly dependent on oil and natural gas exports. According to IMF and the World Bank statistics, "the oil and natural gas sector generated more than 60 percent of Russia's export revenue and accounted for 30 percent of all foreign direct investment (FDI) in the country"⁷⁵.

The "Russian Bear" model argues that its relative military decline, but still Russia remains a great power with its geo-political conditions. According to Russian bear model, energy is the potential powerful weapon to put pressure on other countries' politics and economics. Under that perspective, Russian energy capacity is so determinative for their position in international relations.

Russia is one of producer country of hydrocarbon reserves. In supply and demand security parts, it is mentioned how belonging hydrocarbon reserves effect Russia's status in the region and the world. Furthermore, Russia has recognized its energy advantage. Hydrocarbon reserves are limited in the world and demand of countries has gradually increased by depending on technologic developments and the capacity of the country. For example; developments on car industry impact on oil prices and demand. It is estimated that global demand for the fuel type sectors will rapidly increase to the year of 2017. Therefore, the supply of oil will be increased to 2017. In that point, diversification remains an important concept of energy security.

There are five important factors cause the perception on interdependence in the subject of energy security. Firstly, physical interdependence links countries via transportation road or pipelines. Infrastructure security is the basic problem under that subject, because there is a huge risk of disruptions. Secondly, economic interdependence is important for both consumer and producer states; stable supply of energy and energy prices are dependent variables. Thirdly, energy security creates social interdependence, because energy prices effect the wealth distribution and the volatility of oil and gas prices. Furthermore, it is a risk in front of socio-economic development. Fourthly, politics is directly related with economics, therefore energy security creates political interdependence. Mutual dependency force countries to cooperate several issues and energy trade provide comparable but stable relations with the parts. Lastly, ecological interdependence as the production, transportation and consumption of energy highly impact on environment such as environmental damage or climate change. This is the basic point of building soft security policies on energy security of Russia.

⁷³ Sadek Boussena and Catherine Locatelli, *Towards a More Coherent Oil Policy in Russia* (OPEC,2005), p. 92.

⁷⁴ *Russia Background*, Energy Information Administration of the US, <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/caspgase.html>, (Accessed September 19, 2012).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Conclusions

Russia's status in post-Soviet era has continued to be a powerful country. Its geo-political importance in the European continent conduces that Russia cannot be ignored in the new world system⁷⁶. It is obvious that today, new conditions of security start to be more important in addition to military matters⁷⁷. Russia perceives new developments and threats in the world which it may encounter. Moreover, Russia understands that it cannot solve problems or compete with other countries with the Cold War national security concept. Russia started to adapt its policies to the new national security concept. The concept of soft security identifies non-traditional threats and methods to combat these threats. The strong national security should compose hard and soft security policies together.

Putin is a significant politician with his dominant character and his perception of the new world. There are two main reasons why Putin was significant for Russia in the post-Soviet era. Putin was appointed acting president and following elections in March 2000 with 53 percent of vote. Furthermore, Putin has several contributions to the evolution of Russian security. Firstly, Russia decided to orient the West with building cooperation. Secondly, the recognition of the importance of soft security dimension in international relations and thirdly, his political priority to take place in multi-polar world as one of strongest country with its economy, military, political and social developments⁷⁸. On the other hand, Russia has several deficiencies establishing democratic values such as human rights, freedom of speech, and existence of civil society. Moreover, Putin was not eager to develop these values under his presidency.

Putin believes that security is the primary subject of Russia. Russia's geo-political condition supports his ideas, because Russia has a lot of neighbours from East Europe, Far East, Central Asia, Middle East, and the Caucasus and so on. Thus, the requirement of producing miscellaneous policies and perceiving different threats from them has caused strong national security policy. In that respect, high security need pull a head of Russian national priorities.

The new policies of Putin targeting to establish powerful state in the region and the world forced Russia to move towards international cooperation and good relations with the West⁷⁹. The article argued that Russia's aim to be one of powerful states in the new world system based on generating its soft security policies.

⁷⁶ Dmitry Polikanov and Graham Timmis, *Russian Foreign Policy under Putin*, in Cameron Ross (ed.), *Russian Politics under Putin*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 223.

⁷⁷ Hüseyin Bağcı, *Güvenlik Politikaları ve Risk Analizi Çerçevesinde Balkanlar (1991-1993)* [Security Politics and Balkans by the context of Risk Analysis (1991-1993)], Ankara: Dış Politika Enstitüsü, 1994, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Polikanov and Timmis, *op. cit.*, 2004.

⁷⁹ Lena Johnson, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia: The Shaping of the Russian Foreign Policy*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2004, p. 6.

Furthermore, Russia has caught the world under Putin. Besides Putin's characteristic features, Russia started to generate these policies just in time. The September 11 was the turning point not only Russia, but also every country in the World. Countries understand the importance of soft security policies.

In that respect, the introduction part of the article mentioned the theoretical perspective of soft security based on contrary to mainstream argument which claimed that of Russia has Soviet heritage and military is the only centre to determine the security policy. It is not wrong to state that Russia has strong and developed army and military equipment with highly technological matters. On the contrary to mainstream argument, Russia has perceived non-military issues as threats against its national security. There is not much emphasis on soft security issues in the literature and only a few articles are written about Russian soft security policy. The thesis targeted to prove the importance of soft security issues for the Russia case.

Russian national security doctrines are the best proofs to illustrate Russian consideration of soft security policies. The thesis mentioned five national security doctrines; Russian Security Blueprint Concepts 2000, The May 2000 Russian Military Doctrine, the Concept of the World in the 21st Century, Foreign Policy of Russia and Russia's Development Strategy to the year 2011. Russian national security doctrines demonstrate the reality of Russia. The doctrines are very much obvious that they identify all hard and soft security threats and struggle methods. The thesis focused on soft security matters. The Russian National Security Concept 2000 identified Russian priorities for its national security. Stability and security are the main aims of new Russian national security concept whereas economy, politics, technology, science, environment and information constitute the parts of Russian national security. Furthermore, Russia recognized and directly focused on soft security threats in the doctrine.

Russia emphasized its new military doctrine to mutual cooperation of states. Arms control agreements and treaties are the best proof to show Russian willingness. On the other hand, the doctrine is very obvious that in any emergency case, Russia does not hesitate to use military power. Respecting international agreements takes advantage to Russia in international arena. The SCO, BLACKSEAFOR, agreements with OSCE showed that Russia tries to be regional power with soft security policies. Other doctrines in Chapter two mentioned the importance of non-military issues especially three Russian basic soft security threats; terrorism, transnational organized crime and energy security. Russia tries to prove the world that it is ready for new world system and it can be perceived one of crucial states in the region and also in the world with its natural resources, political, military and non-military capacities.

The September 11 was an important date for Russia because terrorism perceived as a soft security threat after the date. Russia is the permanent member of the UN Security Council. Thus, Russia perceives every terrorist activity against any country as a threat against itself.

Military capacity is an obligation in that point. However, without soft security solutions, military capacity expresses nothing. Thus, countries have to build cooperation and mutual relations. Terrorism has never ended but can be controlled,

because some states help terrorist organisations. Interdependency of states blocked this threat. Russia has participated in several acts and conventions about terrorism.

Territorial integrity is one of national security aims of Russia. Chechen problem has been the most dangerous threat for Russia. Up to now, it is seen that Russia prefers to use military power to block that threat. There are several criticisms from the West. However, Russia's policies especially after the school tragedy in Beslan were very aggressive. Thus, Russia is not very successful using soft security practices about Chechen problem. Every country can encounter similar minority problems. Furthermore, external relations have triggered internal problems. Regarding the Chechen case, Chechen terrorists trained and funded by other terrorist organizations and a few of countries. Military problems blocked countries development. Thus, Russia needs to solve Chechen problem rooted by using soft security policies. Chapter Three focused on the issue deeply. It was mentioned several soft security implementations but comparing to other two soft security threats of Russia, there is no functional policies.

Translational organized crime is another soft security threat for Russia. The significance of organized crime, Russia's struggle methods in internal and external level was mentioned in detail in the Chapter four. Translational organized crime existed in the 1990s. Thus, it is a new problem for all countries. Russia's position in this subject is very complicated as it acts as a sending, receiving and transit country for illegal migrants⁸⁰, because of its complicated but very important condition, Russia has to generate soft security policies against translational organized crime. Different from terrorism, Russia does not have any chance to control translational organized crime with hard security policies. There is no direct enemy in this field, so actions have to be more functional in the scope of soft security matters.

Russia signed and ratified several agreements and conventions about the issue in international arena, but it is difficult to block that illegal trafficking is related with mafia organizations. Russia's economic condition is strongly related with this subject, because the huge gap between rich and poor people causes translational organized crime.

Generally, Russia mentioned how to prevent composed soft security problems. The important point of soft security policies is to focus on how to prevent soft security threats at the beginning. Russia has relations with the West about the issue. Furthermore, European countries regard Russia on translational organized crime, because Russia is a gate for Central Asia and other Asian countries. Nearly 300.000 transit migrant use that route. Thus, Europe signed several agreements with Russia. This situation is an advantage for Russia in order to be closer with the West.

Energy security is the subject of Russian soft security. Countries have different positions on that issue; producers, consumers and transit countries. Russia is supplier and transit country of crucial natural resources in the world; oil and natural gas. The interdependency theory gives priority to economic power and translational actors

⁸⁰ Irina Ivakhniouk, *Illegal Migration: Russia*, in Anne Aldis and Herd P. Graeme (eds.), *Soft Security Threats and European Security*, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2005, p. 36.

besides states. Moreover, it claims that economic powers will be dominant in the future. Today also economic powers are dominants. Russia's assertion about the one of powerful country is based on interdependency theory. Energy is a strong trump of Russia. In that respect, Russia is a soft security threat for other consumer countries.

Energy security composes infrastructure security. Pipeline system links countries. But also it creates big threats for supplier and transit country, because it opens to terrorist attacks. The Chapter Five analysed Russian oil and natural gas pipelines to understand mutual dependency in the region. The future of Russian economy depends on progress in the high technology and science-intensive sectors⁸¹. In that respect, energy sector of Russia needs to use more high technologies and furthermore, Russia produces its own capabilities in that sector.

Russia's basic aim is to build applicable soft security on its national security to increase its relative power and influence in the region and also in the World. In this scope, Russia does not choose to cooperate with other countries and limit its freedom of action under its society. Russia's main perspective on building national security still remain aggressive and based on hard security and soft security together. Under Putin presidency, Russia has understood that only integration to the West can help their country become a modern state⁸². Putin tried to build constructive relations with NATO, WTO, Europe and the U.S. during his presidency⁸³. Although, Russia needs more soft security practices for fight against terrorism, Russian soft security policies gained ground on translational organized crime and energy security.

⁸¹ Richard Sakwa, *Putin: Russia's Choice*, New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2008, p. 326.

⁸² Lilia Shevtsova, *Putin's Russia*, (Washington D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003, p. 262.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.